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INDIA TODAY

OCTOBER 31, 1982

NORTH-EAST

The Human Tragedy

ALSO

IN COLOUR: THE FILMING OF OCTOPUSSY

THE SCANDAL OF DANGEROUS DRUGS

MEERUT RIOTS: WHO IS TO BLAME?

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INDIA
TODAY
THE COMPLETE NEWSMAGAZINE

VOLUME VII NUMBER 20
FOR THE FORTNIGHT OCTOBER 16–31, 1982

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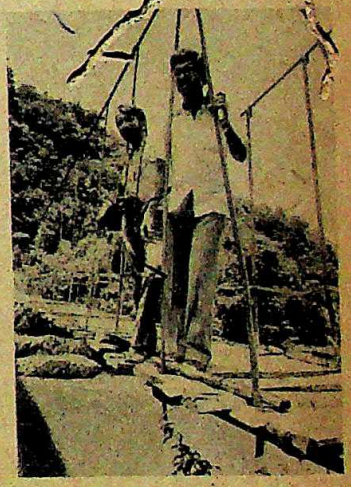
NEWS does not have to **COVER STORY**: Caught in a pincer *In fact, it is probably* between guerrillas demanding food and *all too often caught up* shelter at gunpoint and hard, soldiers *eruptions of news, the* searching for insurgents, the people *conomic, social and cultural* in north-east live in constant *ndercurrents which ebb and flow* *communal riots usually claim prime media space, but there is far less reporting about the tensions and passions and even political manipulations which are the cause of communal disturbances and violence.*

At INDIA TODAY, *there has been a conscious recognition of the fact that forces at work below the surface are often more pertinent to an understanding of the life of his country than observable events. Much of this year's first issue,* '1982: Year of Reckoning,' *dealt with the less tangible forces at work which have influenced events in the last few months and will continue to do so. At a more practical level, the magazine has in cover stories over the years examined the slow awakening of women (August 1–15, 1980), of the rural poor (March 16–31, 1980) and of the Harijans (October 1–15, 1978).*

IN THIS issue, INDIA TODAY *looks at an area of the country which has in terms of media attention been a victim of a somewhat benign neglect: the North-east. The tiny paragraphs in the news columns of the dailies briefly recounting the arrest of an insurgent, ambush of a military convoy or search and destroy missions in the jungles hide a seething cauldron which has simmered for nearly two decades. Occasionally, it has boiled over in unimaginable violence. More seldom, the heat has gone out of the fire as negotiations have hovered briefly on the brink of breakthrough only to slide back into confusion again. Prolonged years of tension have drawn heavily on the morale of the people of Manipur, Mizoram and Nagaland, not to mention the security forces who have sought to keep the peace.*



Kalbag (right) and Pushkarna in Manipur

To investigate the mood of the region, Correspondent CHAITANYA KALBAG *and Photographer* PRAMOD PUSHKARNA *spent almost three weeks travelling up and down the three states, talking with the authorities, officers and soldiers, and scores of ordinary people who have been buffeted by the relentless turmoil in the state. Departing from the usual format of political writing, Kalbag has written a story in purely human terms, sensing the mood of a troubled population and the dilemmas of an administration confronting a no-win situation. Over the last three years, Kalbag has been a regular visitor to the North-east. This journey, however, was different. As he said, "Nothing can prepare you for the experience of human suffering at close quarters especially when it is so transparent in the faces of people. Nothing I have ever seen in the North-east moved me so much."*

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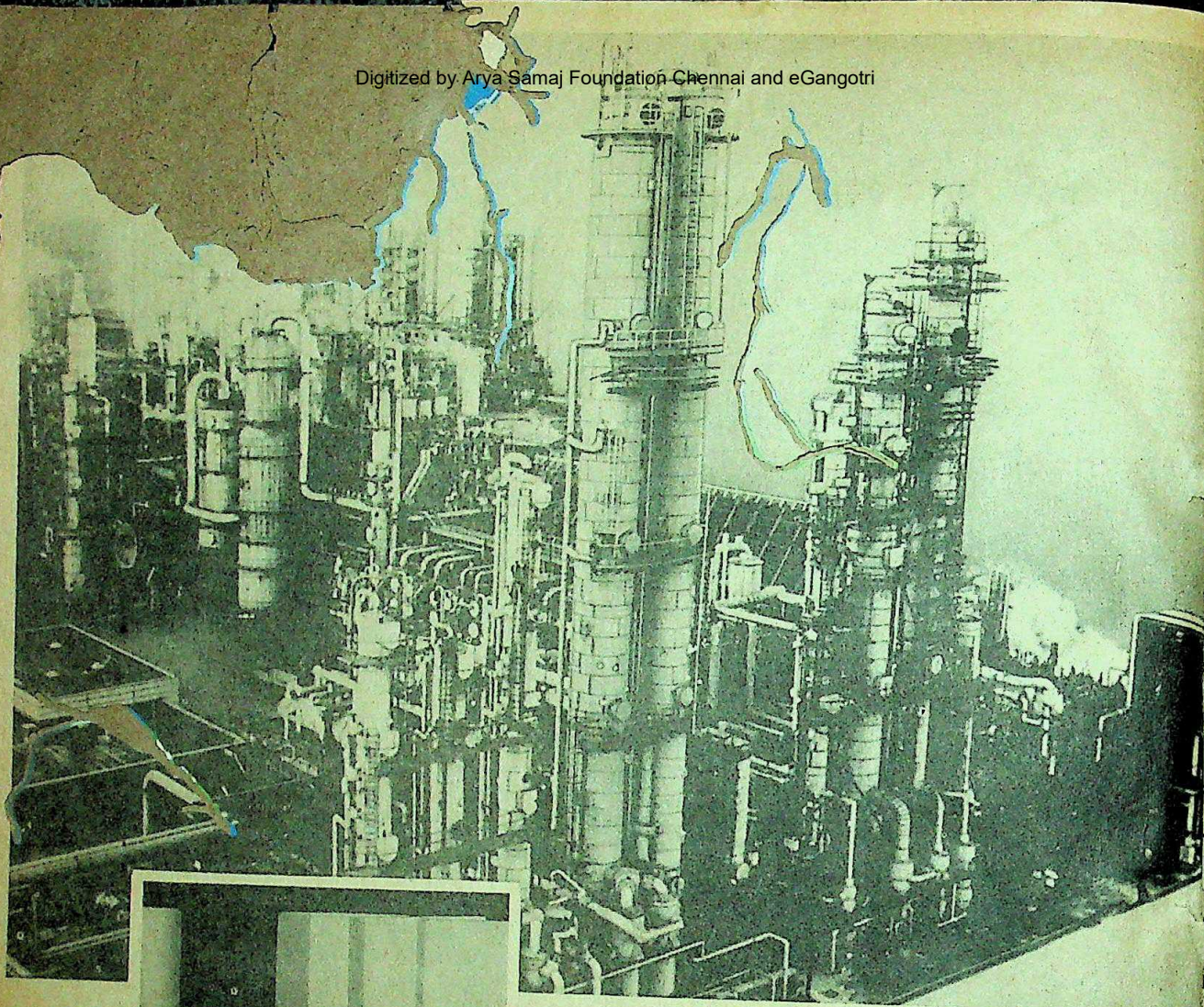

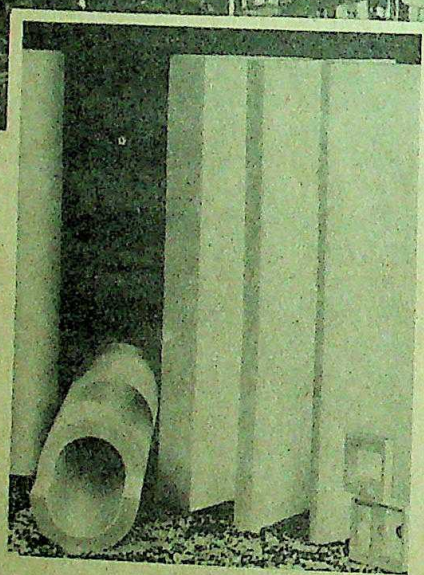

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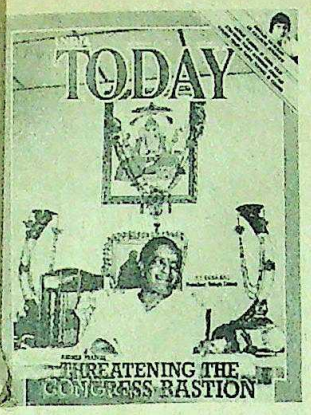

DY FOR BATTLE

The Threatened Bastion" (October agnosed rightly that Mrs Gandhi is to blame for the deteriorating con- s for the Congress(I) in Andhra sh. NTR is strong today mainly be- the Congress(I) leaders are seen not nction without explicit instructions New Delhi. Andhra is ready for the between Anna and Amma.

as *K.S. Ganapathy Subramanyam*

NTR with his antics is throwing dust ur eyes about his popularity—but I ntee that after the election results out, he will bite the dust. It is all ell for him to say that he does not ip "that idol" in Delhi. Let him try chieve even a tenth of what she has for the country.

ay *P.D. Prabhakar Rao*

UOUS MOVES

"The Cabinet Carousel" (September effectively told of the fatuity of Mrs dhi's endless reshuffles. I find it very oncerting that a berth in the Indian net is booked not through compet- but because of the loyalty shown to prime minister. And if she is really re about her developmental plans will P.C. Sethi and his ilk be able to her?

tta *Deepak Begwani*

Today we are in need of experienced ntelligent Cabinet ministers as never e. The induction of raw politicians at critical juncture is most unwelcome. It eas that we want, not idiots.

i *Elty Ngaihte*

The Cabinet carousel proves that Gandhi's moves were prompted for the welfare of the party than country. And with the sword of Damo- hanging over their heads, how can of them perform competently—spe- y as they know that at the first sign of independence they will be booted out.

New ...i *V. Saglu*

THE SAVAGE CUSTODIANS

But for this report ("Tortured To Death", September 30) the people of Tamil Nadu would never have learned of the shameful torture of undertrials in our jails.

Thanjavur *T.T. Ramanujam*

■ In India, it becomes clear, it is futile to speak of social justice. The entire machinery of the law is geared to protect the influential and wealthy at the expense of the poor.

Rohtak *Mukesh Sharma*

■ With this latest move MGR's transition from hero to villain is complete.

Madras *P.K.G. Menon*

■ The fact that most of the undertrials who died in police custody were people who had no previous criminal record and were arrested on the flimsy charge of "moving under suspicious circumstances" proves beyond any doubt that the police, and possibly the Government, had their own motives for liquidating them.

Bombay *Amin Jiwani*

BABY ELEPHANT BLUES

I was shocked to read in "Appu Goes To School" (September 30) that the baby elephant was snatched away from her mother just to amuse the crowds in Delhi. It is like snatching away a human infant from his mother's lap. What will they do with the baby when the Asiad is over? Will she join the circus? Or will they send her to her own mother? We all know that an elephant becomes mad when she misses her baby. Last week an elephant was running about mad because her baby was washed away by the Brahmaputra.

Dibrugarh *Sumi Misra*
Class III

CHECKMATE

We are all proud to have a young man like Dibyendu Baruah. It's quite something that a 15-year-old has been able to beat Victor Korchnoi.

Bangalore **N. Mohan**

■ It was a real pity that the only people there to greet Baruah on his arrival were his family. Don't the people of Calcutta realise the magnitude of his feat.

Beed *Ajay Karve*

MISSION OF MERCY

After reading about the "Innocent Victims" (September 30) all I can do is

COVER STORY: Caught in a pincer between guerrillas demanding food and shelter at gunpoint and hard-core soldiers searching for insurgents, the people of north-east live in constant fear.

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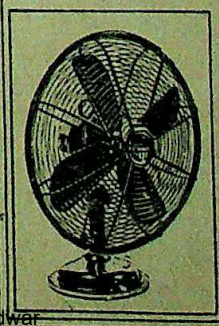

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congratulate the Mission of Hope for the humanitarian work they are doing and wish them all success in their mission of mercy.
Ludhiana *Dr Arun Sethi*

■ The real culprits are not people like Cheryl Clark but the Indians who throw their babies into dustbins. If the agencies take some fees from parents, it is only right—how else would they be able to look after the babies who will be left at their doorstep? With the Government making a fuss all that will happen is that foreigners will avoid India.
Calcutta *Sujash Kumar Mie*

A SECOND TRY

The report on the Periakulam by-election ("A Watershed Battle", September 30) erred in saying that this is the first time that the Congress(I) was contesting the elections independently. In the by-election of May 1973, at Dindigul the Congress, the DMK and the AIADMK fought a three-cornered contest. And even in this election the Congress lost its deposit.
Madras *W.S. Krishnan*

WINDOW TO INDIA

After hearing so much about 'Aditi' and then reading this article I feel very sad to have missed the show in London. Not only has 'Aditi' opened out a large window to India for people in the West, but it has also achieved what no amount of ambassadors could have for the promotion of India's image abroad.
Bombay *Murli S. Deora*

SOFTNESS DENIED

I would like to clarify some facts on the case of Bejoy Hrangkhal ("Quiet Exit", September 15). No loan was given to Hrangkhal by the state Government. He got a loan from the Gramin Bank and without the chief minister's knowledge. The state Government did not assist him to set up a rubber plantation nor was he given a licence for a cinema hall. Lastly, two cases are still pending against him and the state Government has no intention of withdrawing them. Hrangkhal was not permitted to leave Tripura even on medical grounds. Therefore the allegation that the Left Front Government and the chief minister have taken a soft attitude towards him in order to win him as a political ally is unjustified.
Agartala *S.K. Goswami,*
Private Secretary to the chief minister, Government of Tripura

FIGURING IT OUT

In the article "Writing On The Wall" (September 15) the circulation of *Business India* has been quoted as 30,000. I informed the correspondent that it is 32,000. It now stands at 33,000.
Bombay *Usha S*
Circulation
Busi

PRICKING THE BUBBLE

The article "A Soapy" (September 15) came as a surpri Besides some factual inaccura exaggerations, it has tried to c impression that Hindustan Lever to do something in a hush-hush We were doing nothing of the k were conducting a straightforwar research to test a new product a normal were using another co brand, Nirma, for the control pa nst which we were testing our The manufacturers of Nirma m stood this and filed complaints a as they felt we were trying to de product. But when we explained was a routine method the author gested that Nirma settle the matte court. Accordingly the two compa ned an agreement that there wa understanding on the part of Ni as the matter had been clarified would withdraw the complaints to maintain cordial business This understanding, however, do stop us from carrying out market r tests in the future. All these fac explained to the correspondent. grettably, we find he has erred in port. For one, the report gives pression that Surf sales are collaps sales of Surf have grown in the years—its volume in 1981 was a Secondly, there were no 'sales operation in Bombay or Ahmed was a routine marketing mix test the product was distributed free. we have not undertaken to stop "t of research" as this type of test much in the consumers' interest.
Bombay *I.L*
Communications M
Hindustan Lever L

Contrary to what Hindustan says, the manner of its research does accepted codes. For instance, Lever chers did not disclose the compa were from. Mr Khan also skirts that Nirma withdrew its complaint return for Lever agreeing to dies and blocks used to print Nirma and on Lever agreeing not to print lish such pamphlets in future. The does not say that Surf sales are col All it says is that Surf's share of the ing powder market has dropped.

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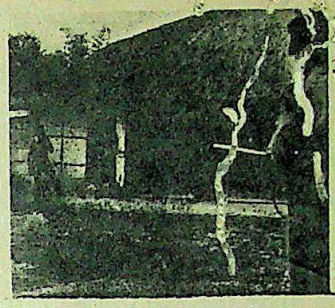
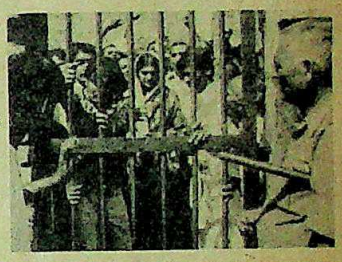
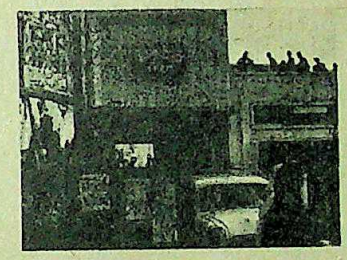
Photograph by PRAMOD PUSHKARNA



COVER STORY: Caught in a pincer between guerrillas demanding food and shelter at gunpoint and hard-core soldiers searching for insurgents, the people of the North-east live in constant fear and tension. A human tragedy of unprecedented magnitude is taking place in the region, with people elsewhere unconcerned, insensitive and ignorant of the problems. Such ignorance has only deepened the sense of isolation in a strategic corner of the country. **Page 80**



CURRENT EVENTS: The release of three top leaders of Maneka Gandhi's Sanjay Vichar Manch (SVM) last fortnight from jail after they were accused of murdering one of their partymen, has brought into the open the conflict between the ruling party and the SVM. The incident has, however, catapulted the SVM further into the moreover, giving Maneka Gandhi's fledgling set-up reams of valuable publicity. **Page 17**



SPECIAL REPORT: Beginning with a minor issue, the smouldering Meerut riots had last fortnight taken a heavy toll—20 people were dead, property worth Rs 5 crore damaged and more than 800 people arrested. For the once peaceful city, the five weeks of tension, kept at bay by the curfew and guns of the armed policemen, has dealt a severe blow to Hindu-Muslim amity in the city. A report. **Page 46**

BUSINESS: At the end of last month, the Government finally wielded the scalpel on the pharmaceutical industry by rendering 18 combinations of drugs, that have been determined to be either dangerous or useless, unsaleable. The ban has been vigorously attacked by the industry people who have been trying to stall it for years. An in-depth report. **Page 122**

SPECIAL FEATURE: It possessed all the ingredients of a palace intrigue—the scions of an erstwhile royal family of Bastar making a last ditch battle over the remains of a once sprawling estate of 36,000 sq km. With the members of the family pitted against each other, the final settlement is being enacted in the courts. **Page 136**

CINEMA: Last fortnight the beautiful Lake Palace of Udaipur was ablaze with a profusion of bared thighs, shimmering costumes and lolling ladies all set to shoot for yet another James Bond spectacular titled *Octopussy*. As Ian Fleming's legendary secret agent jetted into India for a three-week-long shooting stint, which cost nearly a quarter of the film's estimated budget of over $25 million, Udaipur's economy received a boost. An on-the-spot report on the shooting. **Page 142**

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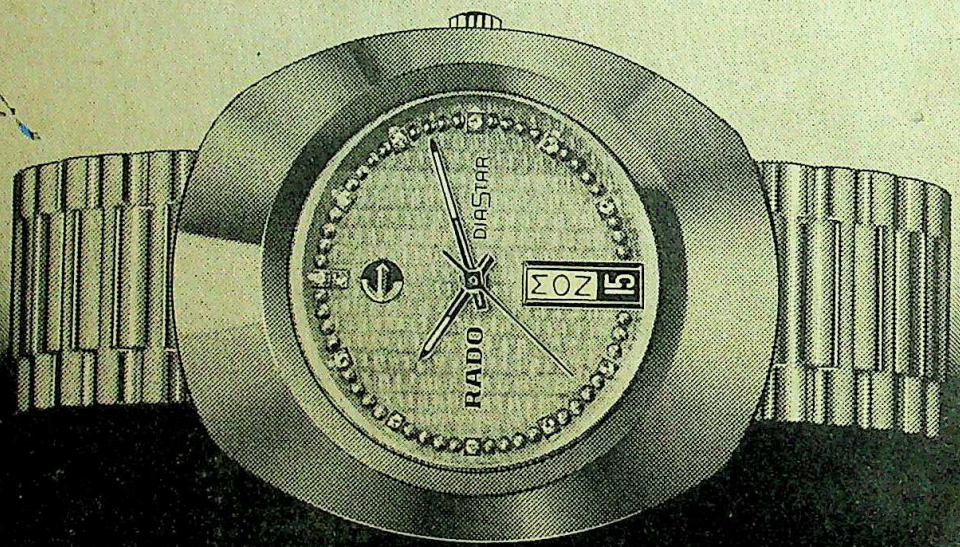

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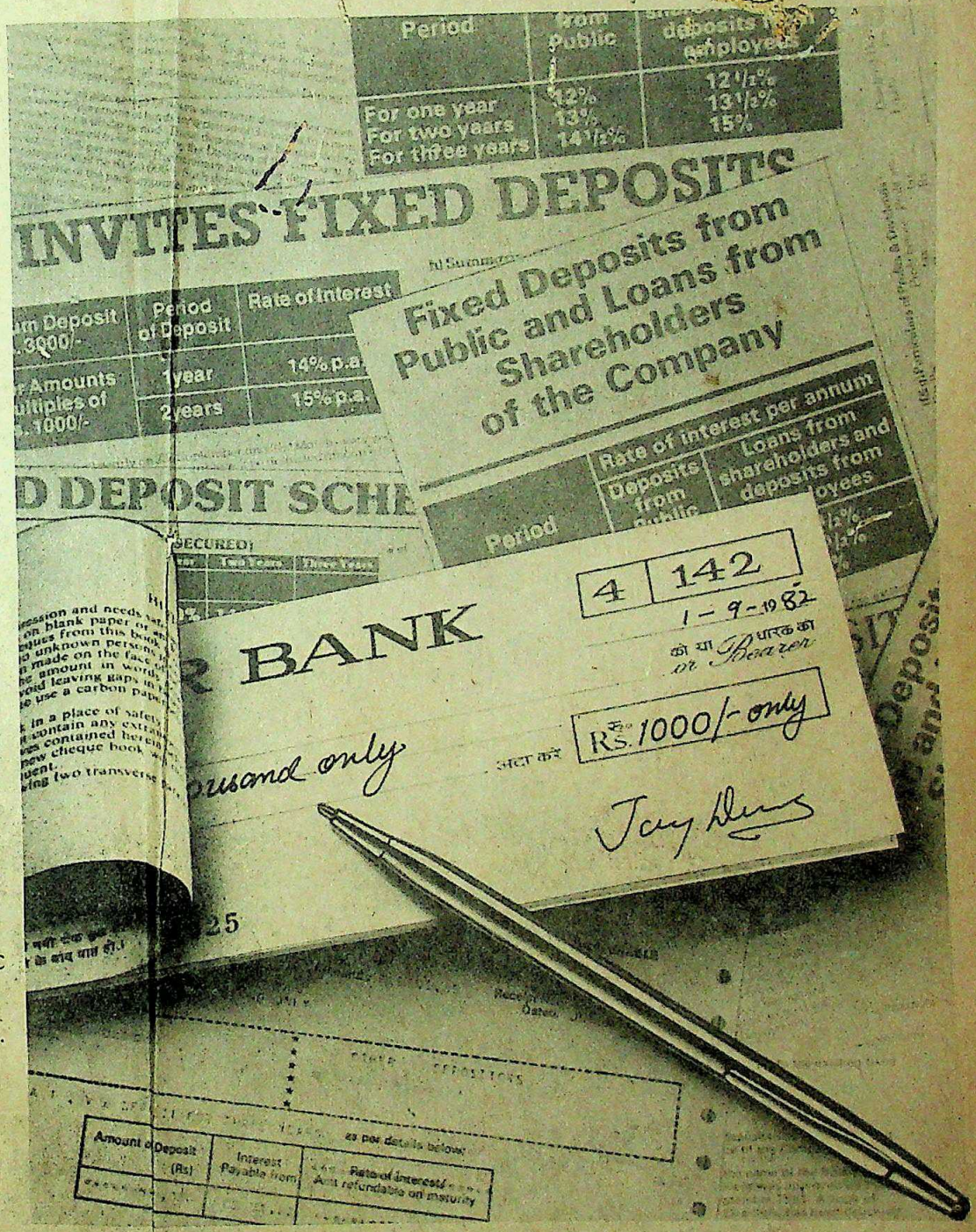

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THE ANDHRA EFFECT

THE CONGRESS(I) High Command's decision to send party MP's and MLA's from the northern states to gauge the pre-election mood in Andhra Pradesh has turned out to be unwise and counter-productive. Because they spoke no Telugu, they were easily found out and their mission did not remain secretive and objective. What is worse, they returned from the state feeling that it was no more with Mrs Gandhi, that the party may lose the election in March and that, in turn, it may affect their own fate when their states face elections next. They have expressed these fears to party leaders in New Delhi as well as friends in their states. Some of them have already sent feelers to Maneka Gandhi and Hemvati Nandan Bahuguna to explore the possibility of joining either the Sanjay Vichar Manch or the Democratic Socialist Party.

MERCENARY MERCHANTS

INDIA'S flourishing tribe of arms' merchants seem to have their ears very close to the ground. Barely days after the dead-end was reached over the supply of fuel for Tarapur, at least one leading arms' dealer has jumped into the ring with an offer to supply the Indian Government with uranium. Though the Government has so far not taken up the offer, the dealer's involvement is curious for one fact. The only country that could supply uranium without any questions being asked is South Africa. And, this particular arms' dealer was involved in the controversial sale of Indian Centurian tanks to South Africa two years ago. Obviously, the arms business cuts across all boundaries.

THE TOSS-UP

THE POSTPONEMENT of the selection of the captain for the Indian team's visit to Pakistan this December has led speculation that Kapil Dev may be favoured to Sunil Gavaskar this time. The skill with which Kapil led India against Sri Lanka in the recent one day matches has impressed many.

Gavaskar (left) and Kapil Dev: the captaincy stakes

But there are many people who fear that captaincy may cramp the batting style of the young Jat from Haryana just as it did Ian Botham's. However Kapil's chances of captaining the Indian eleven are considered bright only if Gavaskar declares that he is not available for the tour. But with only four centuries to score, to catch up with Don Bradman's all-time record of 29 centuries, Gavaskar is unlikely to opt out as he did in 1980 when he was to go to West Indies following which the tour was called off. Gavaskar scores profusely on Pakistan wickets. The selection will take place later this month after the Irani trophy match between Delhi and the rest of India in the capital.

MISHRA FIDDLES

WHILE Meerut was burning, Uttar Prade Minister Sripat Mishra was twiddling his thum capital for three days last fortnight. His mission ence with the prime minister or her son to complain ab cooperation from his ministerial colleagues. Mrs Gand parently unhappy with Mishra for his incompetent ha

Mishra: incompetent administration

the communal riot in Meerut. She reportedly told som confidants that Mishra was worse than Anjiah. One Gandhi's aides says that the MP was annoyed that Mi hanging around in New Delhi instead of doing some control the riots. Mishra obviously hasn't kicked off too w tenure as chief minister.

TAKING THE PLUNGE

DESPITE reservations expressed by chief ministers R. Rao and K. Vijayabhaskara Reddy, Mrs Gandhi is sa going ahead with assembly elections in Karnata Andhra Pradesh in December. Reddy, for one, would have p February but the open defiance by former Andhra Prade ministers T. Anjiah and B. Venkatram and the clam ministerial berths by disgruntled former ministers have m prime minister realise that delay would be counter-produc only help N. T. Rama Rao's Telugu Desam. Anjiah was h become PCC(I) president and Venkatram the governor of Ke both hopes were dashed. In Karnataka, Gundu Rao wa elections held after the World Kannada Conference, but when Rajiv Gandhi reportedly asked him point blank if he sure of victory without the conference's help.

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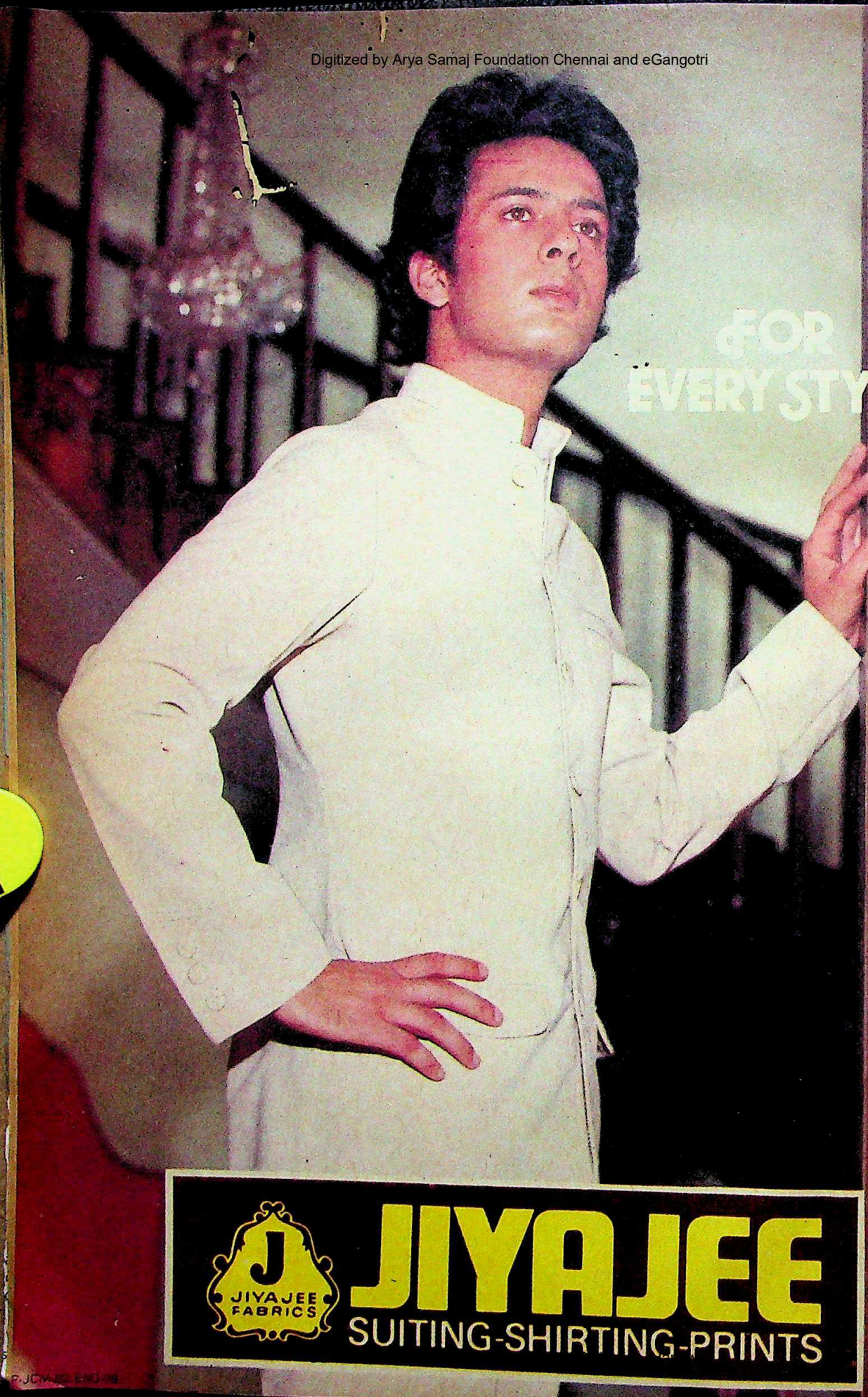

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Marriages are made in heaven, but political marriages in our country are de in Delhi. —*N. Srinivasul Reddy, former Congress(I) minister in Hyderabad*

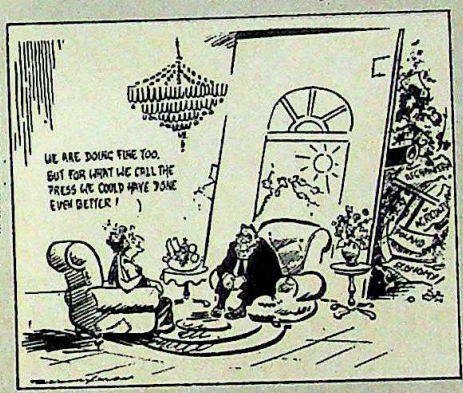
Maneka (Gandhi) has neither a party, nor a flag, nor a manifesto...Why at all uld (she) be a factor in the ruling party's scheme of things? Who is she?
—*Ayub Syed in* Current

The politician, wherever he or she be, is no longer the tribune of the people, articulator of programmes and commitments, but a 'front' for some shadowy, azy and unhealthy lobby or interest domestic or international.
—*Romesh Thapar in* Seminar

As I see it, both government and private sector seminars—barring a small mber—generate more gossip than plans; more fun than fruitful ideas; more ga-nomic delight than mental exercise. —*Vimla Patil in* Gentlemen

Political censorship of cinema operates more insidiously than the proposed ti-press law...the latter seeks retribution after a minister or a public figure is ex-sed, whereas the rigid Centrally imposed film censorship forbids the exposure elf.
—*B.K. Karanjia in* Screen

There is no dissident activity in y state (Andhra Pradesh). I have t heard of anything except some-dy writing in some papers.
—*K. Vijayabhaskara Reddy in* Weekend Review



(Advertising Congresses) are a aste of time. In a nutshell it is just nother perk for our executives; it eates one more platform for ople to whom visibility matters.
—*Bal Mundkar in* Onlooker

They (the tribals in India) should be the subject and not the object of politics. he administration is unimaginative, unscientific and unsympathetic to their cause.
—*Justice P.N. Bhagwati at an international symposium in New Delhi*

Resorting to shouting, dharna and abusive language no longer satisfy some gislators...Obscene gestures, blows and chappals are part of their legislative ocabulary.
—*Editorial comment in the* Indian Express

She (Mrs Gandhi) talked mostly about how difficult it was for her to find a ood cook...how children these days didn't get enough homework. Listening to er, one might have thought that she was a middle class Indian housewife who ad travelled abroad and felt that servants and schools were not what they used o be.
—*Ved Mehta on meeting Mrs Gandhi when she was out of power*

To get a good candidate, the Congress(I) should put up ads in newspapers ying: 'Wanted a chief minister for Andhra Pradesh. Andhras living anywhere in dia or abroad can apply. Qualifications: working knowledge of Telugu. Please pply directly to 1 Safdarjung Road, New Delhi.'
—*An unnamed Andhra Pradesh Congress(I) leader quoted in* Eenadu

I am all for the outdoors (shooting) of the 'Bad Cinema' which is the com-mercial cinema. They (the stars) go with wives and girl-friends to Kashmir if not to Toronto and Amsterdam. They go again and again to match the chinar trees of Kashmir with the pine trees of Switzerland...
—*Devyani Chaubal in* Star & Style

I can't be a second wife—unless my career takes off in such a big way that I won't mind a part-time husband.
—*Actress Smita Patil in* Stardust

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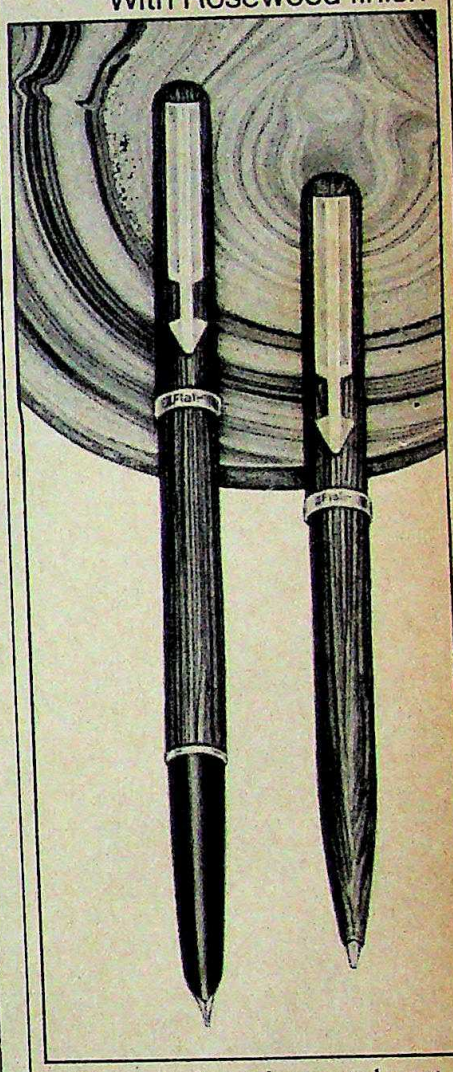

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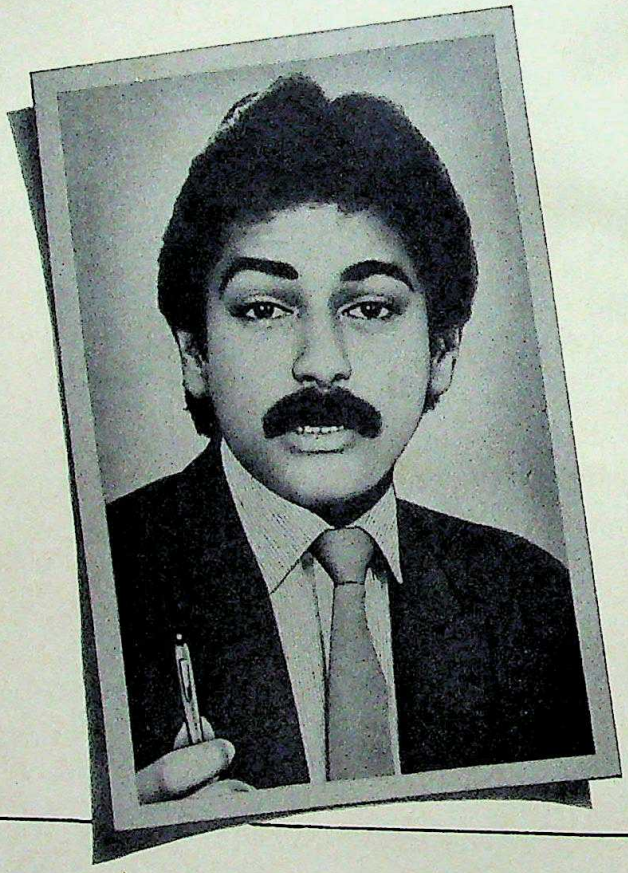
I believe in an appearance that's personal.
A look that says it all without having to say a word...



But first,
a super-smooth shave
to give me the edge."

Erasmic Supreme
The blade with the diamond edge.

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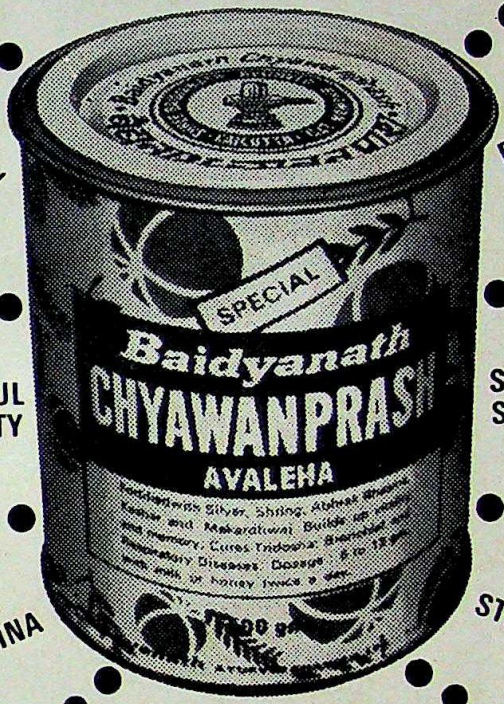
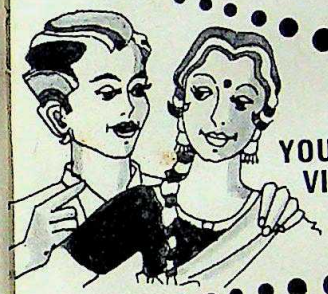


BRONCHIAL PROBLEMS



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SEXUALLY AROUSED

■ Pictures of women with nothing on and with the correct statistics in all the vital places are a dime-a-dozen in magazines these days. So it wasn't really a surprise when a Delhi monthly published a sleek example of cheesecake in a recent issue. Needless to say, the picture of a sinuous young lady left nothing to the imagination.

However, one or two concerned citizens took a good, long look at her and turned up their noses in disgust; in righteous indignation, they took the matter to court. The depositions were rather unusual. The complainant, for one, asserted that he had been sexually aroused by the nude woman and added he was annoyed by Another witness, a do topped this by saying th had felt the same way fact, the lady had had suc effect on him that he did attend his clinic for three d

The magistrate dismi this as ridiculous. He did however, that while the ture of a nude woman was *per se* obscene, the ph graph was not necessary the article. The accused are appear in court next mon

PLUNDER BLUNDER

■ Ministers in Bihar have a knack of getting into scrapes—and out of them. It seems that they are forever looking for ways to 'get rich quick', as a young and smart deputy minister did recently. Considered the blue-eyed boy of Chief Minister Jagannath Mishra, this energetic people's servant reportedly tried to sneak into Nepal with a lot of money, and sneak out with a lot of smuggled goods.

He blundered as only ministers can blunder. In Nepal's industrial town of Biratnagar, close to north Bihar, a flying squad of Nepal customs officials barred the way of the minister and his entourage. They impounded Rs 4,000 worth of glittering contraband goods. Sweat broke out on assorted brows as the officials questioned the

minister for a full hour.

But before he could booked, some senior che post officials on the Ind side rushed to Biratnagar rescued the blue-eyed b Apparently, the man's m take was in not taking t customs officials into his co fidence before setting out his daring venture. Howev his derring-do only yielded perience which, however, cheap at any price.

ON THE BOIL

■ What does a husband do when his wife insists on serving him large helpings of watery *dal*, tasteless tomatoes or *palak* without a kick in it? Does he swallow the insult without a murmur along with the..uh..food, or does he take up arms against the saltless offerings of outrageous cookery? A young man in Surat, Gujarat, last month blazed a new trail of defiance.

He had for long been plagued by the culinary skill of a wife who, it appeared, was a genius at torture of the palate. A few months of this and the young man could take it no longer. Fed up with the food, he told his wife what he thought of it and of her formulas for spices. His wife was unmoved, so he grabbed a

bottle of kerosene oil, pour it on his head and struck match.

In no time at all, wife's screams brought hal dozen neighbours rushing the rescue. They also broug the police, who arrested hi The young man is now covering in a hospital—a his wife is, he hopes, burni the midnight oil over *Indi Cookery Made Simple*.

TICKETLESS RIDE

■ Late one night last month, a Bombay Metropolitan Transport Corporation bus left the Mankhurd station for Vashi in New Bombay 6 km away. The bus carried about 50 passengers, all tired people returning home, and as it roared off into the darkness, he conductor moved down the aisle, clicking his instrument.

He collected the fare from one passenger, but didn't give him the ticket. A mental slip, thought the passenger. The next in the line thought the same as he, too, handed over the fare and didn't receive a ticket in return. But when the third, the fourth, the fifth and so on paid up without getting the ticket everybody realised that they were being had, but good.

They tried to make the conductor spill the tickets. When cornered in his seat, that young man turned away all such requests with the smile that turneth away anger. A

few passengers asked for his name and received the same melancholy smile. He had also hidden his badge in the recesses of his uniform and did not divulge his number. All 5 passengers finally got to Vash without a ticket—which mus be a record in the history o Indian public transport.

—Compiled by JAGANNATH DUBAS

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Y VICHAR MANCH

he Turn Of The Screw

lthough there is sufficient ground for ion against the accused, there is ha- ny evidence to believe that the de- Tikori Singh was actually injured by cused or had been murdered or that was any conspiracy to murder him.

—Excerpt from the order on a bail ation relating to a charge of murder

cused have not been seen removing s. Under these conditions, there is circumstantial evidence against the d.

—Excerpt from the order on a bail plication relating to a charge of theft

NIL Kumar Srivastava, the additional munsif magistrate of Sultanpur, made these comments on October 8, while ordering the e on bail of Akbar Ahmed, MLA, Nath Sonkar, MP, J.N. Mishra—all top s of Maneka Gandhi's singly emaciated San- ichar Manch (SVM). as he spoke, over a ed khadi-clad young were in full cry outside court, lustily yelling anti-Congress(I) slo- A kilometre away, er 100-odd SVM volun- had already started king on the massive doors of the Sultan- District Jail, demand- the immediate release eir leaders, shouting: *ke phatak toot gaye, re neta chhoot gaye*" jail doors have been n and our leaders have released).

ivastava's three-page was the latest deve- t in a case that is at entre of a gripping al drama which in- s in its cast Prime ster Indira Gandhi, her Rajiv Gandhi, the Uttar esh Government and leaders of the feisty -month-old SVM, laun- by the prime minister's ative daughter-in-law ropagate her late husband Sanjay's ideals. Ever since the death of Tikori Singh, Sonkar's personal bodyguard, in a shooting incident on September 19 at Gauri Ganj near Rae Bareli, the bad blood between the ruling party and the SVM has boiled over. For, a week after the bodyguard's death, Ahmed, Sonkar and Mishra—the organising secretary of the SVM—were arrested under Sections 302, 201, 380 and 120B of the Indian Penal Code (IPC)—murder, concealment of evidence, theft and conspiracy to destroy evidence.

On September 25, Mishra was arrested in New Delhi from his residence by the Delhi Police, who had received a wireless request to do so by the state Government. Ahmed was taken in Lucknow and Sonkar in Basti. A fierce legal tussle ensued, going right up to the Supreme Court, and then Srivastava remanded the trio to judicial custody till October 8, when he granted them bail—on a murder charge, an unusual decision. Said a beaming Islam Ahmed, Akbar Ahmed's father and a former Uttar Pradesh inspector general of police (IGP): "The bail orders clearly prove that the entire drama was enacted to malign SVM leaders, with political motives. Let the people draw their own conclusions." Added Mishra: "It is political vendetta because the prosecution has not been able to produce a single eyewitness to a murder in which we were allegedly active participants."

Srivastava's three-page order was the latest development in a case that is at the centre of a gripping political drama which includes in its cast Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, her son Rajiv Gandhi, the Uttar Pradesh Government and the leaders of the feisty seven-month-old SVM.

PICTURES BY V. PREMI

Mishra, Ahmed and Sonkar on their release from jail: a legal victory

Shooting Incident: Tikori Singh's shooting took place, according to the police, in the three-room Gauri Ganj inspection bungalow of the Public Works Department where the SVM leaders were staying. A first information report (FIR)—No 78 in crime No 112—filed by Sub-inspector Ram Kumar Tripathi says that at 8.45 a.m. he heard a gunshot followed by shrieks from inside suite No 1, booked in Ahmed's name. Tripathi and his colleagues were, he says, prevented by Ahmed, Mishra and Sonkar from entering and later on saw all three carrying an injured person out of the back door. Tripathi also alleged that Sonkar drove away along with the injured person in car No URM 1270 towards Rae Bareli.

Curiously, the FIR was registered under Sections 307 and 201 of the IPC—attempt to murder and attempt to destroy evidence—although no investigations had been made to see if these sections were appropriate. At 11.07 a.m., another FIR was filed by 55-year-old Ram Ajor, the bungalow chowkidar. He stated that on entering the suite he found a carpet, a bed sheet and a pillow missing and alleged that the three persons had removed these articles without his permission. Ajor told INDIA TODAY: "I requested Ram Prashad Singh, a panchayat pradhan, to write out a complaint on my behalf. I am a poor man and receive Rs 422 a month. I can't afford

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to replace expensive articles." Ajor's FIR was registered under Section 308, IPC. SVM leaders dispute both the times and the dates of the FIR's.

The state Government moved quickly when it learnt that Tikori Singh had died of gunshot injuries in Lucknow's King George Medical College Hospital at 6.30 p.m. on September 19. State Home Secretary Ram Chandra Takru summoned a few newsmen and disclosed that a person had been killed in a firing incident. The All India Radio nation-wide news bulletin said that a man had died in a scuffle between two SVM factions. On September 21, the case was referred to the Criminal Investigation Department (CID) and a team of senior police officials—including Deputy Inspector General of Police Arun Bannerjee, Superintendents of police (SP) Laxman Prashad and U.C. Ghildiyal, and Deputy Superintendent of Police (DSP) Sri Ram Sharma—was detailed to investigate the Tikori death.

Swift Arrests: Meanwhile, the SVM leaders reacted vociferously to this zeal. On September 22 Maneka charged that state Chief Minister Sripat Mishra, IGP, S.C. Dixit, Minister of State for Forest and Animal Husbandry Sanjay Singh and Home Secretary Takru were acting on Central Government instructions to implicate SVM leaders.

CID officials said that the arrests were ordered after 40 people had been questioned. Says Bannerjee: "It was only after we were convinced that a prima facie case had been made out that we decided to arrest them to complete our investigations. After all, the unnatural death of a human being has to be explained." Adds Takru: "None of the accused made any comment on the incident in which their own worker died; they made only political statements. They treated it as if only a fly had been killed."

According to the state Government, the important charges were: that the accused tried to cover up the whole incident and didn't inform the police about it; that they prevented the police from entering the room; that none of the accused came forward to give their point of view and cooperate with the police in finding out the truth. The SVM leaders are vehement in their insistence that these allegations are false. Says Ahmed: "It is a blatant lie to say that we wanted to hide it from the public. If that was true, Sonkar wouldn't have taken Singh to a government hospital."

The corpse of Tikori Singh: the plot thickens

ACCORDING to the Rae Bareli hospital records Tikori Singh was admitted at 10.00 a.m. Said Dr Prakash, who treated the wounded man until he was shifted to the orthopaedics department: "The patient was brought in a very bad shape. We treated him like any other case of accident. After covering the bleeding wounds with pressure bandages, we gave him six bottles of glucose for strength." The hospital authorities say that they informed the local police a.m. of the case and requested magistrate to come and record statement in case his condition d ted. Sonkar also claims that he formed in writing Rae Bareli Su dent of Police Jitendra Kumar a whole case at the hospital itself.

Police officers deny this, b doctors admit that senior police including the SP, the DSP and the officer were present in the hospita time. Says Dr Subodh Mittal, chi cal officer, Rae Bareli, who was hospital even though it was a Sund came in connection operation on a VIP. On a woman was killed by officer's vehicle and brought in dead. When cussing this incident w local SP in the operation Sonkar came and asked could take the injured to Lucknow for treatme agreed and a police c and an employee were s Tikori Singh to Lucknow.

In Lucknow, Singh w to the King George College Hospital, again a ment-owned hospital. H doctors informed the polic said that a legal medical ca registered at Rae Bareli. statement was also record said that his right leg h injured by mistake by from his friend's gun. A and an SVM worker Sheetla Prasad signed as witnesses. This statement b ved most damaging for the Government because under the I statement by the deceased is consider the final version of the events whic death.

Inconsistencies: The police ma that Tikori Singh's statement wa dying declaration, but Magistrate Sr said in his order: "It is abundantly clea

Chief Minister Mishra, Sanjay Singh, Home Secretary Takru, DIG Bannerjee, Sub-inspector Tripathi and chowkidar Ajor: hasty

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Maneka coming out of Sultanpur jail: capitalising on the publicity

statement is that of Tikori Singh only. It s the cause of death. This statement is, efore, a dying declaration under Section f the Indian Evidence Act." The state ernment is likely to challenge astava's ruling, but the statement has dy caused the police force enough emssment and if it is finally accepted as a declaration then all the cases against M leaders collapse automatically.

he SVM leaders have also pointed out g inconsistencies in the two FIR's. Subctor Tripathi's FIR, the first of wo, states that Sonkar had left the alow at about 9.00 a.m. On the other , caretaker Ajor's FIR states that Sonkar ted the room along with Akbar and ra at about 10.00 a.m. after signing the ter. In fact, Sonkar was at the Rae Bareli ital at that time and Akbar and Mishra addressing a public meeting at Munshi j, 30 km away.

The state police also maintained that they had recovered a pillow and a chair cover from the bathroom which had been used to clean the blood spots on the walls. It is interesting that Ajor who entered after the SVM leaders had left noticed nothing of the sort. Says Sonkar: "We didn't stop anyone from entering the room. But even if this allegation is true, then why didn't they enter the room after we had left? The entire report was an afterthought."

Jail Moves: Although the police completed the whole investigation within five days they could not produce a single eyewitness in court. It is alleged that an attempt was made to implicate only Ahmed by wooing away Mishra, Sonkar and Sheetla Prashad. In fact, Sheetla Prashad was the first to be arrested; he was incarcerated in Rae Bareli jail and was not transferred to the Sultanpur jail until October 7. He was isolated from the other SVM leaders in the jail because, he says, "they wanted me to become an approver of the police."

The release of the accused on bail has unnerved the state Government. Afterwards Takru tried to argue that none of them was ever arrested on murder charges—a strange assertion since they were bailed out of a murder charge. Said Takru: "Our investigations are still in progress. It was our endeavour to find the weapon, its owner and the actual cause of its being fired. We would have approached the court with the proper charge-sheet." However, investigating officer Sharma said: "A chain of circumstances proved that it was a case of murder, misguiding the police by stating that it was a simple explosion and washing the blood-stained clothes. They behaved like thieves."

Political Mistake: But SVM has scored a legal victory and political observers are speculating over a hasty move that has given Maneka and her fledgling set-up reams of valuable publicity. The reasons for the overkill are factional infighting in the Congress(I) and overzealous state leaders and bureaucrats. According to sources, two state ministers, Veer Bahadur Singh and Sanjay Singh, convinced the Central leadership of the soundness of the case. They also convinced chief minister Mishra, who was perturbed by the erosion of the party's base in Sultanpur and Rae Bareli districts. As Ahmed had chosen Sanjay Singh for his target, Singh was ready to hit back. And everybody was anxious over the way Maneka was drawing large crowds in Amethi from where she has said she will contest the 1985 general election.

Moreover, by squashing the SVM leaders, the state Congress(I) was expecting a hefty pat on the back from the high command in Delhi, which was deeply involved in the whole affair and cleared each step of the state Government. Between September 19 and September 24, over half a dozen senior state officials flew to New Delhi twice to brief the big guns. Soon after Mrs Indira Gandhi returned from the USSR, all her partymen launched into anti-Maneka tirades. G.K. Moopanar, All India Congress(I) Committee general secretary and party treasurer Sita Ram Kesari went so far as to say that Maneka should change her surname.

In all the hullabaloo, it is clear that the SVM is making political capital with great gusto. Comments Uttar Pradesh Lok Dal leader Mohan Singh: "When Mrs Gandhi has on her side advisers who cannot even frame foolproof cases and who expose Mrs Gandhi's political machinations, we don't need anybody's help to destroy her already low credibility." By her Government's frantic over-reaction to Tikori Singh's death, the Congress(I) has given respectability, however temporary, to an organisation of unemployed youths and college drop-outs.

—PRABHU CHAWLA in Sultanpur

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the debate ends with CEAT

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I MUKTANANDA

mooth uccession

HE REACTION was instantaneous and deeply anguished. The moment they heard their guru had died, dis- of Swami Muktananda Parama- 73, poured into his Ganeshpuri n near Bombay. The hordes stream- n the winding Bombay-Ahmedabad ty which leads to the twin temple- of Ganeshpuri and neighbouring hwari, where Muktananda's guru i Nityananda lived and died. Virtu- very flight that came in from abroad the next few days brought in a few foreign followers, and the extra state ort buses laid on by the Maha- a Government were full and over- g with the huge crowds kept coming in from all ndia.

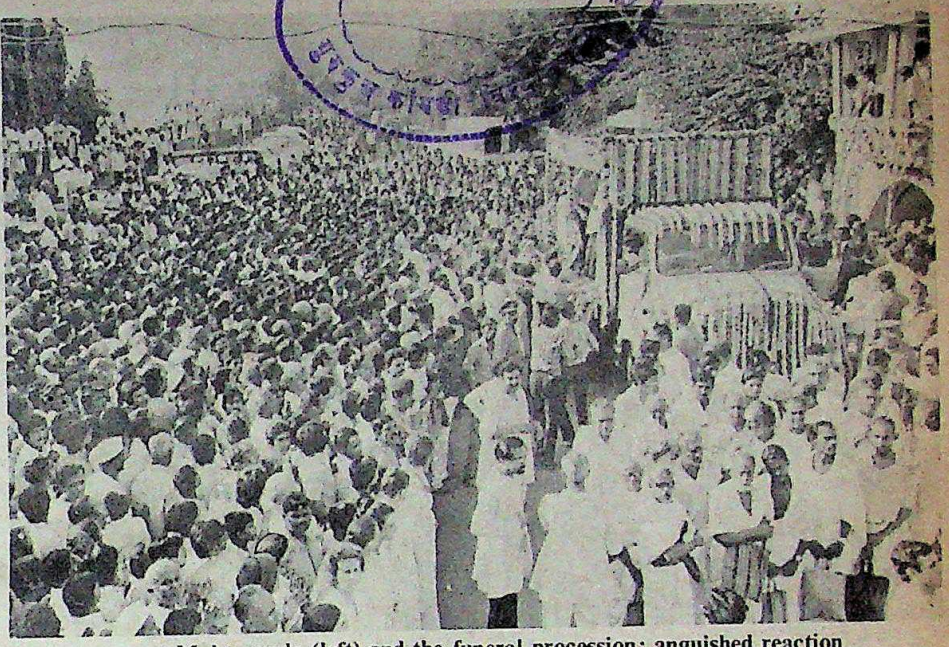
Three days after his death were still arriving: the m's free community n had fed over 25,000 many more ate at the icated western cafe- When the guru's funeral e was taken down the w, tree-lined road to shwari and back, a mob of thou- accompanied it: most disciples could only a far-off glimpse of the cere- ally-robed body which was seated in sic lotus pose atop a flatbed truck.

Settled Succession: Soon after he was d in the room he lived in since 1947, ananda's ashram began to return to al with surprising speed: outwardly seemed changed as Muktananda's -girdling 37 ashrams and 300 medita- centres began a continuous 16-day in honour of the guru. Since the l issue of succession had already decided by the guru more than six before his death, there was little inty or insecurity among his band ples.

uktananda planned his succession lously for more than 15 years. The groomed two young children, Malti Subhash Shetty, to ultimately take from him: early last May, showing a ising premonition about his fate, d an elaborate "yagna" to herald the uncement that the sister-brother team succeed him. Said Dr Eugene Cal- , a distinguished Muktananda dis- who, in addition to being a leading light in the American civil rights movement and professor at the Columbia Business School, is a Presbyterian minister who runs the largest church in New York's Harlem ghetto: "I realise we're all human beings, and that there can be friction or a succession battle. But Baba Muktananda prepared us very well for this: he brought up the two successors, groomed and installed them, and in every way made it clear that they will have all the powers he did. He's forestalled anything unpleasant which might have arisen."

But the actual installation of the stripling gurus—Malti is 24 and Subhash turned 20 last fortnight—can only take place after a team of Shaivite priests from the Shankaracharya lineage proclaim them "siddhas", or self-realised beings. On October 17, at the end of a massive "mahayagna" ritual, the pair will formally inherit Muktananda's vast spiritual following world-wide and, in cash terms, a transcontinental empire worth over Rs 100 crore. Included in their flock of disciples will be over 2.5 lakh foreigners and more than 5 lakh Indians.

Chidvilasananda (left) and Nityananda: an unchallenged transition



HARIDAS STRASSMORE

Muktananda (left) and the funeral procession: anguished reaction

While most of Muktananda followers are wary of commenting on it, opinion on the succession is clearly divided. Although the guru had made sure that no rival contenders to the "gaddi" existed, many in the ashram remain uncertain about just how loyal they will be to the new pair. Said one foreign devotee of many years' standing: "I would never break away or leave the ashram, but for me the guru will always be Muktananda, and these two merely the heads of his lineage. But there might be others, particularly swamis who were already in positions of authority and running ashrams and centres abroad, who decide to break off and become independent." In Ganeshpuri last fortnight, however, the hordes were already prostrating themselves before the shaven-headed, saffron-clad young gurus. It was clear that for most, the transition would be uncomplicated.

Continuing Expansion: Future plans for Muktananda's empire will not be announced till the rituals associated with his death are over, but indications last fortnight were that the new gurus would continue his plans for the rapid spread of "siddha meditation" both in India and abroad. Embarking on a massive propagation drive since he returned to India at end 1981, the guru had organised 140 two-day "meditation intensives" around the

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country in the past year. Aimed at giving the participant a glimpse of what 'siddha meditation' can do for him, the "intensive" was Muktananda's major expansion tool. Abroad too, his ashrams and centres conducted regular "intensives" in places where the guru was relatively unknown: a result is the burgeoning number of ashrams and meditation centres, which have sprung up in obscure towns in South Africa, the Bahamas and Nigeria among other places.

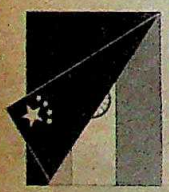
Part of Muktananda's training for his successors was in the organisation of his "intensives". Only last August he sent Subhash, renamed Swami Nityananda, to Australia on a two-week tour and Malti, who will be called Swami Chidvilasananda, to his international headquarters in South Fallsberg in the Catskill Mountains near New York. Already plans were on the anvil for further spiritual tours by the two.

Although she refused to disclose precise details of their tour plans, Chidvilasananda reaffirmed last fortnight that, "Baba's work will keep going. He left some swamis, some teachers and some devotees, and through them you will all keep on receiving Baba's message." Added Callender: "It's a surprising thing, but I think we're going to be spreading Swami Muktananda's message even faster now, I think it's going to grow a great deal more. To me it's like what happened after Christ died, when his teachings spread like wildfire, I think we're going to have a similar pattern with all of Baba's trained disciples going out to spread his word."

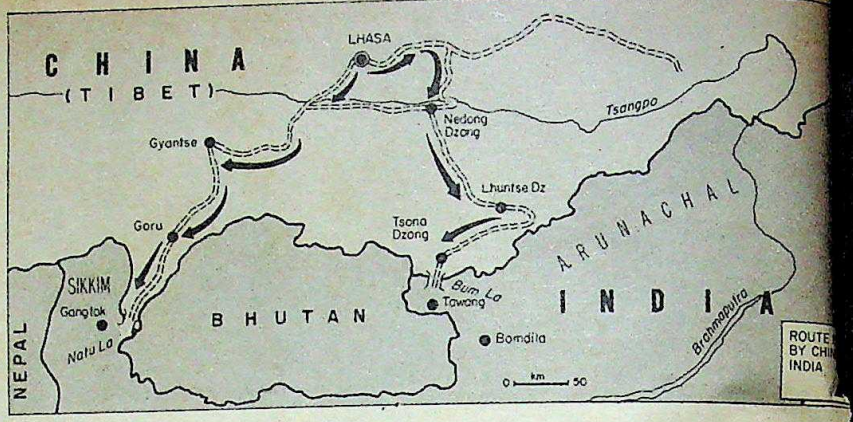
—CHANDER UDAY SINGH

DEFECTORS

A Small Trickle



THE MORE intellectual spy thrillers seem to revolve around one central plot—the trials and tribulations of a defector, usually from the eastern bloc to the West. Though surprisingly little is known about such matters, the files in the military intelligence office in South Block on defectors to India are unusually large and make interesting reading. It is not, however, the stuff that best sellers are made of, simply because most of the recent defectors have been low-ranking Chinese soldiers, traders or Tibetan monks.



The most recent case was that of Zhao Wei, 21, a soldier in the People's Liberation Army (PLA). On July 4, in the early hours of the morning, the border guards at the Indian post straddling the invisible McMahon Line dividing India and China were faced with an astonishing sight: a young, bedraggled Chinese soldier, his rifle slung across his back stood before them, his arms raised in surrender. For the border guards, an armed opponent surrendering to them was definitely not a part of their daily routine. The most they had experienced were shepherds and grazers who had mistakenly strayed across the no man's land. It was only when the message regarding Wei trickled down to Eastern Command Headquarters in Calcutta that military intelligence realised they had a defector on their hands. Immediately, a helicopter was dispatched to fly Wei down to Gauhati for interrogation.

Unwelcome Guests?: Wei, however, was only the latest Chinese defector in the files. According to sources, during the last six months, no less than 12 Chinese nationals have surrendered to Border Security Force (BSF) officials and asked for political asylum. All of them had crossed over the border that stretches across Arunachal Pradesh and Sikkim.

According to Home Ministry officials, four Chinese nationals had crossed the Sikkim border on July 16 and two the Arunachal border on August 14. Though ministry and army intelligence officials were reluctant to discuss the ramifications, they admitted that "each defection has created its own problem with the Chinese Government which, naturally, has good reason to be suspicious and unhappy".

However, the more crucial question was The Indian Government's current relationship with China which is in a fragile condition. According to a military intelligence official, the Government has ordered the army to hand the defectors back to Chinese border authorities; this decision stems from the Government's keenness to keep Sino-Indian relations on an even keel. "crosses over hoping for sanctuary— hand him back!" complained the "You can imagine the fate of those handed back." He also pointed o logically, that such an act would o to deter other more important defe might be in a position to provide intelligence information.

So far, the Chinese defectors h monks, traders or very low-ranking like Wei who are hardly likely to India with an intelligence scoop. cases, the reasons they gave for were classified under "person "ideological". For instance, Wei Chinese engineers claimed that "t fed up of life in the commune and more freedom". Though the grant cal asylum is incorporated Constitution, the Indian Governme to have a phobia about the defecto possible 'plants'; hence their reluc grant them asylum.

Official Antipathy: Most of th are accepted would probably reg decision, once the authorities were with them. A defector is first taken by military intelligence for intern this could take anything up to two He is then transferred to the care o police for the same period, and fi Central Intelligence Bureau gets act. The entire interrogation proc around six months after which the def kept under detention for a year or before release.

Little wonder that a large num defectors have committed suicide w der detention. Those who manage to course usually wind up in Calcut they try to be assimilated by the community there; but they are st surveillance and are regarded w picion by their Calcutta brethr that, together with the attitude authorities, should act as a suffi terrent to potential defectors.

—ASO

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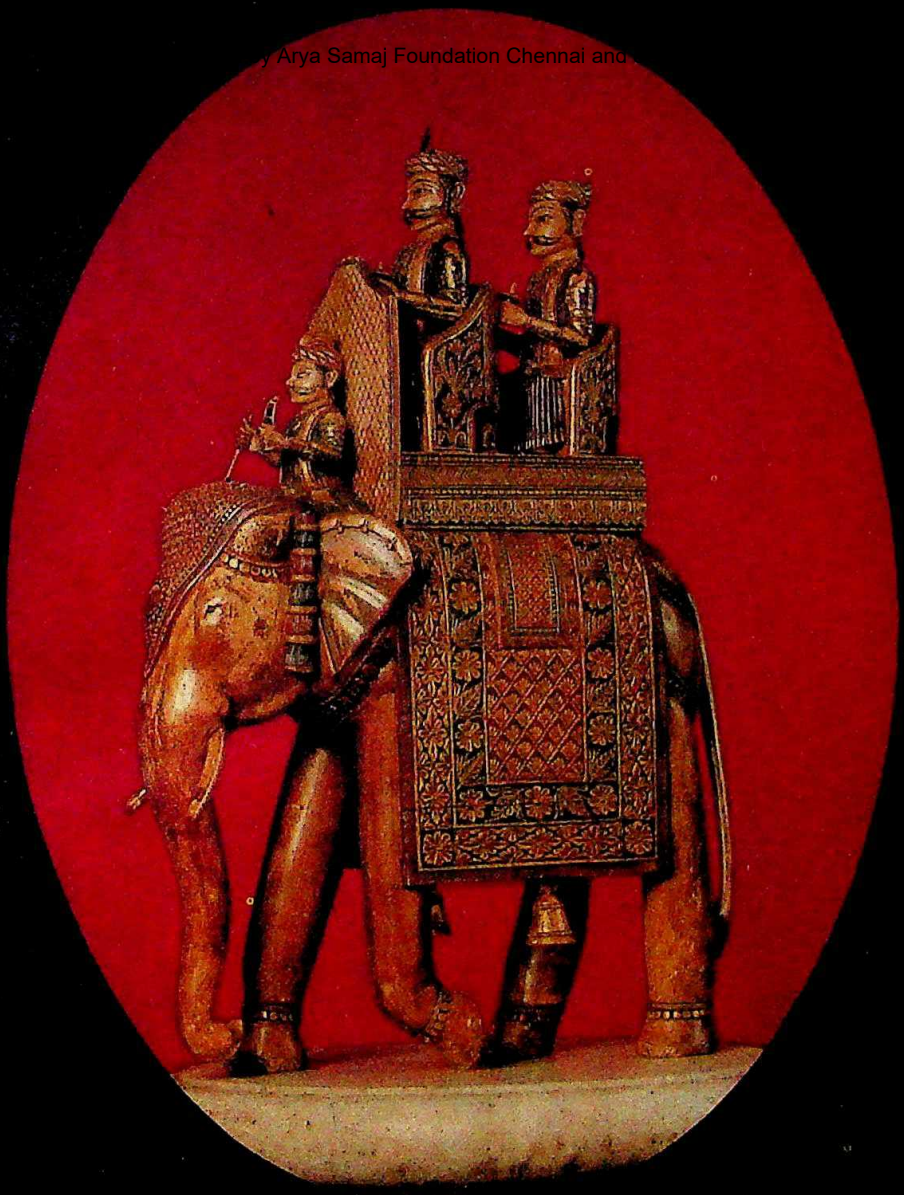

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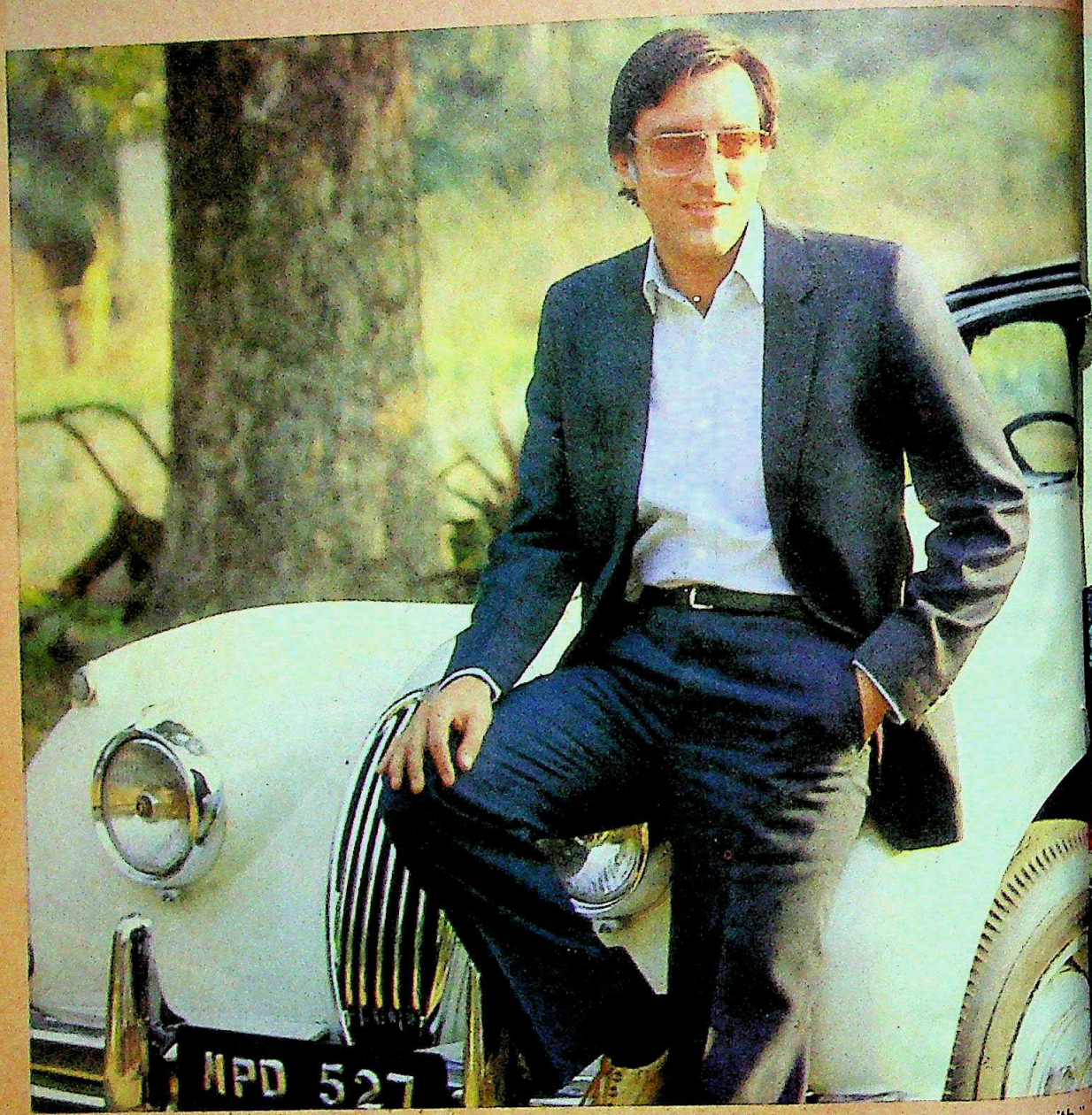

"I'm not a great believer in the dictates of fashion... In fact, I dress as casually as I can get away with."

—Mansur Ali Khan Pat

A man of unerring good taste, Pataudi dresses with a quiet elegance. Though he does give in to the convention of a black tie and suit if the occasion calls for it, he much prefers the informal blazer.

Interests: sports, mainly cricket and classical Indian music.

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Connoisseurs of the Year

"I really don't think style is something you can learn... It must come naturally—or not at all!"

—Madhavrao Scindia

Suave and decidedly debonair, Scindia carries off his clothes with the natural flair of a born sophisticate. He switches with the greatest ease from the traditional bund-galla to natty sports jackets.

Interests: breeding horses, conservation of wildlife and photography.

DIGJAM

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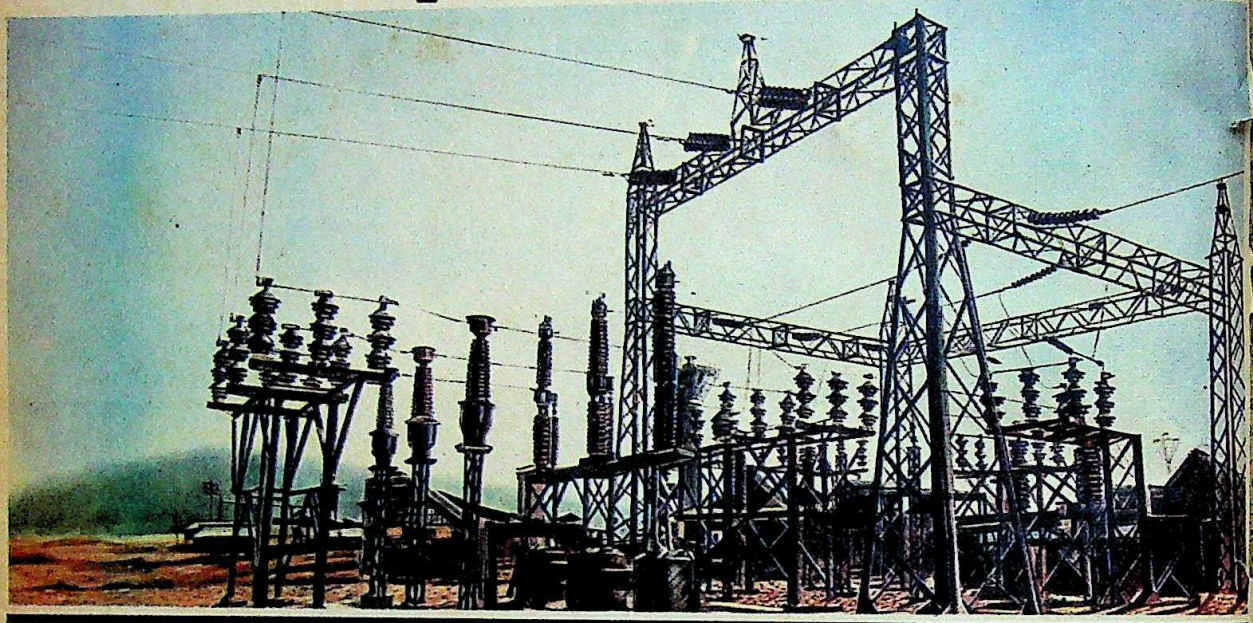

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BENGAL

ludslinging Match

PRASANTA SUR, West Bengal's minister for urban development is used to the limelight. His efforts to rescue Calcutta's badly-maintained streets has brought him praise, even opponents of the Left Front. But otlight has now shifted uncomfort-nd in focus is a scandal that could him as yet another percentage-seek-olitician.

The charge against Sur is that he hown undue favour to two contract-rms, M.S. Contractors and Krupp neering, who were engaged in earth-work for 175 acres of largely hy land in the eastern suburbs of tta, where a World Bank-assisted ship is being planned. The complaint at the firms were allowed to up their s from the agreed Rs 9.91 per cu ft to 2.60, and a week later to Rs 17.60. e increases and other cost escalations the cost of the venture from the cted Rs 1 crore to Rs 4.5 crore.

Objections: The matter came to light a World Bank visiting team objected e cost rise in July year. In the following h, the state Govern-set up a five-member ry committee, made of Indian Administra-Service officials, who itted their report in h this year. One of ommittee members, B. objected to the price ation.

On receiving the re-the state Government tained a discreet sil-But the storm broke the tail-end of the ate Assembly session rtnight, when inspired by a report in alcutta daily, *The Telegraph*, the ition brought the embryonic scan-out of the shadows. Led by Cong-I) Whip Subroto Mukherjee, the osition led an enthusiastic attack on demanding that another enquiry com-ee be instituted. Rejecting the demand, f Minister Jyoti Basu promised to into the matter himself.

Sur defended himself saying that if had been guilty of any wrongdoing he ld not have consented to the enquiry last year. He maintained that the price escalation had been agreed to by a committee of senior Calcutta Metropolitan Development Authority (CMDA) officials adding: "How can I question them on technical matters?" The explanation does not fit in with the fact that Sur is not known for taking things at face value and meekly signing on the dotted line. About the rule that all price increases have to be approved by a full meeting of CMDA's board, Sur said that if this was followed rigidly nothing would get done.

Favourable Facts: What buttresses Sur's case is that during the first two years of the project, 1978–79, little work was done because of law suits brought in by local residents who feared eviction. In this period the factors on which the price estimates had been based had changed and therefore the CMDA and Sur, its vice-chairman, could do little else but agree to increased charges. In a note to the Government the CMDA has also cited similar problems faced by other agencies in the state. But what remains unexplained is why the CMDA agreed to two price hikes within two weeks.

Sur: endangered record

Even if Sur emerges vindicated, and his spotless record so far tilts the odds in his favour, the feeling will persist that he was guilty of bad judgement. He is also suspected of trying to protect guilty officials of the CMDA. To this charge, Sur replies: "If anybody is found guilty he will be punished." Another thing that worries Marxist leaders is that because this project is funded by the World Bank, the Centre may soon step into the act. Last fortnight, the World Bank's urban development mission chief in Calcutta, Braz Menezes, issued a reassuring statement: "The state Government and the CMDA have hitherto responded promptly with corrective action when matters relating to World Bank-assisted projects have been brought to its attention."

But the real danger, feel many of Sur's colleagues, is that even if the minister is exonerated some of the mud is bound to stick. And with the enquiry being conducted by the Government, there are sure to be lingering doubts.

—SUMANTA SEN

A.K. Antony: few options

KERALA

Sparring Partners

THE BRIEF honeymoon between the Congress(I) and the Antony Congress appears to be coming to an acrimonious end. From the angry exchanges of the last few weeks it would seem that all hopes of a merger have finally been buried. In fact, it remains to be seen whether the recent clashes between the two parties will bring the shaky coalition crashing down.

The differences between the two parties burst into the open the moment the coalition came to power. The first major confrontation came over the choice of a nominated Anglo-Indian member to the Kerala Assembly. The seat had been promised before the elections to Stephen Padua, who belonged to the Antony group. But while the formalities were being worked out, Frank Anthony, former MP and leader of the Anglo-Indian community shot a bolt from the blue by demanding that the nominated seat should go to a man of his choice. Congress(I) leaders point out that Frank Anthony was Mrs Gandhi's lawyer and reputed to be close to her, therefore his wishes could not be ignored.

Uncompromising: This is disputed by Antony Congressmen who say that Mrs Gandhi would not interfere in such a minor matter. Says A.K. Antony: "When the earlier Karunakaran ministry was in office, Stephen Padua stood solidly behind the then government so there is no question of a compromise regarding Padua's nomination this time." One of his trusted lieu-

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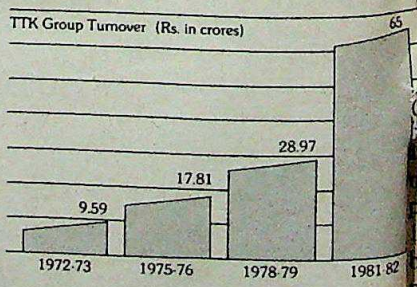

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goes further saying: "This is just use. They want us to crawl and join ngress(I). We would rather remain at we are than kneel before Lord akaran and others."

he suspicions of the Antony group een increased by stances taken by Congress(I) leaders. Recently the President of the Congress(I) K.G. di reportedly ruled out a merger "the Antony Congress can join the ess(I) as rain drops in the sea."

lose on the heels of this came a ent by M.M. Jacob, Rajya Sabha d general secretary of the Kerala h Congress(I) Committee (KPCC-I). announced that the party's member-campaign would end on October 5. was interpreted as a threat by the y Congress, though Jacob denies aying, "I got a telegram from Delhi ed by a detailed circular showing chedule for our organisational elec- and when questioned by the press I nybody can join before October 5."

Charges: The two statements have ht the muck to the surface. The

Karunakaran: threatened position

Antony Congress claims that Jacob has personal reasons for not wanting the merger. Dissidents in the Congress(I) also hurl their own charges against Jacob. Now the Antony Congress is raking up the fact that the Congress(I) is said to have worked against their candidate in the Nilambur by-election.

All these charges and counter charges have vitiated the atmosphere and have come between Jacob and Home Minister Vayalar Ravi, who have been trying to work out the terms for a merger. Many Congressmen point out that Ravi was one of the first people to abandon the Congress(I). Says one Congress(I) loyalist: "Vayalar Ravi was the first man to stab Mrs Gandhi during the Janata regime after enjoying the fruits of the Emergency when he was Kerala's Sanjay Gandhi." Ravi declines to answer such allegations but says: "Unless the Congress merges in Kerala there is no future for them with the Marxists at the backdoor."

He has a valid point, and is also probably aware that the Antony Congress is not in a position to drive hard bargains. The Election Commission has not yet granted it recognition as a political party, nor has it been allotted a symbol. But if they are not given their due they could threaten the very existence of the ministry. Says a top Marxist leader: "At this rate without our even lifting a finger A.K. Antony will help us to bring down the Karunakaran Ministry before it completes a year."

—SREEDHAR PILLAI

HARYANA

Bhajan's Band

THE POLITICS of defection breeds its own compulsions. Chief Minister Bhajan Lal has to satisfy he hordes who defected to his party; e also has to offer his partymen incenives to prevent them from defecting. Last fortnight he was expanding his lreadly bloated ministry by inducting wo more members into it. He made it lear that the addition of Mohan Lal Pipple, 47, as chief parliamentary secreary and Amar Singh Dhanak, 52, as parliamentary secretary would not be the end. Says Lal: "I shall welcome talent." His latest moves come barely wo weeks after he denied wspaper reports as "sheer agination".

In the 18 weeks as chief inister, Bhajan Lal has added Cabinet ministers, eight inisters of state and two arliamentary secretaries; also 0 Congress(I) MLA's have een appointed chairmen of ublic sector corporations or oards. Though these offices re considered 'non-profit offices' they carry the same perks s that of the Cabinet ministers—free car, posh bungalow, free telephone and retinues of servants. Two Congress(I) legislators have been made speaker and deputy speaker.

At the rate Bhajan Lal is going there seems to be some danger that all the 58 MLA's will be provided for, 36 of whom won on Congress (I) tickets and 22 who defected later to give life to the 'Mandali'.

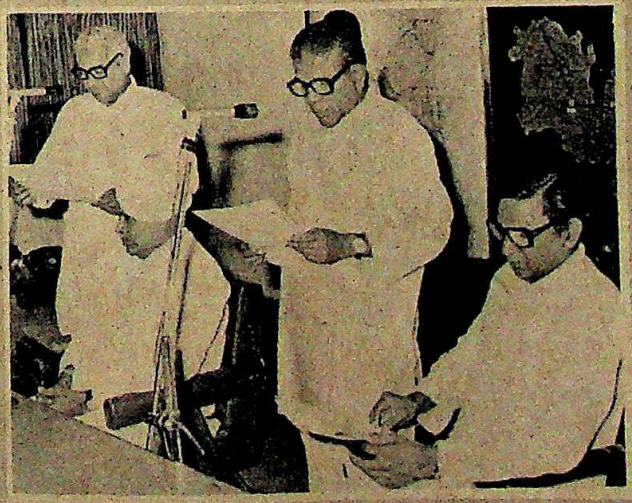
False Claims: Cautious man that he is, Bhajan Lal took no chances. Before he made the additions he flew to Delhi to seek the approval of 1,Safdarjung Road. He also engaged a tantrik to perform a *puja* in Kurukshetra to ward off any evils the additions might bring.

Bhajan Lal's latest additions, however, gave the lie to his frequently repeated claims that there is unity in the party. He is at great pains especially to emphasise that there are no differences between him and the former Union defence minister, Bansi Lal, whom he describes as "elder brother".

Both Pipple and Dhanak belong to powerful groups which are doing their utmost to squeeze all that they can from Bhajan Lal. Dhanak who won on a Lok Dal ticket from Bhiwani Khera in Bhiwani district is a staunch supporter and the choice of Bansi Lal. Similarly, Pipple is a lieutenant of Union Agriculture Minister Rao Birendra Singh who wants adequate representation for his men in the Haryana Cabinet.

There are others in the queue. Union Minister of State for Energy Dalbir Singh was keen to have his brother in the ministry. Bhajan Lal will certainly have to make more adjustments if he wishes to keep everybody satisfied. In all likelihood it will only be a matter of time before he is able to find something for everyone.

—GOBIND THUKRAL



Dhanak is sworn in as Pipple (right) waits: something for everyone

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ANDHRA PRADESH

Ready For Trouble

DISCREET in their outlook, bureaucrats have by time-honoured tradition, been self-effacing in their intended function. Rarely have the real political pressures determining their working environment found overt expression. However, in what appeared to be swift retribution for sinning against the establishment last fortnight, Akepati Vidya Sagar Reddy, 37, who recently made news by his public statement criticising politicians, was transferred out of the post of special officer of the Hyderabad Municipal Corporation that he had taken charge of barely three months ago. Asked to await his new posting, Reddy immediately went on leave.

In an unfortunate coincidence, Reddy, a rugged infantry major of the Madras Regiment turned administrator in 1973, accused the state's politicians of being "bootlickers of Delhi brokers" on the day the Congress Legislature Party met to elect Vijayabhaskara Reddy as its leader. He was reported to have said that the Andhra people were to blame for their present state of affairs with politicians of all sorts claiming supremacy over their own people and "bastardising" the environment. Reddy declared that movements called Bharat Desam and Daily Telugu Nadu were being launched. The former aims at being a forum to make government servants conscious of their rights and their role in public service.

A.V.S. Reddy: bold statement

While the fact that he issued the statement as chairman of the newly formed Association of All Government Employees (AAGE) is a factor in his favour, it is doubtful if the Government can avoid taking into consideration the intemperate language in the seven-page statement. Chief Secretary B.N. Raman has asked him to explain why he went to the press. Said Chief Minister Reddy: "A normal person could not have issued such a statement." And state Youth Congress(I) President V. Hanumantha Rao, who has now b minister, added that "an officer irresponsible should be sacked."

Rebuttal: Refuting all however, Raman said that Reddy was one among the several that made in the normal course. It wa theless significant that after t Government was formed, as man of the 229 IAS officers working in at various levels, from comm down to district co were served transfer or

Among the bure themselves, Reddy's st seemed to have ge mixed feelings. While felt that he should no made such observation continuing in service, them commented: "h honest and works ver but is over-ambitiou suffers from a touch of lomania." Others, ho argued that it was h gedness in improving the Vijayawa poration as special officer that ma an automatic choice for the Hy post. This being the first time bureaucrat had gone to the press ing the role of politicians they i

HYDERABAD

A Silenced Scapegoat?

THE SOLUTION was as puzzling as the crime. Last fortnight, Hyderabad police claimed to have solved the murder of 45-year-old Vera Stieber, wife of the director of the Max Mueller Bhavan (MMB), who was rushed to the Osmania General Hospital in the early hours of September 3 by husband Hans Rudolf Stieber with a gaping wound on her left cheek and died of shock and haemorrhage a little later. Exactly a week after Vera's death, 19-year-old Shabeerullah Khan, described as a "cat burglar" and an "ex-convict" by the police, fell to his death from a tree near a house he was reportedly trying to burgle. Four days after this, the police announced Khan's links with the Stieber killing—Khan's palm prints, the police said, tallied with those on the Stieber bungalow's living-room door.

This convenient answer left a lot of questions hanging. For one, the police have been unable to establish Khan's motive for killing Vera Stieber. For another, the police themselves appear to doubt their own explanation as they are hesitating to declare the case closed. Admits Hyderabad Police Commissioner T. Ponnaiah: "The palm prints alone cannot confirm that Khan is the killer but the involvement cannot be ruled out."

Baffling Crime: The police have been groping in the dark ever since detectives and tracker dogs moved into the four-bedroom Humayun Nagar bungalow of the Stiebers, the official residence of the MMB director. Surprisingly, they found everything in place—except for a sword the Stiebers had bought in Amritsar. The sword, stained with blood, was lying Vera's bed. Blood trails led to the roo of the husband and Vera's 79-year- mother Albertine Sommer; husband a wife slept in separate rooms as Ve couldn't sleep in an air-condition room.

Suspect Khan (left) and Vera Stieber: parody of detection

The detectives were baffled becau the killer did not seem to have left a traces. The Stiebers' neighbours, the st of the MMB, both the maids and gardener were questioned, but still leads were found. Says Dep Commissioner P.V. Seshagiri Rao, w led the investigation: "We called in tired officers experienced in crime de tection to help find clues. I went arou to police stations and the scenes of recent attempted thefts to check on th culprits' *modus operandi*."

The police appeared to have crack the problem when Shabeerullah K died a week after Vera. They put out vivid details, the story of how civic he inspector Mohammed Ghousuddin spotted a stranger on the wall surrou ing his house in Lal Tekdi at about a.m., how he had called for help neighbours had rushed to nab the ranger, how the stranger had leapt on nearby tree only to fall to the ground in

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had voiced feelings that they were to even echo. Indeed, politicking in state administration—caste-based s drawing lines of Brahmins versus ans, and insiders versus outsiders—eached such heights that it has led l officials to opt for work outside the

Good Record: Reddy himself had wor- Vijayawada and in Krishna district as nee and later as a sub-collector and tor. He was reputed to have main- a delicate balance in a highly politi- onscious district, earning compliments eaders of all political parties including eran Marxist leader P. Sundarayya. In he had spent five of his six-and-a-half- long administrative career in the ct.

Letters have poured in complimenting on his statement and some have even oned him to be extremely careful before ng files against any attempt to force him a wrong decision. In fact, Reddy has d for extra time to reply to the chief tary's memo which was sent on October ys he: "My intentions are only to focus e degeneration and the need for a strong l fibre. I believe in sacrificing everything he sake of self-respect, loyalty and rity."

—AMARNATH K. MENON

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ntaneous death. The police revealed a glass cutter was found on the dead ; they also took his finger, palm and prints. Four days later, Ponnaiah d a press conference where he said Khan's links with the Vera Stieber der were proved.

Police Theory: Two groups of finger- specialists concurred on the fact there were 16 points of similarity een Khan's palm prints and those d on the living-room door. The po- heory is that Khan entered through a ow and left by the front door wi- t taking anything. Seshagiri Rao him "a lone operator, an ordinary who wanted to steal but not to kill" ys that he was probably surprised a Stieber while he was looking for hing to steal, struck her with the and escaped.

For all Rao's belief that the police named the right man, their version e crime is being termed a parody of e detection. And Khan cannot tell eal story. Stieber says dejectedly: her Bhavan directors speak of the erabad bungalow, rented for Rs 0 as the best in the country. For me it roved to be the worst."

—AMARNATH K. MENON

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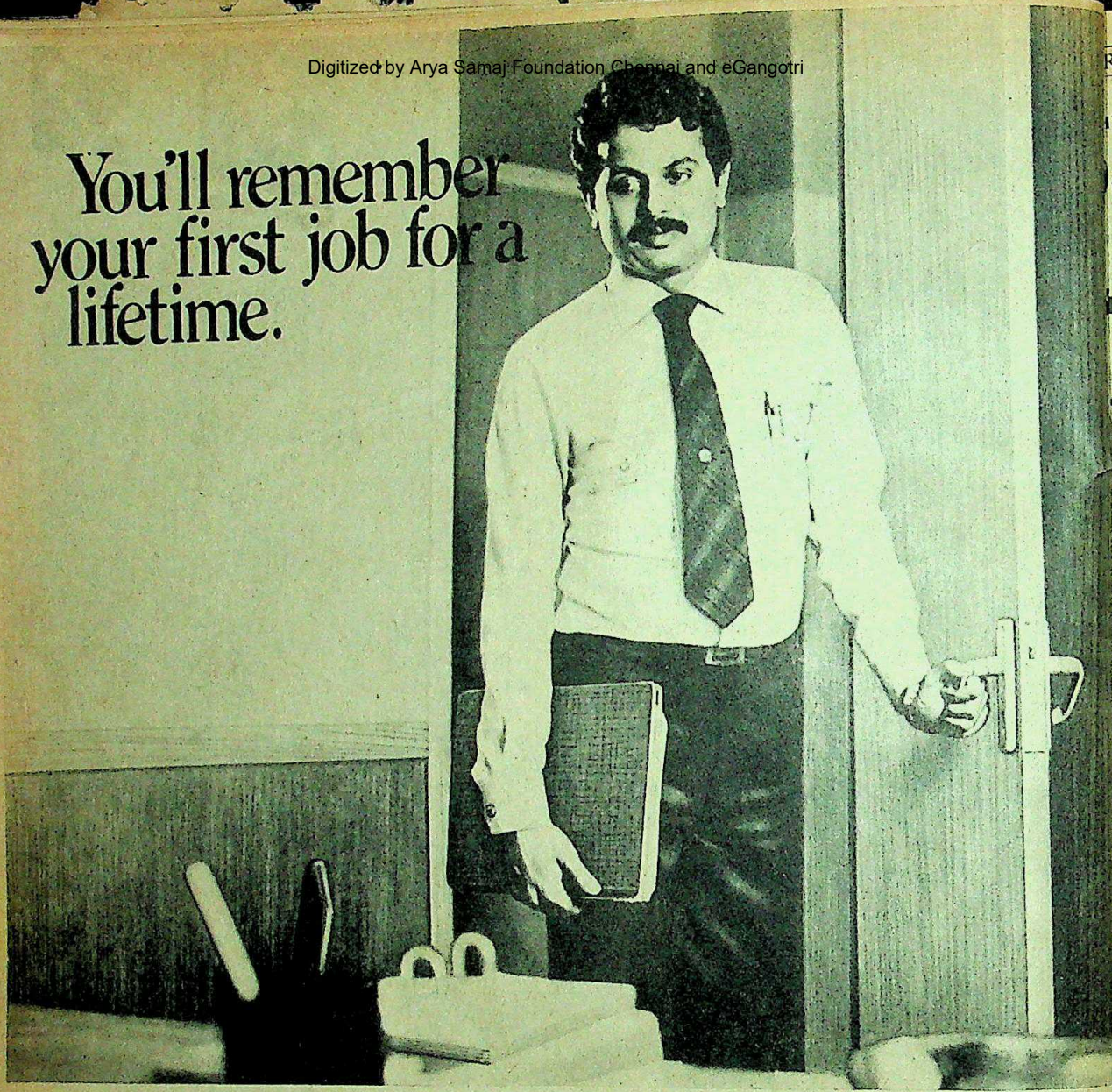

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IYA PRADESH

omestic Discord

LAST week, by sacking Hazarilal Raghuvanshi, minister of state for home, Chief Minister Arjun Singh rid himself of a 'souperman' who had a knack of landing from one soup into er with bewildering rapidity. So pro- the Raghuvanshi family to getting ouble that the minister had become ourite focus of attack by the Op- on and by the press. Late last month, vanshi was in the thick of it again state Assembly as the Opposition d for him and his own party legisla- merely sat back to enjoy the show. proar centred around Shriram alias nu Pehalwan, the minister's younger er, who has gained notoriety for his disrespect for the law has turned him into a in Raghuvanshi's con- ncy of Seoni Malwa in angabad district.

n a recent incident in al, a drunk Gammu d into an office of the ulture Department and a young female clerk, na Saluja, to come with Saluja, a divorcee, was rly posted in Seoni Mal- om where she got herself erred, apparently to rid f of Gammu's attentions. But nu was persistent and no one in the made a move to help Saluja.

When Saluja left office, Gammu, who aiting for her outside tried to force accompany him but fortunately this bystanders rescued the girl and for- e police to arrest Gammu. He was in under Sections 451 and 509 of dian Penal Code—house trespass to it an offence and act intended to the modesty of a woman. However, u was released immediately on bail.

azen Act: Raghuvanshi said in the that he had severed links with his f, adding that the police action had mpartial. Said Chief Minister Arjun of the incident: "No attempt what- was made to block the police." But have disregarded the fact that the n initially were reluctant to take ac- when required. Adds former chief er and Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) V.K. Saklecha, who is a lawyer: e police wanted to be fair they have resorted to Sections 353 and 354 of the Indian Penal Code—criminal force to deter public servant from discharge of duty and criminal force to a woman with intent to outrage her modesty. Under the Sections used, Gammu has the chance of reaching a compromise and saving his skin once public uproar dies down." But more than the legalese, what has really shocked Bhopal is the sheer brazenness of the act. The normal reaction has been: "If he could try that in the capital, he could do anything in his home town."

Raghuvanshi has invited attention in the past either because of his family's or his own acts. He tends to use both his temper and his language rather freely. In the first half of the '70s local Congress politics led to Raghuvanshi's constant humiliation and persecution—a background that probably explains his street-fighter instinct when under attack. He excelled himself on one occasion in September 1981 in the Assembly when, faced with a barrage of charges, he screamed at the Opposition: "If I expose your black deeds you will be left only in your underwears... when Mr Patwa (the opposition leader) was speaking you were clapping like *hijras* (eunuchs) of Bhopal." Raghuvanshi illustrated this tirade with obscene gestures.

Raghuvanshi: 'Souperman'

The prelude to his act was the Assembly session in which Sunderlal Patwa, BJP and opposition leader, attacked Raghuvanshi. He produced a picture of Raghuvanshi with Jaggu an alleged dacoit who was later arrested. He also produced documentary evidence to show that in one case in which a police official and a powerful liquor contractor in Hoshangabad district had been charged with rape, the public prosecutor had been instructed not to oppose their bail.

Apart from that, more than one BJP meeting in Seoni Malwa was disrupted last year by Congress supporters. The police always preferred to look the other way. Even Gammu played havoc—there was at least one occasion when he beat up a railway official with little provocation.

A storm arose when in November last year, the police arrested Kunwar Singh Mandloi, former legislator and 34 others on a murder charge under bizarre circumstances (see INDIA TODAY, January 31) in Raghuvanshi's constituency. Raghuvanshi and Mandloi have been political rivals for 20 years and there were valid allegations that the charges were trumped up. A Hoshangabad court found the accused not guilty and in fact the judge commented on irregularities in the police investigation.

Again, in mid-September 1981, a Youth Congress leader who was a member of the local 20-point programme committee of Hoshangabad district did the unheard of by walking into a police station and beating up a head constable and threatening him because of some arrests the policeman had made. The leader's father is a close supporter of Raghuvanshi's. Soon after there was an uproar in the Assembly over the attack. Four days after the debate, the head constable was found murdered. The Youth Congress leader and his associates are now standing trial for murder.

Another Mishap: But just when Raghuvanshi thought the focus had shifted away from him his sons promptly brought the spotlight right back. In the first week of August this year, a jeep driven by his son Omi fell into Bhopal lake killing one of the occupants and injuring two others. A case of rash and negligent driving was registered against Omi. Earlier, another son was involved in an accident in which a policeman was killed.

Arjun Singh states that Raghuvanshi was inducted into the Cabinet initially because he was an active legislator and an old and faithful party worker. Ironically, only days before the sacking, the chief minister said: "Neither do I have any regrets about his inclusion nor do I think controversies surrounding him have damaged the party image to a substantial extent."

—SREEKANT KHANDEKAR

BIHAR

Letter Bomb

BIHAR Chief Minister Jagannath Mishra's running battle with the press continues unabated. At issue now is a letter the chief minister is alleged to have written on behalf of Professor Ramnath Singh of Muzaffarpur recommending him as an office-bearer of the Sanjay Vichar Manch (SVM) to Maneka Gandhi. On September 24 the Bihar SVM chief Lalit Mohan Singh released a photostat copy to the press—and sparked off a furore.

The news was immediately picked up by two Patna dailies—*The Indian Nation* and the *Aryavarta*, both owned by Mishra's *bete noire* Rajkumar Subeshwar Singh. Mishra was quick to deny that he had any dealings with the prime minister's

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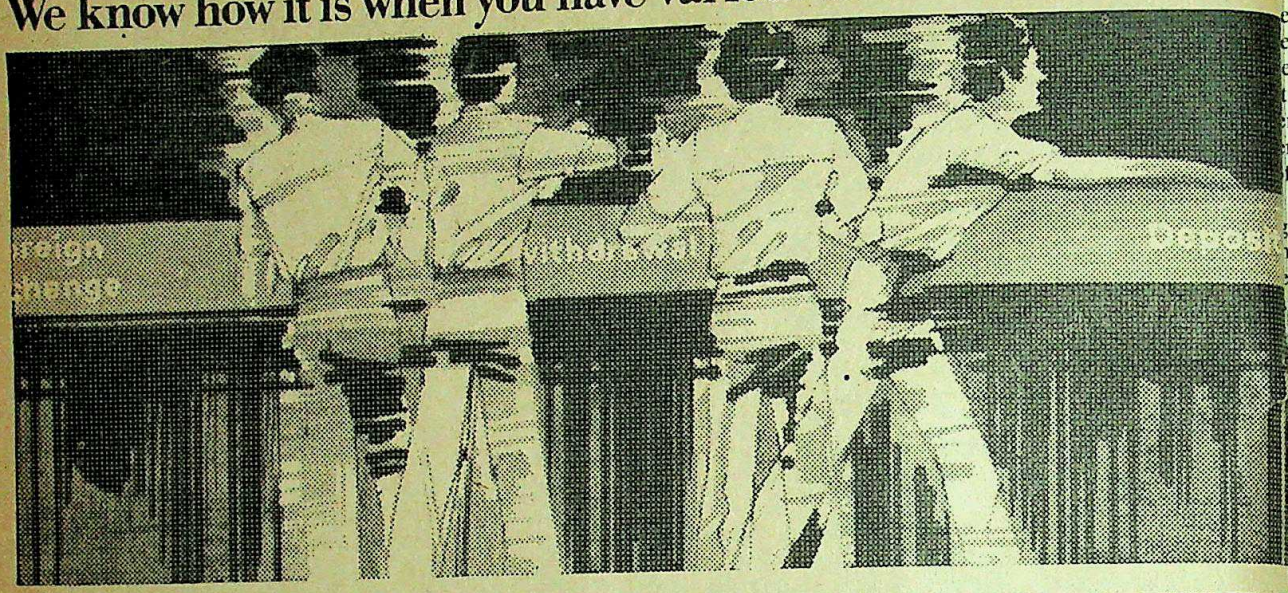

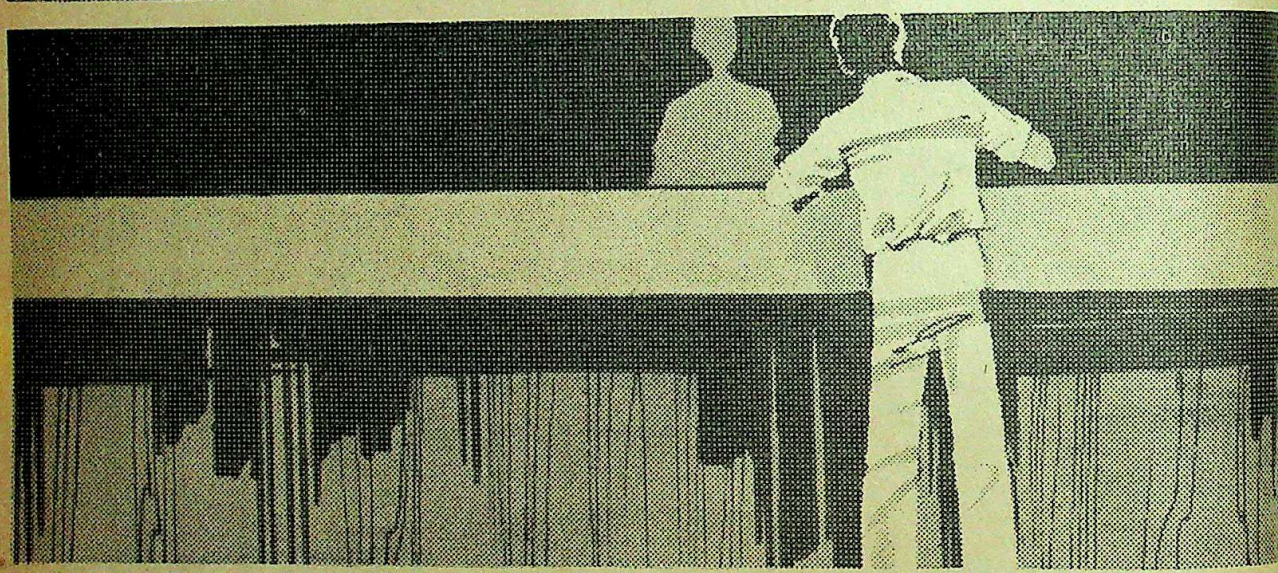

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er-in-law and called the letter a erfeit document" and declared it er cent bogus". He maintained that at copies distributed at the press nce were dismissed by most of the rs as forgery, saying: "So much so f the local papers except *The Indian* and the *Aryavarta* made even a reference to it."

effort to divide the journalists in the appealed to the press corps to "judge ionately" whether the two dailies stified in publishing a letter that they be spurious and asked: "Where can k redress against such an act of ail and character assassination?" d under this volley of denial the two published Mishra's statements on ont pages.

harges: This, however, was not the the matter. Mishra's private secre- dged an FIR (first information re- lleging cases of fraud, forgery, cri- conspiracy and abetment against Mohan, Subeshwar Singh, Deena- ha, editor of *The Indian Nation*, and Jha 'Shashtri', editor of *Arya-* nd the reporters. As if this was not , on October 4 the Patna police the offices of the dailies without a warrant and went through the ca- f the two editors, the printer and er G.M. Bhutt, the block proces- oom and seized the photostat copy shra's letter. Lalit Mohan who has for a CBI (Central Bureau of Investi- enquiry had been arrested earlier he police announced that in the of the investigations the others also be booked—a ploy they hope ep the editors in line.

ishra's stand on the matter is clear. d that he was inclined to believe *The Indian Nation* and the *Aryavarta* me Sanjay Vichar Manch followers olluded and conspired together to

THE INDIAN NATION

आर्यावर्त

The controversial letter: furore

forge and print the letter". Deenanath Jha, one of the prime movers of the anti-Press Bill agitation, quickly retorted: "The attempt to implicate the Rajkumar who was not even present in Patna appears to be malicious."

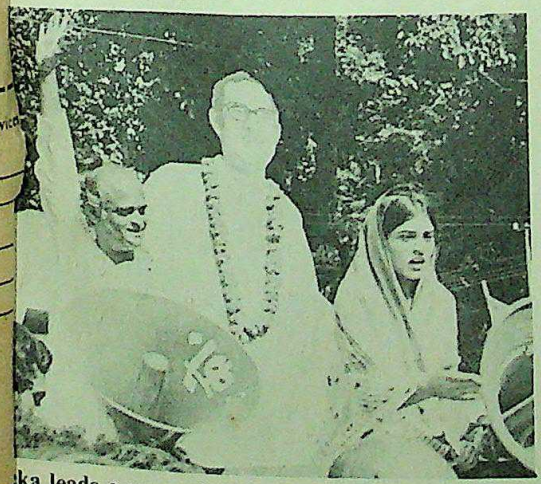
On October 2, Maneka Gandhi entered the fray and during her two-day tour of Patna and Muzaffarpur launched a fiery blitz against the Mishra Government. Soon after her arrival in Patna she told newsmen that she had received the letter from Mishra, adding: "I sent this letter to Lalit Mohan Singh for verification . . . I believe it was written by Jagannath Mishra . . . I know Dr Mishra. He is in the habit of keeping sweet relations with both sides."

Large Crowds: The day after she arrived, a huge rally protesting the Press Bill was organised at Gandhi Maidan from where she led a procession through Patna's thronging streets to Raj Bhavan to submit a memorandum to Governor A.R. Kidwai. The memorandum highlighted the "corruption and misrule" in Bihar and called for the dismissal of the Government and the imposition of President's rule.

Elated by the success of the rally, which apparently had drawn larger crowds than even the ones organised by Jayaprakash Narayan, the chief minister's nephew Sudhir Kumar Mishra, who recently defected to the SVM, said: "Madam has done miracles. She created a storm which will sweep away Mishra's corrupt ministry."

But from then onwards the trip was all downhill. At the next stop, Muzaffarpur, where she drew a 50,000-strong crowd, Maneka was not able to speak for more than a minute or two. The cause apparently was dissension within the SVM workers, many of whom were apparently inebriated.

The fiasco did not allay fears in the Bihar Congress(I) camp. The anxiety was not just because of the mammoth crowds that Maneka had drawn, as this was put down largely to her curiosity value, but because many Congress(I) workers and flags were spied in the procession. Said a disenchanted Congress(I) leader: "It is no wonder if some frustrated workers join her as Jagannath Mishra has no place for honesty and loyalty. Our apprehension that Mishra will destroy the party is slowly coming true." Maneka's visit only heightened the apprehension that with the state-wide opposition to the Press Bill, cases of corruption pending in the Supreme Court and flagrant dissidence within the party, Jagannath Mishra may be his own party's worst enemy. —FARZAND AHMED


ka leads a procession in Patna; massive response

GUJARAT

Fuelling The Fire

LAST month's oil well fire in Gujarat, 40 km from Baroda, was successfully "capped" by Oil and Natural Gas Commission (ONGC) personnel with help from the army, three days after the fire erupted. But in capping the well, the ONGC seems to have inadvertently opened up another Pandora's box that raises some embarrassing questions about their operations and the possible involvement of some ONGC personnel in what appears to a large-scale racket in oil thefts in the western region.

While there can be nothing but admiration for the way in which ONGC men tamed the fire that broke out on September 27, the ONGC will take long to live down the embarrassment caused by the manner in which the holocaust started. For, this was no chance mishap but something that happened while four men were

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on a routine mission to steal oil.

Organised Racket: Pilferage from Gujarat's oilfields has assumed the proportions of a major racket (see INDIA TODAY, June 15, 1982). Mehsana, with more than 200 wells, has become a happy hunting ground for the crooks. More than 40 thefts have been registered during the last two years, more than 50 people arrested and several vehicles impounded.

No such cases have been registered in Baroda district so far. If any have been filed in Broach district, where the Ankleshwar oilfields are situated, details are not available with the regional headquarters at Baroda. Says an ONGC spokesman: "Whenever thefts come to our notice, cases are filed." It therefore required the Gavasad fire to focus attention on the racket here. During the night the fire started, four men arrived at the well with a tanker, some spanners, monkey wrenches and gunny bags. They loosened some nuts and bolts on a pipe leading from the well to the group gathering station nearby and then opened a valve. To muffle the sound of the gas gushing out, they tied the gunny bags around portions of the pipe. The oil was collected in a nearby pit and then pumped into the tanker.

Police investigations so far have shown that the tanker was half full when the blaze started. Nobody quite knows what exactly happened. ONGC officials suggested that one of the thieves must have dropped a lighted match near the well; police have come up with the theory that the tanker's suction pump burst.

Three of the four men were caught in the flames and suffered serious burns. The fourth, Ishwarbhai Keshavlal Dhanani, who owns the tanker, brought them to the General Hospital at Baroda where all three died in the next few days. One never regained consciousness; the other two provided the police with vital clues. They named some ONGC men working at Ankleshwar in their dying declarations.

Both the police and the ONGC officials appear to have no doubt about the fact that some of the commission's employees are in collusion with the crooks. Said H.G.T. Woodward, ONGC Member (Onshore): "We believe there is collusion. But ONGC has no investigating agency within the organisation. Our vigilance wing is more concerned with cases of misappropriation and other acts of corruption." Woodward added: "The racket has been going for too long. We should not have waited for a fire to do something."

Difficult Task: The question will do it? The ONGC maintains the Gujarat Government's resp to guard the oil wells and oth lations. Gujarat Government offi admit that they have to shoulde sponsibility. "But," says R.V. amouli, Gujarat home secretary, "i not possible to find the manpower all the ONGC's wells in Gujarat."

Colonel S.P. Wahi, ONGC who flew in to Baroda the day fire broke out, told journalists he pressed his concern about the pilf a meeting with senior Government officials in the first September. "We are asking for a inquiry into the fire," he said.

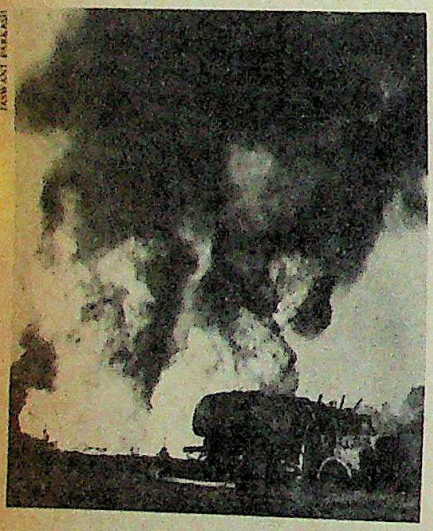
Before the CBI took over inve on October 8, the Gujarat CID c breakthrough with five arrests. P among these were Ishwarbhai D Rashid Shaikh, the junior techni ONGC's Ankleshwar project who revealed to the oil thieves the valve o on the well-head equipment, and Khan and Chand Karim Khan alle ders of the gang. Raising the stron bility of collusion at senior levels, th revealed that at least Rs 10,000 were some ONGC employees for each stole of oil (capacity 10,000 litres). Th further identified a few factories in Surat and Udhana which have been pilfered oil for use in furnaces.

While the suspects admitted to at least three trips in recent wee sources suggest that there is enough to indicate that they have been steali the Gavasad oil well for the last two

Meanwhile, ONGC has appointe cial squad to inspect well-head equip the western region. Said Wo "We are also thinking of requis the services of the Central In Security Force. Patrolling by police ready been intensified and the number has gone down."

No estimates about the losses ca the Gavasad fire or the cost of the fighting operations were available. T has raised other questions. For instan was hours before the ONGC heard Woodward would not comment on lay, saying that the information h sent to the Union petroleum minis has to answer queries in Parliame Baroda Fire Brigade, which rushed fire tenders, said they received a ca nine hours after the fire broke out.

Said Woodward: "There is no measuring the losses from the well there is little doubt that a lot of black going up in smoke. —SONNY A



(Clockwise from top left) The burning well with the thieves' tanker nearby, spewing oil and gas after the fire has been put out and firemen fighting the flames: unanswered questions

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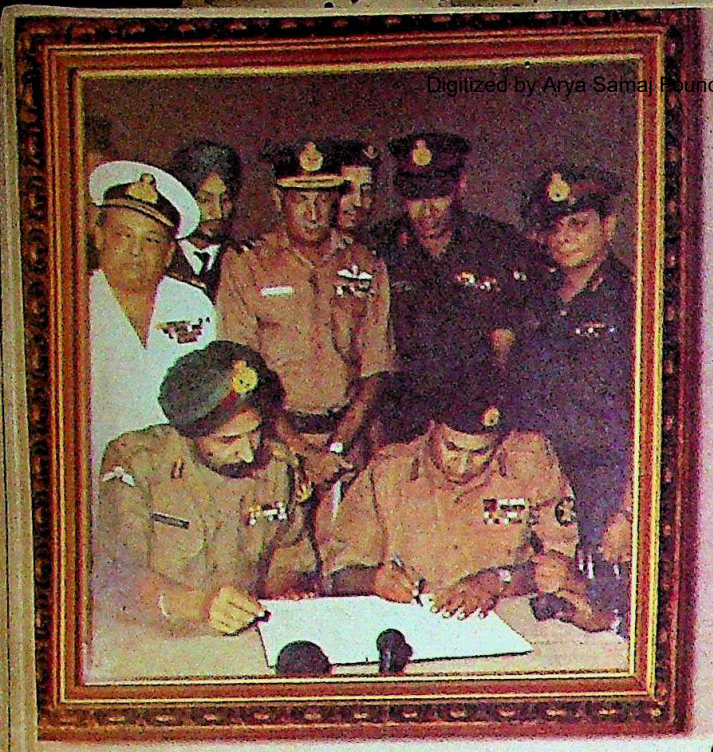

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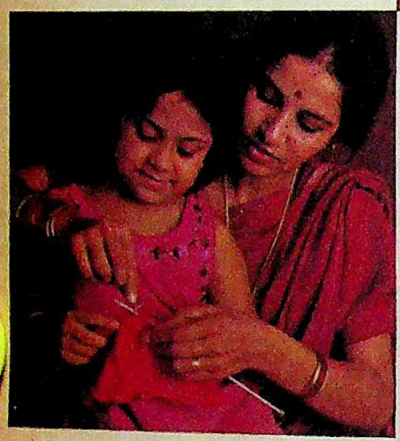
"She's just six, but it's amazing how much like an adult she thinks and acts. And she's already begun to develop the interests and emotions of a woman."

There are times when I watch her little-girl games, and smile at her make-believe... and suddenly, I see the emotions of a mature woman showing through. She asked me for an old feeding-bottle, and I thought it was for her doll. But no, she actually bottle-fed the pup! She said it was because the dolls never respond to affection, but the pup does! She's even learning to knit—I still don't know whether it's for the dolls or the pup...



It's an experience, watching her grow up. I worry that I might not give her the guidance she needs. A little child's emotions can be so fragile... I encourage her, without rushing her... she wants to help in the kitchen, and she's so small she isn't any great help. But to feel that she's helping gives her a sense of responsibility. That's important for a child, when she grows up she'll have more than enough to worry about.

And she's getting used to the idea of managing on her own. Because the woman in her won't wait. Even as she studies, each day she grows more interested in sewing, knitting, housekeeping, and cooking...

As I watch her with her dolls, I almost feel that I'm already a grandmother. And that's when I ask myself, am I helping her to prepare for what lies ahead—school, college, career, and motherhood? At this stage, the best way I can teach her is by love and example. Like the meals I cook—it's more than just food for the body. It's a woman's expression of love. The extra trouble, the care, all to make mealtime so much more enjoyable. I believe a mother's love is an essential part of any recipe... and I know they can taste the difference.

Rath Vanaspati.
Because the language of a woman is love.

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JAIL

n Inside Story

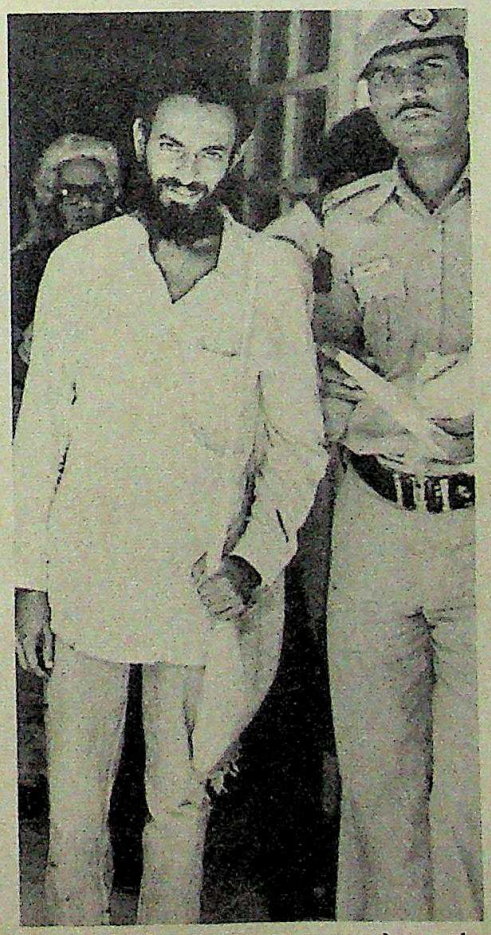
HE LEAN, intense, bearded young man who walked into Delhi Metropolitan Magistrate Bhola Dutt's on October 1, carrying a book called *orship and Democracy* by Barington . didn't look like the usual breed of ials. And he wasn't. Ram Narayan has the dubious distinction of be- dia's first urban guerrilla: six mo- go, he held several people hostage in tress(I) MP's South Avenue flat for flourishing a powerfully-written esto on his idea of the social con- Last fortnight, Kumar made the again when he became the centre of troversy that has, once again, ripped il off the murky reality of Tihar Jail. umar and one of his co-accused in hostage case, Kumaraswamy, were o Tihar Jail soon after they were ed. In prison, Kumar had carried on e right crusading spirit with an —written for a monthly zine—documenting the rot inside. On mber 27, an unidentified person th- boiling water at Kumaraswamy, an allegedly linked to Kumar's exposé. lost no time in moving the court gh his lawyer R.L. Panjwani. On er 4, after the jail authorities had fai- vice to produce Kumaraswamy in he finally appeared and caused a stir when he displayed the burn on his legs. Kumar's article, al- y the cause of it all, had been seized e jail authorities and was later re- on the orders of the court and is n annexure in court files.

Documented Charges: It was not, of e, the first time that the stench of ption had drifted outside Tihar. than two years ago, on April 30, the Supreme Court had directed dis- and sessions judges to look into spe- charges against senior jail officials. 34-page report had pointed out wid- d corruption. Later on September 1, the then home minister Zail Singh sited the jail along with the then Lt-Governor S.L. Khurana and had offered a bottle of liquor by Bhaiji, a convict lodged in Ward 13. diately afterwards, many jail officials transferred, including the jail superin- nt B.L. Vij. Vij was replaced by n Dev Upadhyaya, who is ironically nder transfer orders.

However, the racket that is Tihar nued as before, until Kumar stirred it . Says he categorically: "The attack took place because of the article, which spoke of corruption, drug trafficking and sodomy in jail." Kumar's document lists about 22 names which he has classified under various heads such as stock-keepers of opium, hashish and Mandrax, in-house distillers, financiers and godfathers. After Bhola Dutt gave INDIA TODAY permission to talk to him in court, Kumar said that he could not remember all the names on his list.

According to Kumar, when a newcomer comes to Tihar, the process of initiation begins in Ward 13, which he terms the centre of the racket—it was here that Kumaraswamy was attacked. Usually, the new entrant is beaten up to instill fear and to teach him to bend to the dictates of the criminal-official hierarchy that rules the prison. This is not all. Says Kumar: "In jail, you have to succumb to the sadistic and supercilious attitude of a few prisoners, and their noxious and perverse acts, to survive."

It was one such "noxious and perverse act" that shocked the undertrial into writing his exposé. Raju, a 14-year-old in the juvenile lock-up, came crying to Kumar one morning and narrated a ghastly tale of having been sodomised by a group of prisoners. Raju named his torturers. Kumar told a warder about the incident and requested him to take the boy to the jail superintendent, so that action could be taken against the guilty. Says Kumar: "Nothing happened."



Kumar leaving the courtroom: a lone voice

Violent Threat: Kumar says that this prompted him to take a closer look at things. He was in Ward 14 in an isolated cell so that "I could sit back and work things over, with no one to disturb me". Kumaraswamy was incarcerated with other prisoners in the barracks of the same ward. Continued Kumar: "As I talked with the other prisoners and gathered information to write the article, the word spread and the jail authorities caught on after nearly a month and a half. By then I was nearly through with the story."

On August 20, while Kumar was being taken to court in the jail van, he was offered a *goli* (opium ball) by another prisoner, which Kumar refused. At this, another prisoner whipped out a knife-like weapon and said that "this cuts up people who refuse to do what they are told". Kumar says he told his lawyers to report this "frightening experience" but, as in Raju's case, nothing happened. "At least," says Kumar, "I do not know of any action that was taken. This only made me more adamant in going ahead with the article. Then the jail authorities seized it and subsequently produced it only when the court directed them to do so."

Since that incident in the van, said Kumar, he has "learnt to keep silent, but I still do not mince my words". The attack on his co-accused has only stiffened his resolve to tell the truth about the "evil that exists in the closed confines of Tihar's grey walls". He adds: "I do not fear criticism, nor do I resent it. For there is something more at stake. It is no less than freedom of speech itself. It is the right of every man to make fair comment on matters of public interest."

Kumar's article, which is yet to get into print, was obviously too outspoken for the Tihar underworld. Sadly, it will probably make little difference to the Tihar cesspool which, as Kumar says, "could not have been created without the active participation of the jail authorities". The enduring nexus is so deep-rooted now that even Kumar's documented evidence might not shake it. As one jail official says: "All that might happen is that yet another official will get transferred; the situation will only get worse."—ASOKA RAINA

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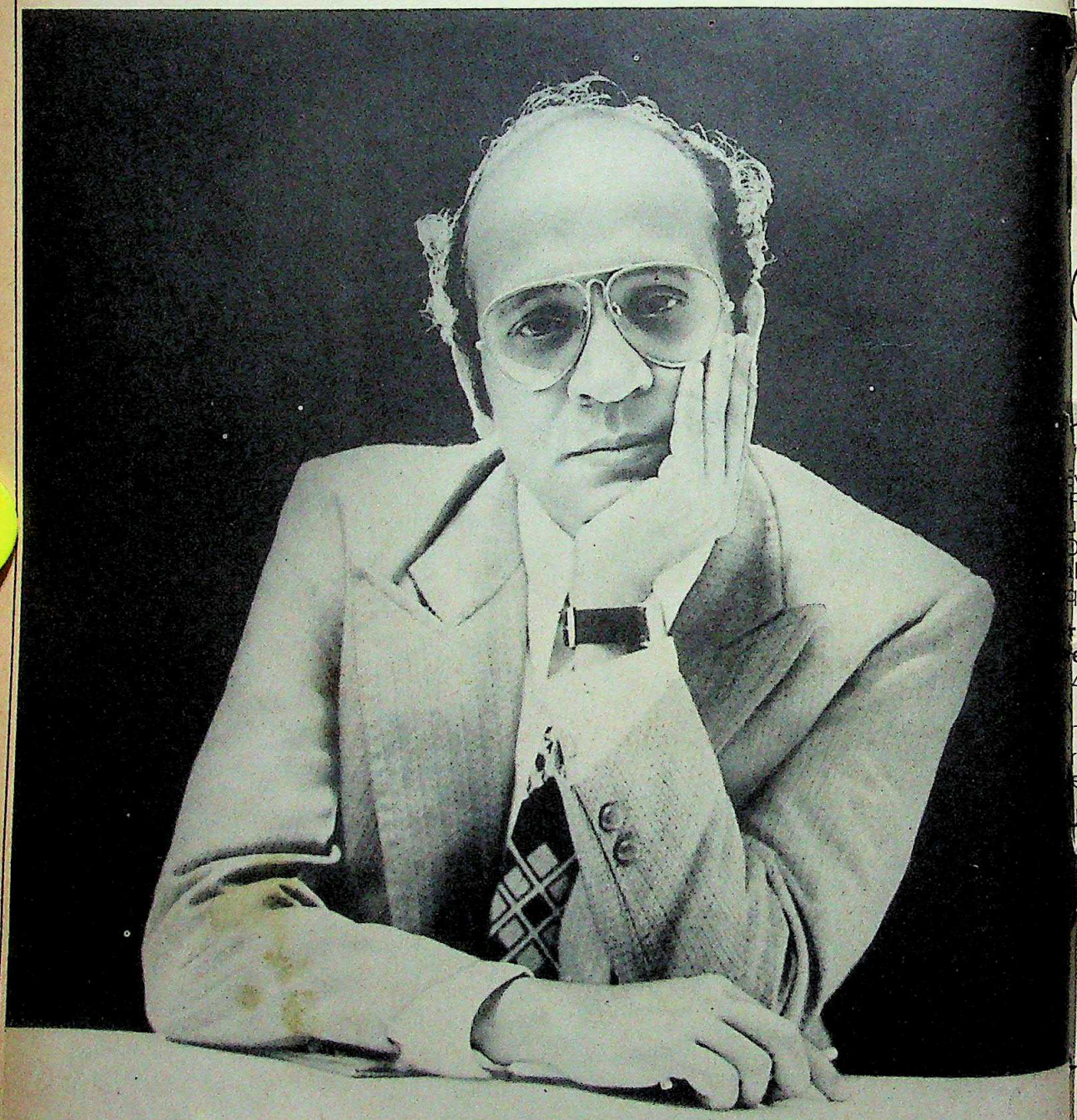

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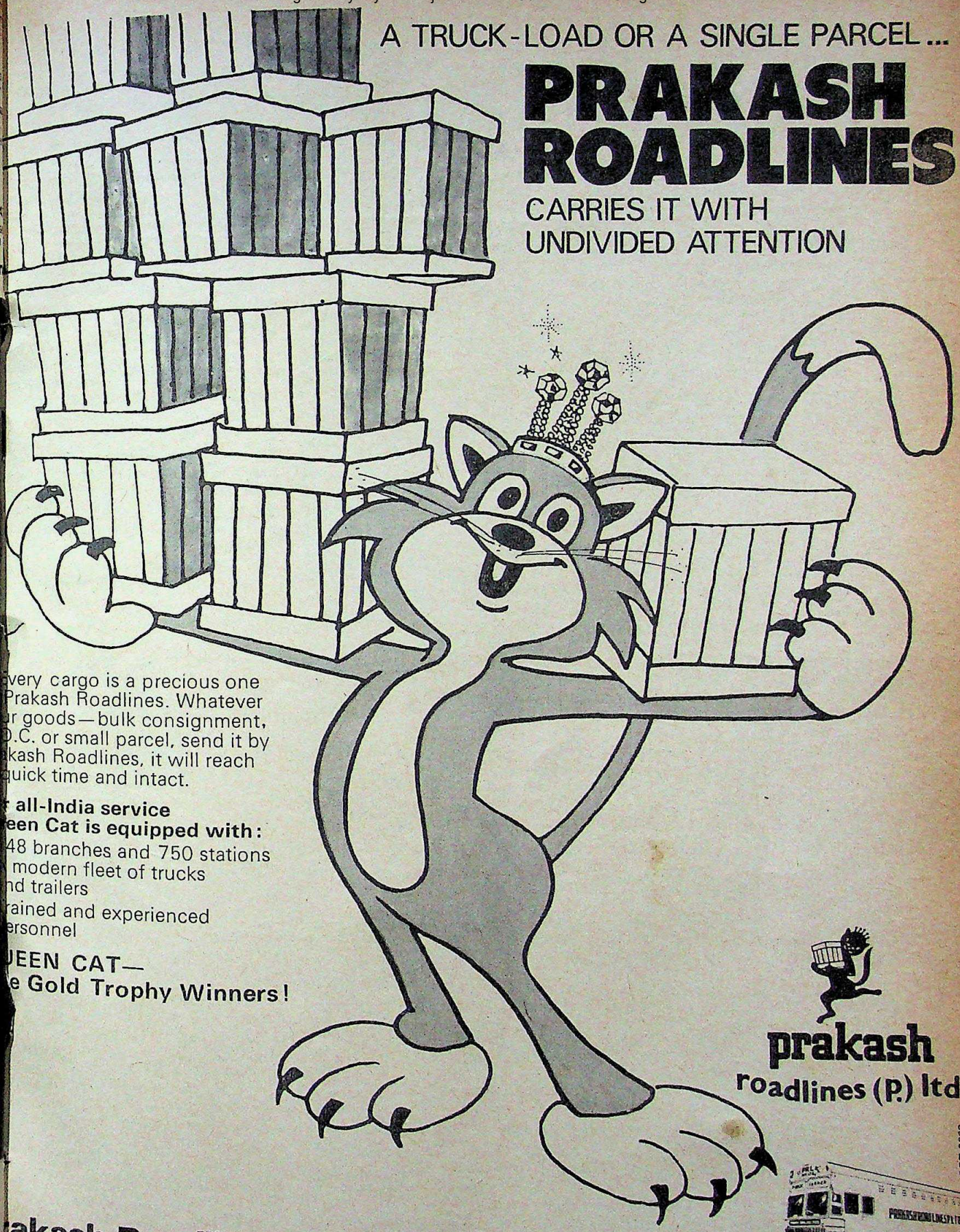

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MEERUT RIOTS

A Crisis Of Faith

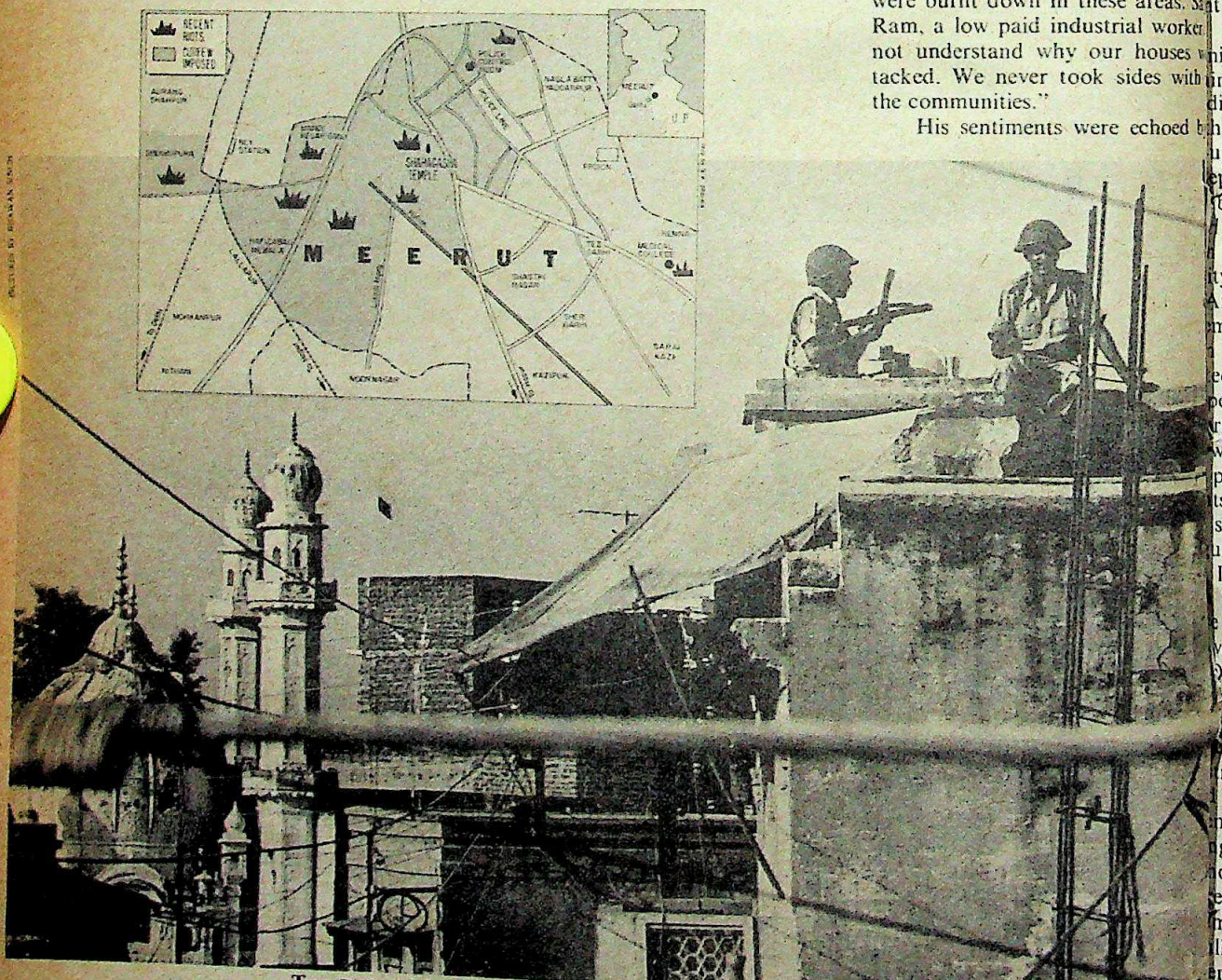
THE NARROW lanes and cramped houses of Shahagasha in Meerut are the perfect setting for a riot. Till last month, however, the area has had a spotless communal record. Even during the worst communal frenzies that have enveloped Meerut from time to time, the 50,000 inhabitants of the mohalla stuck together staunchly to prevent trouble. Not any more.

The area's tradition of peace ended bloodily last month. The orgy of violence that had built up steadily throughout September was triggered, as is always the case, by a minor issue—a 200 sq ft property claimed by both communities (*see box*). Inevitably at the end of the fortnight the dispute was no closer to a solution but 30 people were dead, property worth Rs 5 crore was damaged and more than 800 people had been arrested.

Buried Ideals: Five weeks of constant tension had also taken its toll—both the Hindus and the Muslims were at their nerves' end, ready to believe the wildest rumours; the peace was being kept by the curfew and the guns of the armed policemen who tramped through the streets. Says Samiuddin Burney, 65, a freedom fighter who took part in the Quit India Movement and a resident of Mohalla Anantram: "It is unfortunate that by one incident and a little bit of negligence on our part, our 40 years' labour to maintain communal harmony has gone waste. Both the communities fought for tranquility under Mahatma Gandhi's leadership have buried his ideals on his birth a piece of land."

As always in such conflicts, it poor and the underprivileged who bear the brunt of the violence. T flict started as a religious one. It quickly into a confrontation w Muslims on one side and the Sc Castes and Scheduled Tribes on th Then it developed beyond that stand-off between the district adm tion and the minority community the riots were at their peak most localities attacked like Azadpur Podiware, Prahalad Nagar and Pa Gali were Harijan-dominated areas than 100 houses belonging to H were burnt down in these areas. Sa Ram, a low paid industrial worker not understand why our houses w tacked. We never took sides with the communities."

His sentiments were echoed b



Two BSF men keep vigil on the rooftops of tense Meerut: a communal record soiled

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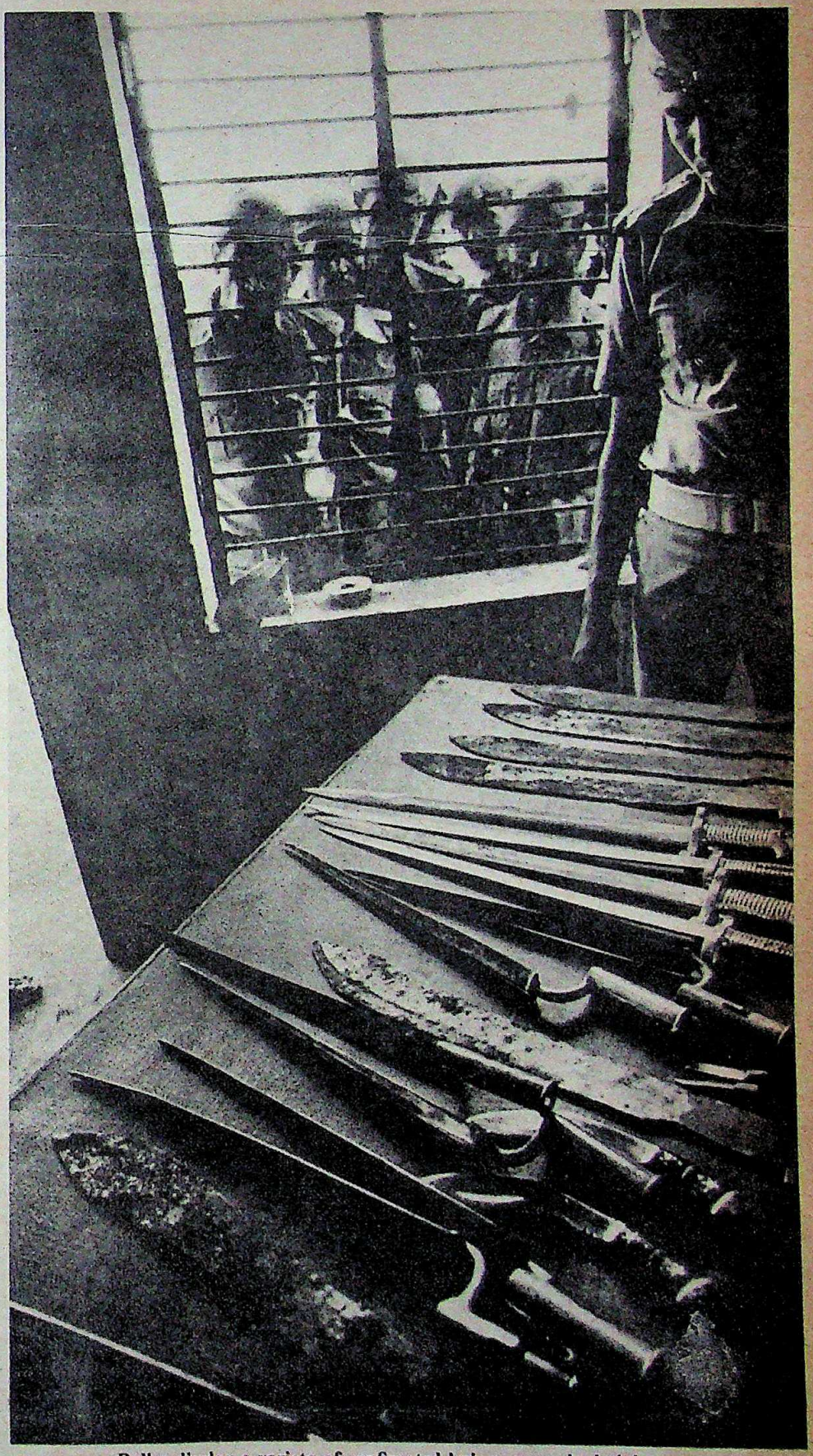
n Mohalla Anantram, where a Mus-
outh was shot dead. Says Gulzar Ib-
60, a tailor and father of five child-
We have no interest in Shahagasha's
oversy, yet we are being penalised for
ns of others. I used to earn at least
a day but for the last three weeks I
not touched my sewing machine. All
ops have been closed and the people
remained indoors for almost two
"

estering Situation: The district
rities can hardly say that they did
e the trouble coming. The dispute
he Shahagasha property first broke
he open in February. Since then it
een festering just below the surface.
the first violence on September 6,
a priest named Rambhole was stab-
o death should not have come as a
se.

Once the floodgates were opened
violence was quick to follow. The
same evening pitched battles were
t near Bhumia ka Pul, Lisadi Gate
Gulzar Ibrahim and the areas
ning the Kotwali police station. Next
ing curfew was imposed in 25 localities
ding Shahagasha and Sarai Bahlim.
his was not sufficient to prevent more
ups. The moment curfew was relaxed
eptember 8 the 30-year-old son of a
businessman was stabbed to death in
Bazar. The next day a Muslim
was found murdered in the conges-
ty.

After this there was an uneasy lull till
mber 28, during which more than a
people were stabbed to death in
ed incidents. Both communities used
period to build up their arsenals in
ration for a major confrontation.
worst came on October 1, when a
priest was stabbed to death by mis-
ts. Later in the day, two more youths
stabbed to death. This was followed
un battles and bomb explosions in
Ilahi Baksh, Bhumia ka Pul, Jatt-
Ranjitpura and Sadar Bazar. The
opened fire to control a mob, kili-
ve people.

Dissecting a communal uprising is al-
a tricky business. But most people
e lion's share of the blame for the
aks at the doors of the district ad-
ration. It had all the time in the
to see what was coming and take
ntive steps. Instead, it fumbled badly.
g the uneasy lull that persisted th-
out September it did not take any
ete measures except for preventing
mam of Delhi's Jama Masjid, Syed
llah Bukhari, from entering the city,
r when the temple authorities had
d their claim to the Shahagasha pro-



Police display a variety of confiscated knives: organised violence

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perty conclusively it did not take a firm stand. And when the clashes turned violent it did not take the customary preventive steps, such as arresting bad characters.

Bad Moves: In fact every move the district administration made only served to exacerbate the situation. For example, when the temple trustees who had been arrested were later released, the Muslims reacted violently. Similarly, when the authorities sealed the Shahagasha building the Hindus took to the streets leading to the death of five people and five shops being burnt down. Says Om Prakash Sharma, a former general secretary of the Meerut City Congress(I): "The entire responsibility lies with the district administration. They failed to win the confidence of both communities, and were afraid to take unpopular measures."

And when the police actually began operations to nab the real culprits they discovered to their surprise that most of the people inciting trouble were not professional criminals. Says Brij Bhushan Bakshi, a police circle officer in the Lisadi Gate area: "Most people will not believe it but most participants in a communal riot are not hardened criminals. In fact these are local toughs or wrestlers from both the communities who take up the leadership when the politicians take a back seat." Bakshi, who has dealt with many communal incidents in Aligarh, believes that the toughs satisfy their own ego when they take revenge on behalf of their communities. Over two dozen such toughs or 'dadas' have been arrested during a four-week period.

The administration has been busy trotting out various explanations for its failure to cope with the riots. Both ruling party and administration sources claim that the communal eruptions were preplanned by powerful groups on both sides who were able to evade the eye of the intelligence agencies. Says District Magistrate Shambu Nath who had to handle his first communal riot during the course of a 10-year career: "The manner in which the trouble started simultaneously in many places in the city gives credence to the belief that a lot of preparations were made before the actual violence took place."

The police also throw their weight behind this theory. They point out that nine boxes containing 1,600 sharp weapons like knives, spears and blades were seized from the warehouse of a local transport company. The consignment was ostensibly meant for export but inexplicably landed in Meerut when violence was at its peak in mid-September. In addition to large quantities of illegal arms, the police also say that many outsiders had entered the city. It is believed that over 150 people who were arrested were from outside Meerut district.

BUT WHATEVER excuses it may serve up, the fact remains that the administration failed on several counts. It was unable to resist political pressure and take unpopular decisions such as making preventive arrests. It also lacked the credibility necessary to stifle the rumours that spread one after the other like wildfire after sprouting from the most unreliable sources. Admits a senior police officer: "Our biggest hurdle is rumour-mongering which plays havoc with communal harmony. Frankly speaking, we have not been able to work out a scientific system to counter the rumours."

Dissecting a communal uprising is always a tricky business. But most people lay the blame for the outbreak on the district administration. It had all the time in the world to see what was coming and take preventive steps. Instead, it fumbled badly.

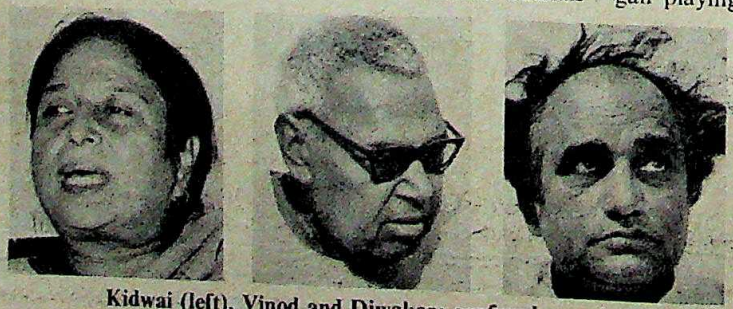
His words are borne out by actual events. On September 30 a rumour was floated that poison had been poured into a massive water tank that provides water to the entire city. The entire population panicked and fears were only assuaged when senior police and district officials drank the wter in front of several nent citizens. One week earlier, floated by a fake medical practiti the rounds that 62 people had be ned down inside a temple in a nei ing village. The moment this got a handful of youngsters started peli nes at houses belonging to Hindu other rumour of the same kind lat around that 20 people had been b death inside a mosque. This led to dozen stabbings.

On top of all this, wildly exa figures of the death toll were circu among both communities. While figures were 30 on October 5, som lim leaders put the toll at around 6 the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) p that over 900 people were either d missing. Said a senior district adm tion official: "We are also victims o credibility gap. People always look our version or point of view with and believe that whatever we do or not entirely correct."

Alleged Atrocities: The biggest lem of all for the district adminis turned out to be the Provincial Constabulary. (PAC) that was presse service in different parts of the c not have the confidence of the More than 20 companies of PAC ms stationed around the town and as the progressed, there were allegation they were terrorising Muslim lo by resorting to unprovoked firings. fears were also voiced by Muslim like the Imam of Delhi's Jama M even opposition leaders like He Nandan Bahuguna, the president Democratic Socialist Party, and Sat Mullick, secretary of the Lok Dal(C

To protest against alleged PAC cities Muslims put up black flags o rooftops on September 28. The brought an immediate riposte and to no time the Hindus were rallyi hind the PAC and putting up red fla banners praising its role in the riots.

If these difficulties were not en the district adminstration was not all to function independently. Politician gan playing their little games even a riots raged. When the trict administration t collect all the licensed ms in the city they we to pick up less than the 2,000 guns own Muslims. And soon a riots began on Septem it was decided at a m attended by all the district officials and genee officers to order



Kidwai (left), Vinod and Diwakar: confused reactions

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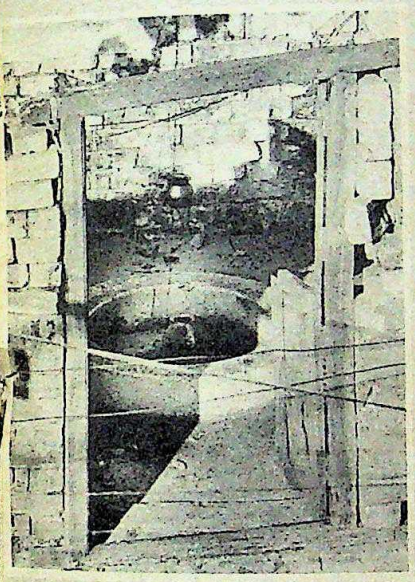
SHAHAGASHA

Flashpoint

IT STARTED, as is often the case, over a seemingly inconsequential matter. But the violence that rocked Meerut over the last month had been simmering for more than nine months. At issue was the 'Shiva mandir' located on the first floor of a building in Shahagasha, the congested commercial and residential heart of the city. In February this year, the Mandir Sudhar Samiti, the trust that looks after the temple, started a renovation programme that would give the tiny place of worship a more formal shape. A



The Shiva temple: growing popularity with the Hindus

protest was immediately lodged by Kazi Zahir Ahmed, a powerful member of the Muslim Majlis and the owner of the plot behind the building, who insisted that the rear compound of the building was a Muslim *mazar* (graveyard).

The temple trustees promptly produced documents that proved that there was no *mazar* on the plot. As further evidence they eited an old peepul tree, around which the building had been constructed to buttress their claim to the land on which the 65-year-old temple is situated. As the debate grew more acrimonious, the district administration arrested 20 people from both sides as a preventive measure.

Rising Tension: The next month the trustees again sought permission to implement improvements—among them a drinking water facility near the well on the premises—and tempers began rising once again. The administration after hedging for a while, made an attempt to persuade the trustees to postpone the renovations for a few months. By this time, the temple's popularity had taken an upswing and more devotees started offering prayers there.

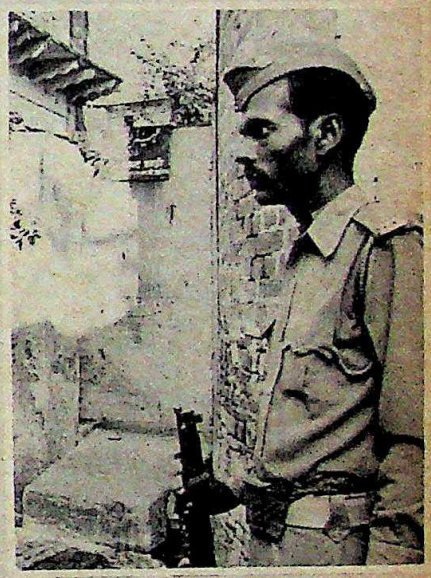
Alarmed by the growing popularity, Ahmed reiterated his claim about the *mazar* and warned that he could muster considerable support for his cause. To defuse the tension District Magistrate Shambhu Nath, a young IAS (Indian Administrative Service) officer, appointed O.P. Dubey, a sub-divisional magistrate, in May, to investigate the ownership of the plot. The deadline for the report was set at August 20, 1982. It was also agreed that duing the period of the investigation neither side would provoke the other and that the temple would only be used by small groups.

Matters, however, came to a head a few days short of the deadline. On August 12, which was Janamashtami, the trustees insisted on going to the temple in large groups to pray. The district magistrate rejected the request for a mass prayer at midnight but allowed a group of four to conduct a special *puja*. But instead of four, a massive crowd of 500 made their way to the 'Shiva mandir'. Though there was no violence, four people, Sushil Rustogi, secretary of the trust along with three trustees, Devendra Goel, Surendra Rustogi and Laxmi Kant were arrested for violating the prohibitory orders.

Angry Demonstrations: The next morning, over 500 people, led by the local Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) leader Mohan Lal Kapoor demonstrated in front of the police station demanding the trustees' release. The district BJP conference which was addressed by Atal Behari Vajpayee and Uttar Pradesh party chief, Madhav Prasad Tripathi, also made angry mention of the arrests. This time the police arrested 19 BJP members, including Kapoor. The arrest of the BJP leaders created panic among the Hindus and the local Congress(I) leaders intervened to arrange their release. The move, initiated by Meerut's Congress(I) Committee chief Dharam Diwakar, was greatly resented by the minority community.

But with the deadline fast approaching it became clear that Dubey, probably nervous of the implications, had not done his job. To bail him out, Rajendra Goel, editor of the *Meerut Samachar*, a widely circulated Hindi daily, summoned a meeting between the leaders of the two communities at his residence.

The four-hour meeting was attended by local Muslim leaders Massoom Ali, 'Comrade' Habimullah, and Sushil and Surendra Rustogi. According to the agreement hammered out at this meeting both parties conceded that neither a temple nor a *mazar* existed on the site, only a *Shivalinga*. It was also agreed that the property was Hindu. The trustees in turn consented to remove the bell and flag that had been put up during the last three months and affirmed that the *puja* would be performed in turn by two priests—in



A policeman guards Kazi Ahmed's house: militant claims

the morning and evening.

However, before the agreement could be implemented the arrival of Syed Abdullah Bukhari, the Imam of Delhi's Jama Masjid on August 21 put the cat among the pigeons. Local Muslim communalists rejected the day-old agreement and in consequence the trustees refused to remove the bell and flag. The tension in Shahagasha kept mounting and by the time Bukhari revisited Meerut on September 5 the atmosphere had become explosive. Matters were not helped by the allegedly inflammatory speeches delivered by the Imam at several meetings. Tempers were rising on both sides. On September 6, the inevitable happened and Shahagasha finally exploded with the stabbing of Rambhole, one of the two priests appointed by the temple. And so it began.

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to-house searches. However, their request for additional forces was not accepted quickly. And though Shambu Nath denies it, local Congress(I) leaders admit that, "searches were discontinued on orders from above".

The only piece of good fortune the administration had was that there were far fewer visiting dignitaries than usual. Even Chief Minister Sripat Mishra, and Union Home Minister Prakash Chandra Sethi, who visited Meerut City for a brief period, didn't enter many of the trouble spots. When opposition leaders grilled Sethi in Parliament on October 5, he grudgingly agreed to stay in Meerut for a few days to be 'available on the spot' for decisions. Earlier he had deputed Union Home Secretary Triloki Nath Chaturvedi and R.K. Khandelwal, the inspector general (IGP) of the Central Reserve Police Force, to study the situation. Chaturvedi spent over eight hours in the town and was also briefed by Uttar Pradesh Home Secretary Ram Chandra Takru and the state IGP S.C. Dixit.

WHILE the district administration must bear the major share of the blame for the riots it can hardly be said that the political parties have acquitted themselves well. Each party tried its best to reap political capital from the riots. The net result of this was that once the riots had started none of them made much of an effort to play their role in restoring order. The appearance of local

Shambu Nath: swamped by politics •

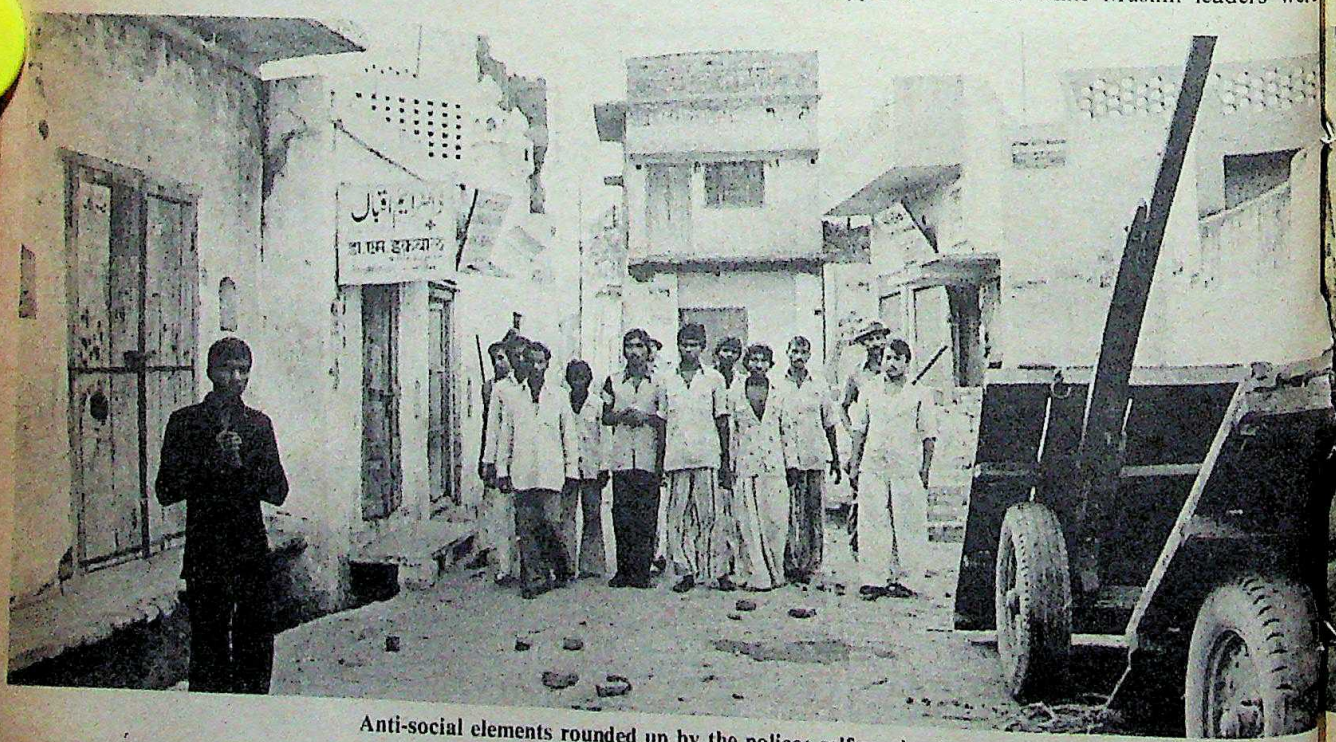
toughs on the scene gave the leaders of all the political parties an excuse to withdraw from negotiations. As a result, the usual all-party peace marches to restore confidence amongst the people were conspicuous by their absence. When Shanti Tyagi, the president of the Congress(S) tried to organise peace marches, his efforts were foiled by both Congress(I) and BJP leaders.

And the few local leaders who did try to put up a show of action could not carry either their party or the people. All the parties were caught up in the mesh of religious alliances that cut across party lines, or the claims of self-interest. Even Manzoor Ahmad, a Congress(I) MLA who waged a lonely door-to-door campaign in riot-torn Machirian, Kanchiwalan Ibrahim, and Gudri found that very few people bothered to listen to him. Said Ahmad, unfazed by his lack of support: "Even if nobody listens to me tod will listen tomorrow."

Ahmad's was almost a solo Most other politicians were too in preserving their own positions and of compromising themselves by what might appear to be a moder sition. Even senior politicians like Nawaz Khan, a former Union m and Syed Zakiuddin, a Congress(I from Sadhena were not above takin cal stands. Both addressed meeti Muslim areas and appealed to the munity to be firm. Accordin Congress(I) sources the competition ngst Muslim leaders to grab the lead of the community contributed towar escalation of the crisis. Since the City Assembly seat has become a majority seat every Muslim leader eye on it.

Radical Stands: Since the mood masses has become increasingly r lised, leaders like Shah Nawaz Kha Manzoor Ahmad took up cudgels half of their community because the afraid that they would otherwise los following to the Kazi or the Shahi of Jama Masjid. As a result, when Congress(I) members asked their to join peace marches on September October 2, most of them excused selves. On the other hand, they joined ces with the extremists to demand against the PAC and the arrest of Hindu leaders.

But while Muslim leaders were



Anti-social elements rounded up by the police: self-serving interests

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ng in troubled waters, the Hindu lea- were adding their own mite to rut's troubles. The BJP, which is the party of any consequence in Meerut clearly recognises that it can win an ion only if the Muslim majority is ded.

Though the seat was held by the Jan gh in 1969 and 1974, the Congress(I) it in 1977 at a time when the Janata y won more than a two-thirds majority e Uttar Pradesh Assembly. This time n trouble broke out the BJP made an ashed bid to grab the leadership of Hindus. BJP leader Atal Behari ayee after visiting Meerut even went he extent of blaming the Imam of a Masjid for the outbreak and de- ded his detention.

Other BJP leaders like former MLA han Lal Kapoor played their part by ing at the forefront of angry demo- ations to protest against the inistration's alleged hostility towards Hindus. Several other leaders ad- ssed largely attended public meetings in du areas and cautioned the people not accept any compromise which went inst their interests. The BJP's overt mmunal approach was further streng- ned by the tacit support it received m some Congress(I) leaders who were welcomed by the minority community.

For example, Dharam Diwakar, a se- r Meerut City Congress(I) president, s forced to move out of the Muslim alities after he was attacked by some youths on October 5, when he joined Mohsina Kidwai, Union minister of state for labour and rehabilitation, on a tour of the affected localities. He was booed by Muslims for taking an anti-minority line.

A car is searched: troubled waters

Mudslinging: The only task that all political leaders took to with gusto when the situation got out of hand was to fling mud liberally at each other. Said Mohsina Kidwai: "Meerut has always been a Congress(I) stronghold and the entire episode has been engineered to defame the Congress(I) and weaken Mrs Gandhi's following amongst the weaker section and minority population." Added Om Prakash Sharma: "It is the Rashtriya Swyamsewak Sangh (RSS) and the BJP who have joined hands with the communal elements amongst both communities because they cannot tolerate Mrs Gandhi's following in Meerut city. Since they lost the elections they are using these tactics to erode our base amongst the weaker sections."

BJP leaders also adopted similar counter-arguments. Said V.S. Vinod, 70, editor of the widely circulated *Dainik Prabhat*, a Meerut eveninger: "Congress(I) leaders are diverting the main issue by blaming the BJP and other parties. Meerut could have been saved if the administration had not adopted the policy of appeasement after receiving instructions from above. They became indifferent to upholding secularism and politicians started finding alibis in the RSS and the BJP to cover their own failures."

But when all is said and done, there is no doubt that the revival of communalism in Meerut has given everybody a jolt. Meerut is one of the richest districts in the state and also has a 40 per cent literacy rate. One-third of the sugar produced in the state comes from the district and it is famous for its steel goods. In addition, more than Rs 10 crore worth of handlooms are produced. Says an Industry Department official: "There are over 70,000 Muslim artisans in Meerut. It is because of their hard work that Meerut is considered to be one of the richest districts in the country." Says a senior professor of Meerut University: "Meerut's violence has exploded the myth that economic prosperity and education reduce communal tensions in a society."

—PRABHU CHAWLA in Meerut

A BSF patrol in a Meerut lane: closing doors on secularism

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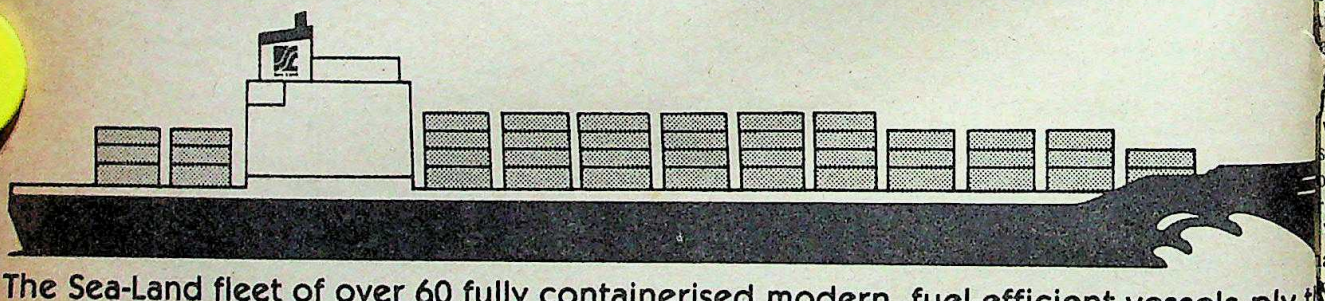

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GLADESH

Starting Over

LIKE BEAUTY, the failure or success of a diplomatic mission is often in the eye of the beholder. Last fortnight, as Lt-Ge- Hussein Mohammed Ershad, the martial law administrator of Bangla- returned home after a 36-hour stay ew Delhi, the talking mynahs in the gn offices of both the countries began ting hyped-up hallelujahs to the "new ter" in the Indo-Bangladesh relations red by a mutual decision to start af- But, the vexed, contentious issues in ce remained unresolved.

For Ershad, who rules over the eight Bangladeshis by virtue of his being head of the country's 80,000-strong ed forces, the New Delhi trip was de- ed to add just that magical, statesman- ouch by which military rulers gain leases. To that extent, the trip was a ess. As for India, it neutralised the itious Bangladeshi accusation that disfavoured top-level exchanges with country: in fact, Mrs Gandhi herself ted an invitation to visit Dhaka, a where she went last 1972, and which scrupulously avoided after the assassi- n of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, who egarded as a friend, in 1975.

Warm Welcome: In New Delhi, ad was given a welcome which was rather than being just correct. He ut up at the prestigious Dwarka suite e Rashtrapati Bhavan. Mrs Gandhi e to him for two hours, with no aides ow, while Bengali delicacies were ed as surprise items in the state ban- given by her in the evening. Ershad his wife, and the 18-member delega- were seen off at the airport by Mrs hi and as many as nine of her Cabi- colleagues, including External Affairs ster, P.V. Narasimha Rao.

The visit was preceded by a six n-long 'shuttle diplomacy' played out clockwork precision by ministers as as officials of the two governments. visited Dhaka in May, while Much- d Dubey, the Indian High Commissi- in Bangladesh, flew between the two tals five times in six months to button the last details of the trip. Five days re Ershad flew in, his foreign secre- Atul Karim, and the Bangladesh for- office think-tank and additional fo- n secretary, Riaz Rahman, had led an advance party to finalise drafts of the agreements.

The visit resulted in the signing of three important agreements, which are:

► related to the sharing of the Ganga waters downstream of Farakka, for which it was decided that the existing sharing formula, agreed upon in 1977, would be renewed with minor modifications and would remain in force for another 18 months, by which time the two countries must agree on a plan to augment the flow of the river in the lean months;

► about Bangladesh's long-standing request for a corridor through Tin Bigha, a block in the northern part of West Bengal, leading to its two enclaves in the Indian territory, Dahagrama and Angarpota; and

► about setting up a joint economic commission to promote trade and economic cooperation.

The agreement over Ganga waters, signed at a brief ceremony at Rashtrapati Bhavan, seemed novel more for its areas of subtle emphasis than its actual content. Equally significant was its timing: it came only 28 days before the existing 1977 agreement was destined to lapse. The accord staved off the embarrassing possibility of a total break-down of understanding.

Frequent Modification: According to the new agreement, the extents of discharge would be modified every 10 days as against the provision in the 1977 agreement by which discharge rates were changed every 30 days. This certainly allows for finer adjustments in rates of discharge taking into account the fluctuating irrigation requirements of both the countries. The discharges agreed upon for the first 10 days of January are 40,000 cusecs for India and 58,500 cusecs for Bangladesh. The amounts are to be scaled down progressively as the dry season sets in, and the river begins to narrow. In the last 10 days of April, the driest period of the year, India will draw 20,500 cusecs while Bangladesh is entitled to 34,500 cusecs.

The sharing formula is, barring a few minor variations, almost a Xerox copy of its predecessor. Nor does the agreement spell out a concrete plan to augment the supply of water, except for referring it again to the Joint Rivers Commission (JRC) between the two countries, an ineffectual body which, after its 20 sessions since 1972, could not agree on a single point.

Rao exchanges documents with his Bangladeshi counterpart while Mrs Gandhi and Ershad look on: a constructive visit

The JRC exercise, which was referred to by Rao Birendra Singh, when he was the Union irrigation minister, as "futile and open-ended", has now been strictly time-bound, for two dry seasons, or 18 months. Previously, the JRC's efforts were stymied by irreconciliable positions taken by the two countries on the way to augment flow. Bangladesh suggested building up 14 storage dams in the upper reaches of the Ganga within Nepalese territory, a proposal which, according to a spokesman of the External Affairs Ministry, "India still finds repugnant". The Indian authorities in turn suggested linking the perpetually overflowing Brahmaputra river with the Ganga. Dhaka could not accept the suggestion for the fear that the lower reaches of the Brahmaputra might dry up as a result.

Bangladesh of course rationali-

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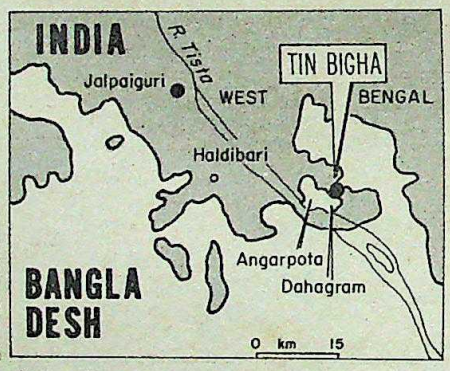
sed the objection by citing technical obstacles to the Brahmaputra-Ganga link scheme; and India, wary of the possibility that Nepal, if involved as a co-riparian, might ultimately get in league with Bangladesh and outvote her, simply refused to "internationalise" the issue. Last fortnight's agreement did not show any flash of insight by which the JRC can find a way out of the impasse.

A more tangible achievement was the agreement over the 15,130 sq m corridor at Tin Bigha for which Bangladesh was granted permanent lease. In a fit of generosity, India even exempted the notional rent of one taka (50 paise) a year. It was a re-enactment of the Berlin corridor, with India retaining its sovereignty over Tin Bigha yet allowing Bangladesh to move men and freight and through the Chicken's neck.

For Mrs Gandhi, the accord on Tin



Bigha was a major success on a different diplomatic front—with the sentiment of the people of West Bengal and its ruling Left Front. For months, a few militant Bengali organisations in Calcutta were agitating against the possible move to give away Tin Bigha in lease to Bangladesh. The Left Front is also committed to ensure a steady flow down the Hooghly river from Farakka, its argument being that the basic requirement for the navigability of Calcutta Port is a discharge of 40,000 cusecs all the year round.

Defusing Differences: Two days before Ershad's visit, Nani Bhattacharya, the West Bengal irrigation minister, flew into Delhi with 16 Front MLA's, met Mrs Gandhi, Narasimha Rao and the Irrigation Minister Kedar Pandey, and forcefully reiterated the views of the state Government. But Mrs Gandhi defused the tension simply by calling Chief Minister Jyoti Basu, over to the capital during her talks with Ershad. Basu had a brief session with Mrs Gandhi, attended the banquet, and went back to Calcutta with the resolve not to upset New Delhi's applecart.

The Joint Economic Comm first task will obviously be to fin for narrowing down the perilous trade gap that runs against Bang The commission will meet in Nove finalise a plan for involving private capital in joint projects in Banglade his way back, when Ershad was as newsmen in Calcutta what his could sell to India, he replied with a smile: "Why, hilsa fish to start with

An External Affairs Ministry sman said that fish was only one of list of items that Bangladesh could s to India, profitably for both co High on the list of priorities of p imports from Bangladesh are new poultry products and livestock, hide and semi-processed leather. even said in Calcutta that Bang might revive a proposal, dropped to supply natural gas to India. Dha been requested to sell to India one cubic feet of natural gas out of its lion cubic feet find. But the tall frozen in the wake of the souring tions over New Moore Island.

Frank Assessment: The joint c nique showed a fairly high deg frankness as it touched upon nearly problem areas in Indo-Bangladesh ns, including the frustrated efforts a king the maritime boundary betwe two countries. Though it left nothi it did not delve any deeper into the ni ties either. The Tin Bigha Accord. stance, was a laudable achievement; communique was silent on how to m 3,000 Indians away from the corrido the decision to lob the Farakka issu into the lap of the JRC was clearly a pa measure.

Said a spokesman of the Extern fairs Ministry: "The visit achieved a a psychological level, reducing t making opportunity for the top lead know each other personally, and ass hurt feelings. Neither India nor Ba desh expected that the tour would resu a bagful of tangible decisions. But it s paved the way for a better understand

Among the officials who met Ershad left the impression of bei simple and frank soldier, not parti good at concealing emotions, but afraid of facing the issues square Bangladesh, the reflexes and threat-p tions relating to India have alway conditioned by the bureaucracy, alone has remained unchanged t the country's liberation in 1971 a violent upheavals of its political le hip. Ershad can defrost the ties wit provided he can carry the c bureaucracy along with him.—SUMIT

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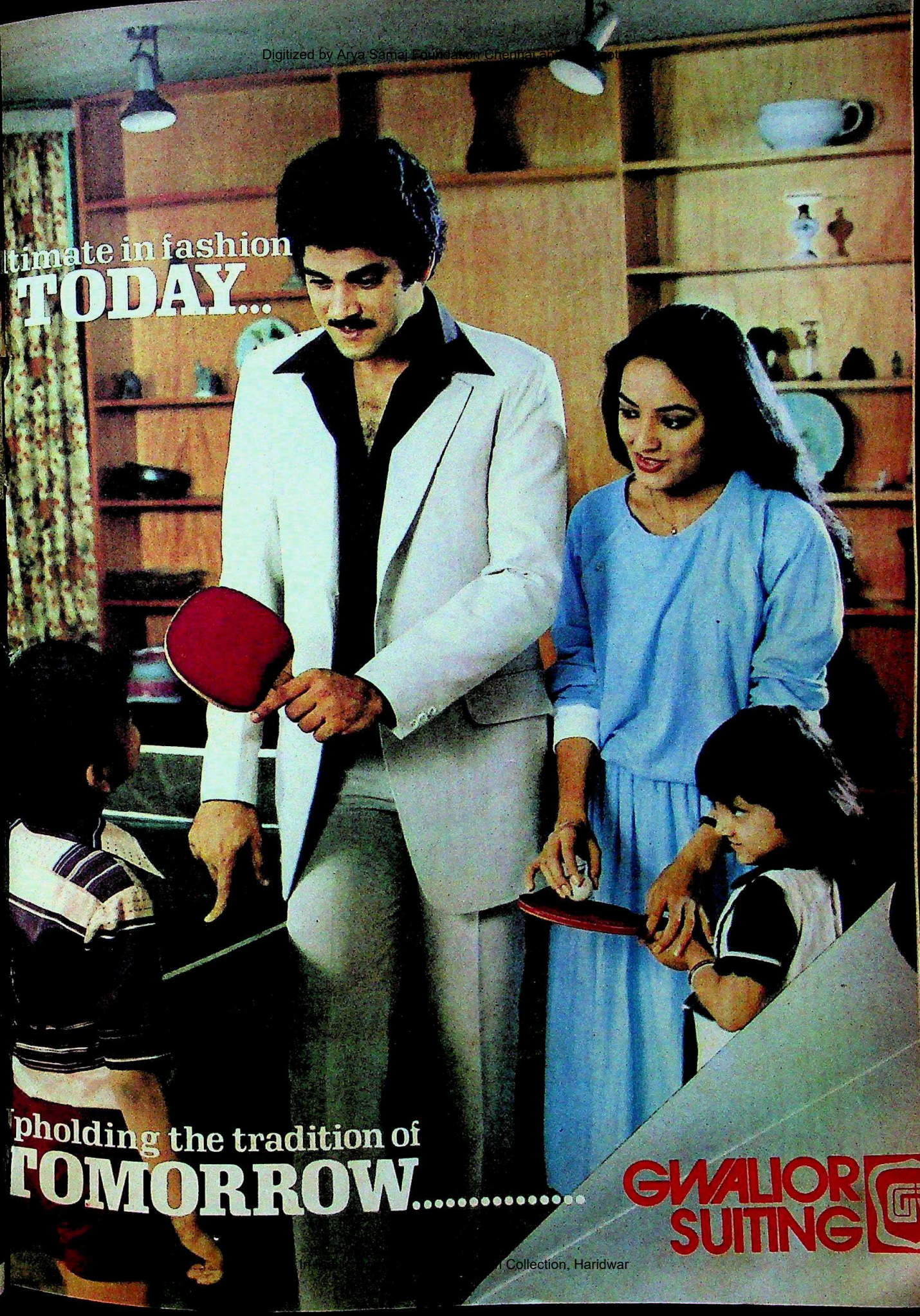

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LANKA

olitics Of Flux

WITH the presidential poll campaign in full swing, the Bandaranaikes, mother son, are engaged in an unusual power which is infuriating close supporters he Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) idate, Hector Kobbekaduwe, intri- the rank-and-file, and providing pleasure and comfort to President Jayawardene and the ruling United onal Party (UNP). The political oeuvres of the Bandaranaikes will not affect the outcome of the contest ober 20) but the post-election lion.

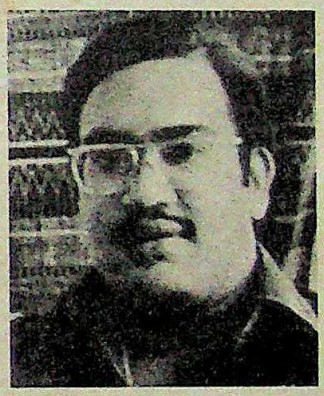
was only on October 6, halfway ugh the campaign, that Anura Bandaike, MP, appeared on a platn of his party's candidate. venue was as noteworthy as timing. The rally was at ngoda, the ancestral home of her premier, Mrs Sirimavo daranaike. He spoke for less 20 minutes and left the e before Kobbekaduwe ed.

Interestingly he reminded the crowd that the SLFP was ded by his father, S.W.R.D. daranaike, who served the mmon people" and had to for his politics with his life led "the silent revolution" 956 and was assassinated by a Buddmonk three years later. His mother, Anura, had carried on her husband's k loyally and this had earned the h of a "vindictive" and "reactionary" which had deprived her of civic rights seven years.

Family Claims: Having hammered he the point that the SLFP is the party the Bandaranaikes, the scion of Sri ka's last surviving political clan (Jayene effectively elbowed out the last hayake from the UNP) turned his tion to Kobbekaduwe, who is only a ber of the "extended family", being a in of Mrs Bandaranaike. Anura daranaike described Kobbekaduwe's ination as a "temporary contract" n by the party—a contract to be enforced in 48 hours.

On becoming president, Kobbekadu- has "three immediate tasks", said ra. The first is to use his executive er to restore Mrs Bandaranaike's civic rights. Next, he has to dissolve the Parliament, and finally to make arrangements for general elections. In the rest of his speech, according to the privately owned *Sun*, Bandaranaike took as "many swipes at his party candidate as at his opponents".

Although Anura Bandaranaike is a disappointed aspirant to party nomination his behaviour is not to be put down to personal pique. It has much to do with party and family conflicts, and the unpredictable post-election situation. In last year's major SLFP split, Anura teamed up with Mrs Bandaranaike's long-standing deputy, Maitripala Senanayake, MP, in forming a rival 'SLFP'. Six months ago, Anura defeated Senanayake in his 17-member politburo (PB) and returned to his mother with 10 PB members. While warmly embraced by his mother, Anura had no hero's welcome from the party hierarchy where a powerful anti-Anura group had entrenched itself. A prominent member of this group is Vijaya Kumaratunge, matinee idol and husband of Mrs Bandaranaike's younger daughter Chandrika.



Sirimavo and Anura Bandaranaike: unusual ploys

Marginalised: His mother notwithstanding, Anura was cold shouldered, his 10 loyalists humiliated and placed "on probation". Nomination for the presidency was his last chance. Many party branches and several pro-SLFP businessmen backed him. So did Sri Lanka's premier tycoon, Upali Wijewardene, owner of *Island* newspaper. Even Mrs Bandaranaike would have preferred the "moderate" Anura to any of the rival 'radicals'. But the radicals had the votes in the central committee and chose Kobbekaduwe.

Anura's brusque reminder of Kobbekaduwe's "contractual" obligation came despite the candidate's TV, radio and platform pledges to restore Mrs Bandaranaike's rights. Did Anura fall victim to another UNP stratagem or to rising suspicions of his own? A week before the Balangoda rally, Jayawardene had publicly said that Kobbekaduwe would not "rescue" Mrs Bandaranaike.

Another development may have made the Bandaranaikes wary. When the election commissioner rejected his party's claim to be the "only" SLFP, Maitripala Senanayake withdrew from the contest and pledged wholehearted support to Kobbekaduwe. Since then he has addressed rallies in the company of Kobbekaduwe, Z.B. Ilangaratne, the SLFP deputy leader, and other stalwarts. The warm reception by the party high command (other than Mrs Bandaranaike) to Senanayake was in marked contrast to the chilly reaction to Anura and his group. Was the "old guard" ganging-up to deny Anura's claims to succession after the election, whatever the result? Backed by his mother, Anura warned Senanayake that re-admission to the party could not be guaranteed by a "few individuals".

Loyal Support: These intrigues and top-level friction have not demoralised the loyal SLFP voter. A sudden surge of support for Kobbekaduwe has taken the UNP unawares. In retaliation, the state-controlled media is making much of a statement by Dr Colvin R. De Silva, the socialist LSSP (Lanka Sama Samaja Party) candidate. Citing the principle of "agency", Dr De Silva, a top-flight lawyer and former constitutional affairs minister, argues that Kobbekaduwe is open to the "genuine risk" of being disqualified on an election petition because he is the nominee of a party whose president has no civic rights. To avoid that risk and yet beat Jayawardene, Dr De Silva wants all anti-UNP voters to support him.

However, irrespective of the political outcome of the elections, troubled times stretch ahead for Sri Lanka. A World Bank report has warned of imminent "collapse" if the necessary "corrective steps" are not taken. Its recommendations include devaluation, price hikes of rice and kerosene, cuts in public spending, restraints on consumption and wages, and "restructuring" of the plantation sector which could mean "re-privatisation". And as Dr De Silva points out, "international forces are very active in the area", and "internal division" ('Tamil separatism' and armed resistance) continue to threaten the country.

—MERVYN DE SILVA in Colombo

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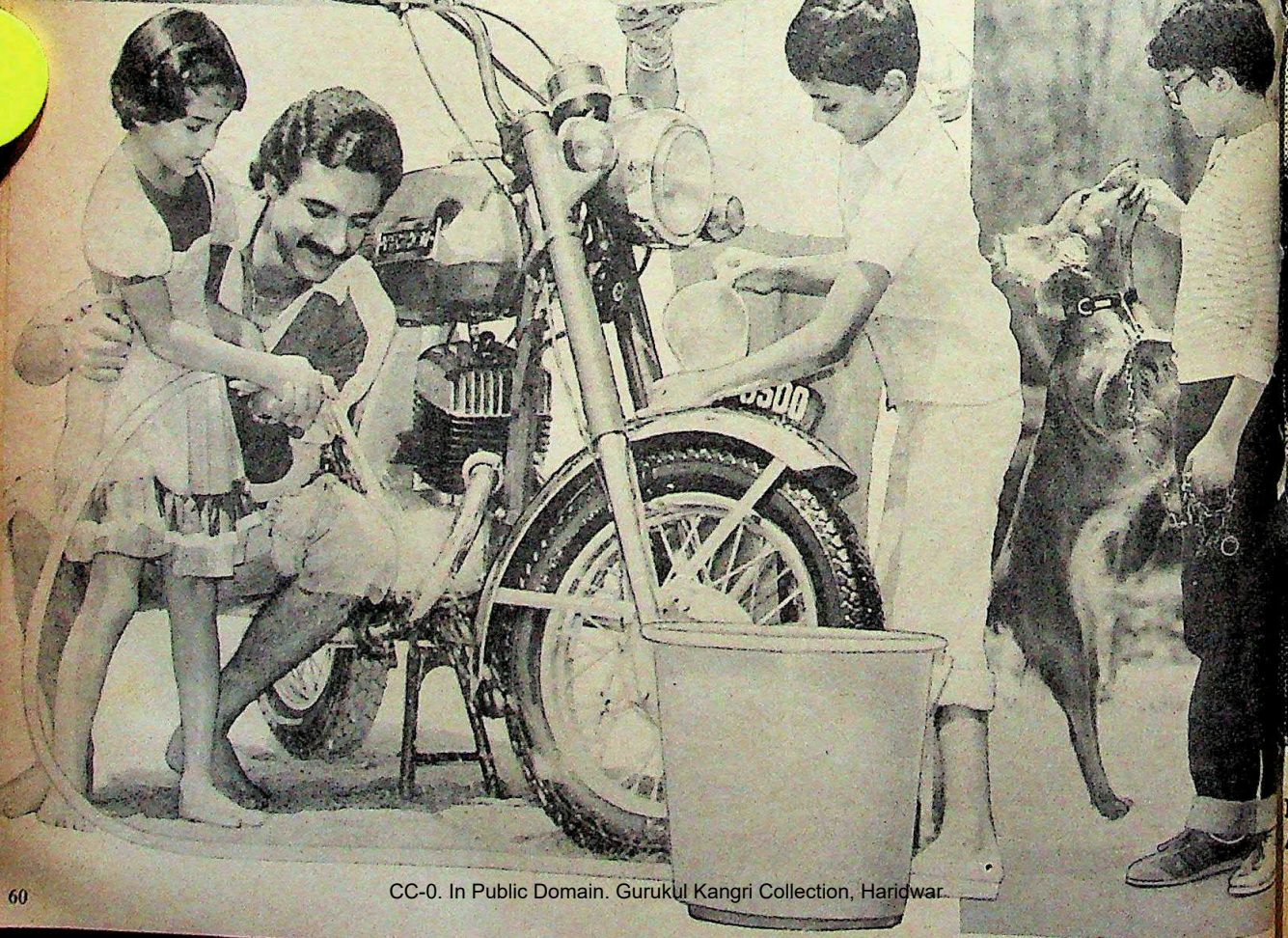

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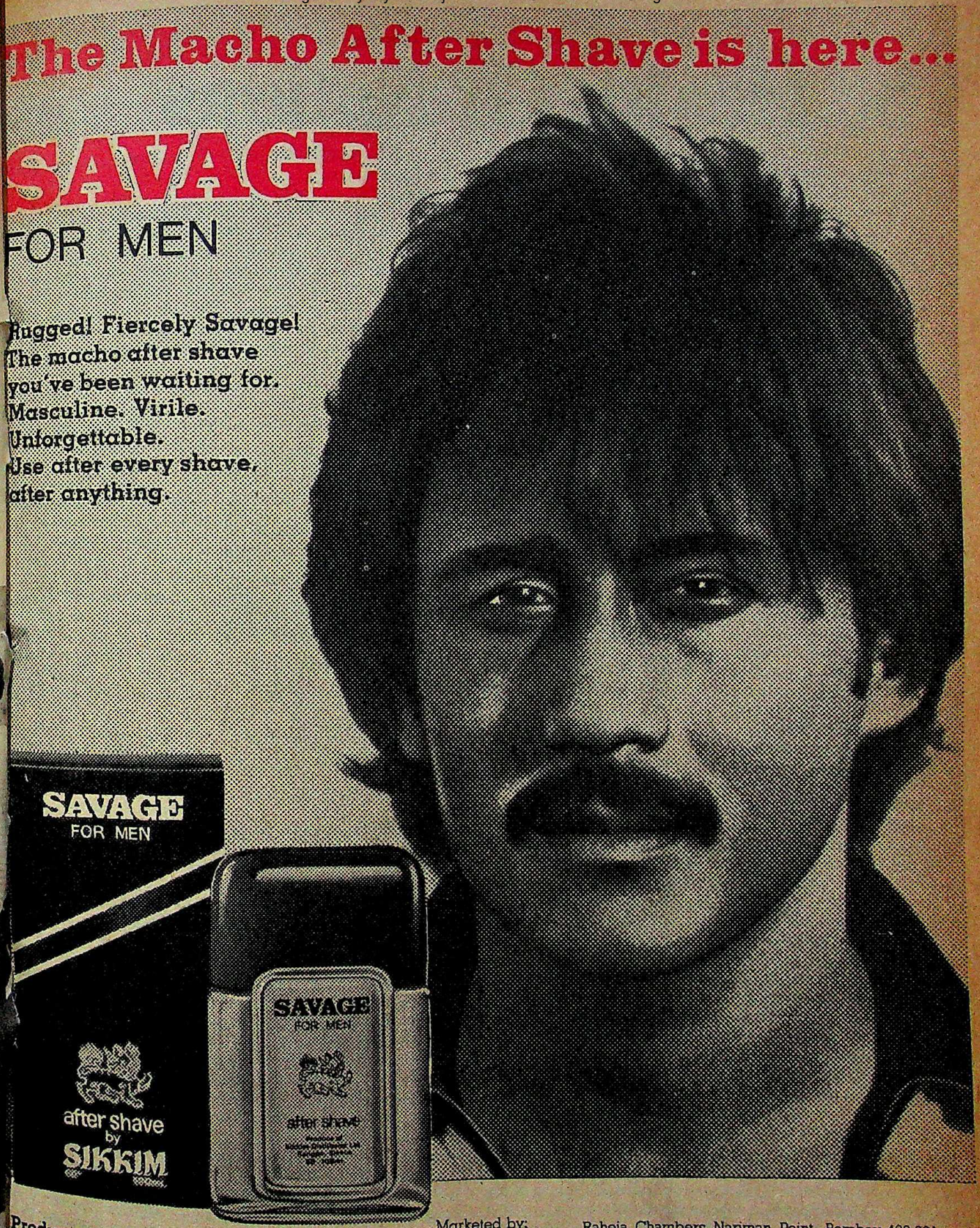

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GLOBAL RECESSION

The Health Of Nations

A SPECTRE, far more menacing than contemporary communism, is haunting the western world. The spectre of prolonged recession—recession-as-usual. It is pulverising the international order created after World War II. Governments falling like nine-pins, or tottering on the brink of collapse. Corporate bankruptcies are sending nervous shocks down the spine of the *bodiekonomik*. Millions of men and women are losing jobs, becoming "redundant" to their societies. Big industrial nations are openly fighting undeclared trade wars. Societies are getting polarised at two intersecting levels, domestic and international. As the crisis worsens, government leaders, the majority of whom are no more than public relations men, scamper like cats on a hot tin roof. Voters run from the conservative post to the social-democratic pillar. The only enterprise that thrives is the arms industry. It is a sad, bad and very mad world, inexorably edging to a crash or to megadeath.

One doesn't have to be a Marxist to realise that the world political order stands on a world economic order. If the latter caves in, the former cannot survive. World politics in the 1980s has become hostage to world economics. Economic strains are changing national moods and priorities, pushing diplomacy into blind alleys. Allies are turning against one another, reaching for each other's throat. In the pre-nuclear bomb world, a crisis half as serious would have sparked a major war. No wonder that some people are talking desperately of "limited" nuclear war.

The world political order stands on a world economic order. If the latter caves in, the former cannot survive. World politics in the 1980s has become hostage to world economics. Economic strains are changing national moods and priorities, pushing diplomacy into blind alleys.

In May, the economic group of the Chase Manhattan Bank warned that there was little prospect of the world economy recovering this year, belying last year's forecasts of a rebound in the second half of 1982. In August, the *Economist* of London came to the grim conclusion that the "worst of the recession"—weak demand, high interest rates and cutthroat competition—"may be the normal course of business for the rest of this decade". The bullish view persists despite the made-to-wish optimism of the White House in Washington where California conservatism burns like a neon light regardless of the darkness that thickens in and outside America.

Liquidity Crisis: Evidence of the long night is everywhere. The companies in the United States, Japan and West Germany, the three largest capitalist economies, are still plunged in a liquidity crisis. The debt-equity ratio in these three countries has still not recovered from the big hike in oil prices in 1979, which is said to be the main cause of the recession. Debt-ridden companies are being forced to go bankrupt. Big companies going broke are making world headlines—Britain's Laker Airways, West Germany's electrical giant AEG-Telefunken, America's International Harvester. But these are only the tip of the iceberg. More than 100,000 medium and small companies have gone bankrupt in the US and western Europe since 1980, about [illegible] in America alone.

Corporate failures increased in Belgium by 15.8 per c[illegible] 1981, in France by 20.3 per cent, in England by 26.4 per ce[illegible] in West Germany by 27.4 per cent. Much worse hit a[illegible] smaller European economies. In Holland, for long a show-p[illegible] capitalist welfarism, 42 per cent more companies went bro[illegible] year than in 1980. Indeed, 1982 may turn out bleaker than [illegible] In the first six months of this year, bankruptcies in [illegible] Germany were 50 per cent higher than last year. As m[illegible] 13,000 German companies may have to close down by Dec[illegible] according to one forecast.

All over western Europe, stagflation is mercilessly, [illegible] lessly turning to slumflation. And governments are fall[illegible] changing colour from white to pink to white. The Governm[illegible] Bonn, capital of West [illegible] many, changed from pi[illegible] white in early October wi[illegible] giving the electorate a c[illegible] to decide. The Social Dem[illegible] tic leader, Helmut Sch[illegible] bowed out of office, an[illegible] leader of the conservative [illegible] tian Democrats, Helmut [illegible] took over as chancellor. [illegible] coalition of the Social D[illegible] crats and Liberals collapse[illegible] so much as a result of [illegible] differences as the fin[illegible] crunch.

Right Turn: In Hollan[illegible] Denmark also, conservati[illegible] alitions came to power [illegible] first conservative Gover[illegible] to rule in Denmark in 81 [illegible] The Danish-change-over occurred amidst rumours that the [illegible] would be devalued and wages and prices frozen. The Dutch [illegible] to the polls only to create an ambivalent political situatio[illegible] centre-right coalition has an overall majority in the 15[illegible] lower chamber of Parliament but in the policy-forming s[illegible] chamber, Labour has increased its seats from 44 to 47.

In Sweden, on the other hand, Olaf Palme, the So[illegible] leader, swept back to power on October 8 with a stunning [illegible] cent of the votes cast, and immediately announced his decisio[illegible] nationalise all commercial banks. More controversial is Pal[illegible] proposal to set up a wage earners' fund to be financed by [illegible] additional tax on payrolls and an excess profits tax. The [illegible] which is to be run by trade union representatives, is Pal[illegible] panacea for the ailing Swedish welfare state suffering from [illegible] cial stenosis.

In France, the Socialist-Communist coalition head[illegible] Francois Mitterrand is said to be losing public suppor[illegible] Spain is expected to elect a socialist government in the g[illegible] election scheduled for this year, while Italy almost had i[illegible] socialist prime minister in Bettino Craxi when its 41st g[illegible] ment in 47 years resigned in August. Pollsters believe th[illegible] next election in Italy, whose per capita Gross Domestic P[illegible] (GDP) has surpassed Britain's, will in 1983 end the long t[illegible] regime of Christian Democrats and elect a Socialist-L[illegible]

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servative coalition headed by Craxi, and still keep the munists out in the cold.

BEHIND the great political drift in western Europe lies the economic crisis that has now invaded the entire political process across the Atlantic. On surface, the European po-ation looks like one between social democracy and conser-m; a brushfire of socialist electoral successes may engulf the e of southern Europe by 1983 (Greece elected a socialist e this year headed by Andrea Papandreou). However, the al heart of European social democracy stopped beating years ago, and socialist fabrics are now woven keeping l democratic eyes fixed on the brows of corporate tycoons oth sides of the Atlantic. The British Labour Party is be-to have a good chance now to return to power in the next but Michael Foot has already rid it of the influence of the al elements and made himself eminently acceptable to the of London.

The deep economic crisis in the capitalist world is having a t destabilising effect on the Third World as well as on the list countries within and outside the Soviet bloc. Mexico, ryear's oil-rich boom co-y has been rescued from apse at the last minute by esh large dose of credits and above the $80 billion burden that nearly cru-it in the summer. Chile h was paraded a while by the Chicago School of economists as a success of Latin American mo-nsm, has, in reality, "tr-sult of d itself in an impending tch-22 type financial ", according to David of the University of ex. South Korea, another ern show-piece in the d World, has cut produc-to the tune of 10 per cent NP in the last two years, leading to a significant drop in the me of the bottom 40 per cent of its people and a sharp rise nemployment.

Even Saudi Arabia, the petrodollar fortress, is showing signs wear and tear. It has cut down its oil production from 7 on barrels a day to 5.5 million, but cannot find markets even he reduced output at the official price of $34 a barrel. A war erves has started between the Saudi monarchy and the four panies of Aramco, which produce almost all of Saudi oil, but refused to lift more than 3 million barrels a day. Saudi a is now looking for other companies to sell its oil. while, a price war is about to break out openly among ber states of OPEC, reducing this once mighty international er broker to a shambles.

Economic Warfare: A grimmer war has already broken out ng the major capitalist countries: between the west Europeans the United States, amongst the west Europeans, between the Europeans and Japan, and between the United States and n. One after another, west European companies have defied Reagan embargo on exporting equipment for the Siberian gas line; this has emerged as a symbol of west European econ-c nationalism versus American "hegemonism". Reagan's aides formulating stringent new export controls in the name of ping the transfer of western technologies to the USSR. At the same time, American businessmen are agitating for an aggressive trade policy to stay competitive with European and Japanese high-tech products. The Hong Kong-based *Far Eastern Economic Review* reports tersely: "The decline of the United States' basic industries, a rising tide of economic nationalism and the recession have combined to redefine Japan as the US's primary industrial enemy."

Behind the global economic, financial and political drift lies an acute battle between those who wish to defend the welfare plumage of the capitalist system and those who are determined to shred the plumage in order to save the system—between, in other words, the Keynesian principles and "monetarism". During the last 50 years, state intervention in the growth and behaviour of capitalist economies has not only produced the western welfare state as a challenge to the harsher and coarser communist society, but has also designed built-in mechanisms to prevent another Great Crash of 1929. Now the capitalist system is being put into reverse gear. State intervention is being reduced to the minimum. The capitalist countries are going back to economic Darwinism—survival of the fittest and the strongest. Society is to be left to the "natural laws" of demand and supply. It does not matter if a lot of people stay poor, if joblessness haunts every home. The system will not only survive but do even better!

(From left) Kohl, Palme and Mitterrand: facing the crunch

Behind the great political drift in western Europe lies the economic crisis that has now invaded the entire political process across the Atlantic.

Whether it will or not will be seen in this decade. Meanwhile, the battle is being joined by a third force of grass roots militants who, in western Europe, frighten both conservatives and social-democrats. The extra-parliamentary party in West Germany known as the Greens is rapidly emerging as a major political force. Similar grass-roots movements are springing up in the Nordic and Scandinavian countries. These are youthful movements and are pressing for radical systemic change, not just cosmetic patchwork. All these forces have joined together in the anti-nuclear war peace movement because their leaders see the arms race to be the all-powerful weapon with which the ruling classes are perpetuating their hold on mankind's future.

Grave Risk: The political and economic drift in India is part of the great global drift. These are perhaps the most testing times in India's not-so-long career as a sovereign nation. The world economic order has been thrown into what medical science calls an iatrogenic condition, which is created by physicians through carelessness or wrong treatment. India, like all Third World countries, is being thrown to the mercy of world market forces. If India throws open its doors to international private capital, very soon there will be a scramble for the vast Indian market. But little or nothing will remain of the autonomy of the Indian economy, of self-reliance, of the prestige and deference India has earned by decades of steady, albeit slow and unspectacular, development.

The first glacial winds of economic Darwinism have already begun to blow in India. Thousands of small and medium industries are finding it difficult to survive in a climate of helping the strong get stronger, the big get bigger. India's debt burden to the western world is less than $17 billion, a burden it can carry on its shoulder. Let the burden double through an open-door policy, and India goes down the Mexican way.

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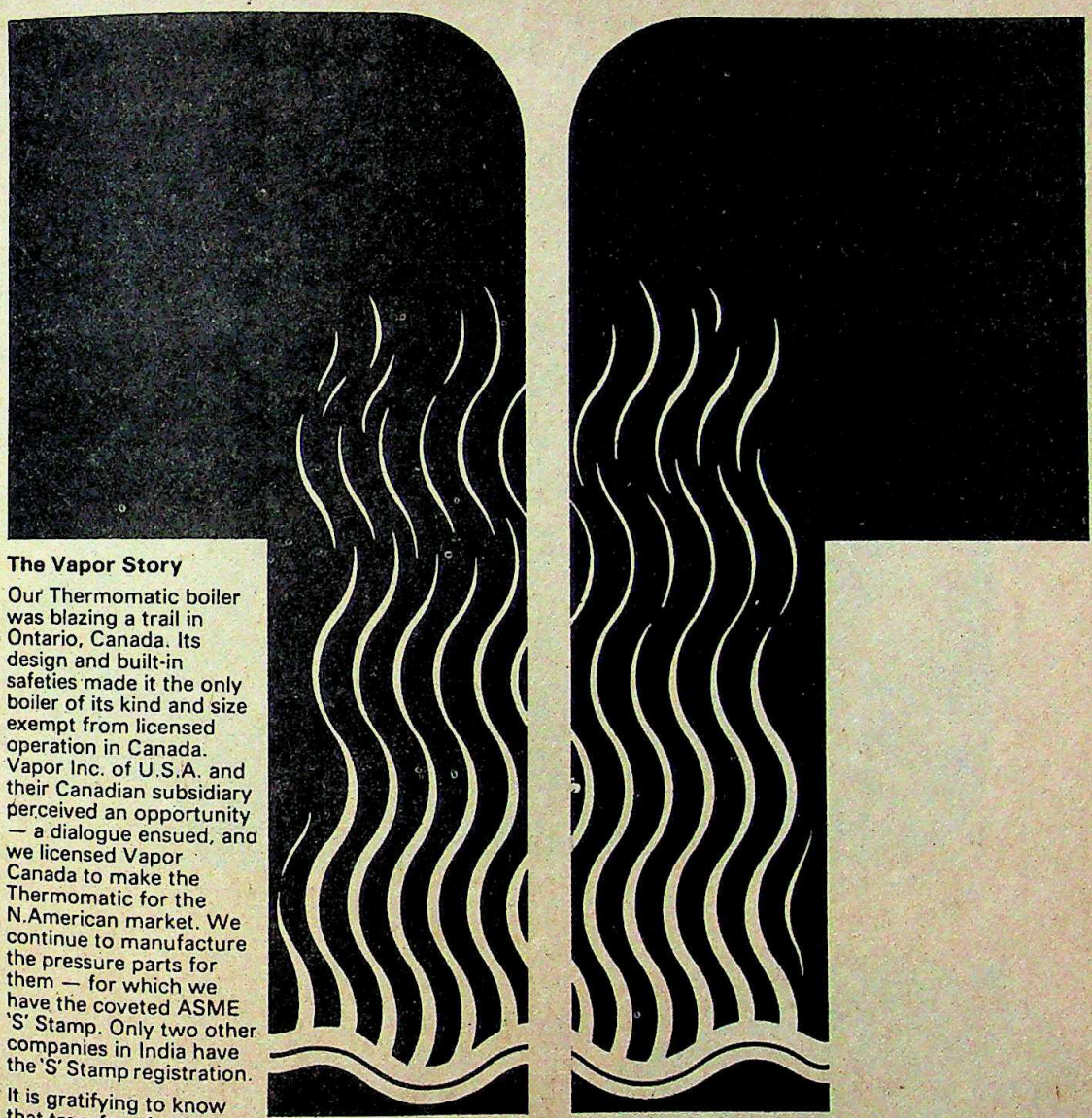

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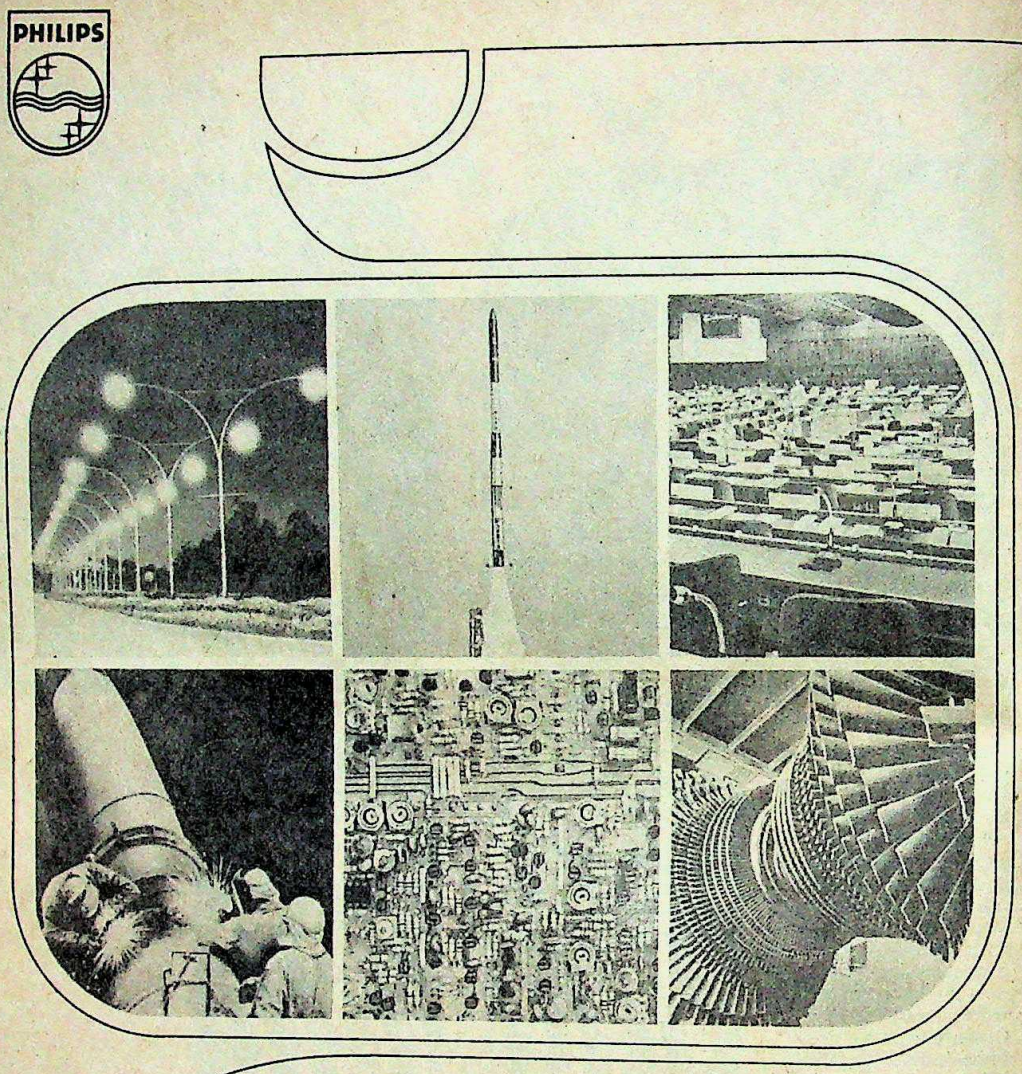

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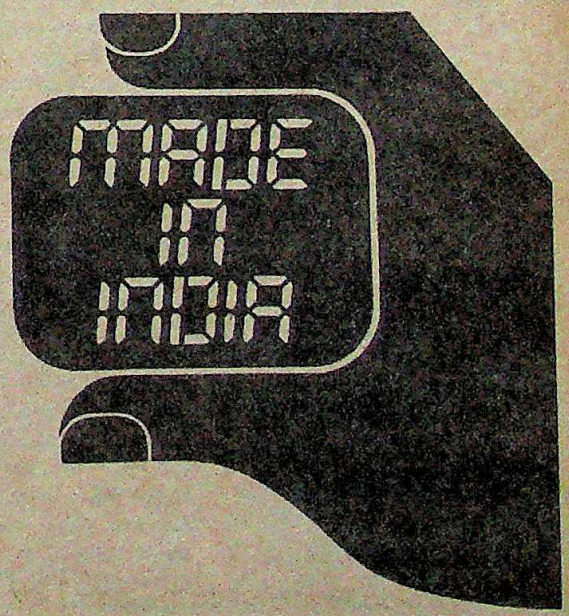

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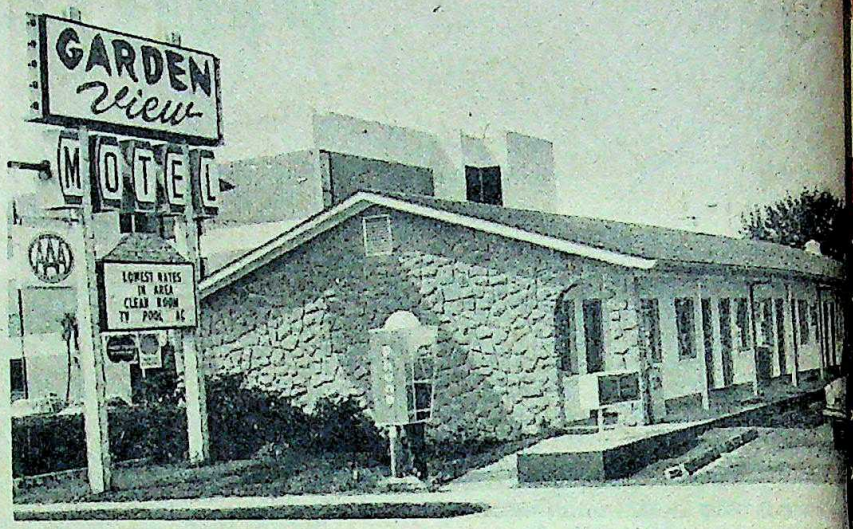
THE US

Picking On The Patels?



The Garden View Motel (top) and above (from left) Professor Narsi Patel, Pr Patel and Young: harsh publicity for success

IT WOULD have been a perfectly routine police crackdown on motels in the tourist wateringhole of Tampa, Florida, except for one fact. Of the 12 motel owners arrested on charges of renting out rooms for prostitution, eight had the same name—Patel. In the US this one fact stuck out like a sore thumb, and the local media was quick to spot it and play it up.

The harsh publicity from the Tampa affair has once again focussed unwanted attention on the business activities of the Patels. In the past few years large numbers of Patels have emigrated to the US and they are now said to control roughly 5,000 to 6,000 motels which are jocularly dubbed "potels". But being successful businessmen and immigrants to boot has brought a lot of flak their way. They have been accused of sharp business practices which might go unnoticed in Baroda or Bombay. Rightly or wrongly, they have acquired a reputation for driving an uncommonly hard bargain. Says Robert Goldstein, president, Hospitality Consultants, Pompano Beach, who has frequent business dealings with the Indian community: "They are damn good businessmen. But they need to read a seller better. Some of my clients don't care to do business with them."

Real estate agents in particular, often complain that they have been done out by the Patels. Many voice the suspicion that the Patels work in concert to outwit local businessmen. Says Paul Young, president, Realtors Exchange Inc: "We would show them a few motels and they would leave. A few days later we would find that those motels had been bought directly from the owner by a different set of Patels." He concludes: "Obviously they had been informed by their friends. I would be wary of dealing with any Patel." His stand is echoed by other brokers. The Patels, however, deny these allegations. Says Pradeep Patel, owner of the Garden View Motel, Tampa: "They have a vested interest in decrying us. We have already given them a lot of business but they know that they will not get more."

Watchful Eye: The Florida Department of Law Enforcement (FDLE) is also said to be on the tail of the Patels. FDLE is mystified by the manner in which the Patels always manage to produce large amounts of cash at relatively short notice. Motel brokers claim that they seem to have no difficulty in laying their hands on whatever sum may be required as down payment. Says Ron Tucker, special agent of the FDLE: "Although, I would not term it as an investigation *per se*, we are keeping an eye on their activities."

The unsavoury reputation of these Indian businessmen has also filtered through to other organisations. Insurance firms are said to be asking higher premiums from the Patels. A local newspaper also wrote recently that two Tampa Patels were accused of burning their shop to collect $30,000. Adjudication of the case was withheld, and the two were put on probation for three years.

More serious than this, many motel owners have been accused of being involved in organised crime. Says St Petersburg, Florida, police detective, John Lohde: "We heard rumours from other states that various motels owned by these families were connected with organised crime figures. As such it obligated us to check them out, though we were unable to verify them."

Most Indians scoff at such c saying that these are part of the suspicion which any new immigrant invites. Says Narsi Patel, professor ciology at the Indiana State Univ about the Patels' constant access to money: "There is no mystery about The Patels who came from East A Kenya or England sold their pr there, and brought their money with Others, who hold professional jobs their savings of many years; those w short borrowed from their friends relatives." This financial interdepend so common amongst the Gujaratis calls "Kinship Power".

Occupational Hazard: Narsi Pat resses that it is more the occupation sociation which discredits the comm saying: "Prostitution is a social pr and it is not up to the Patels to st He points out that ever since the '50 tels have often been associated wi and prostitution. Narsi Patel adds: are not doing anything that the Ame are not. Their crime is more that th caught."

But because the Patels do not

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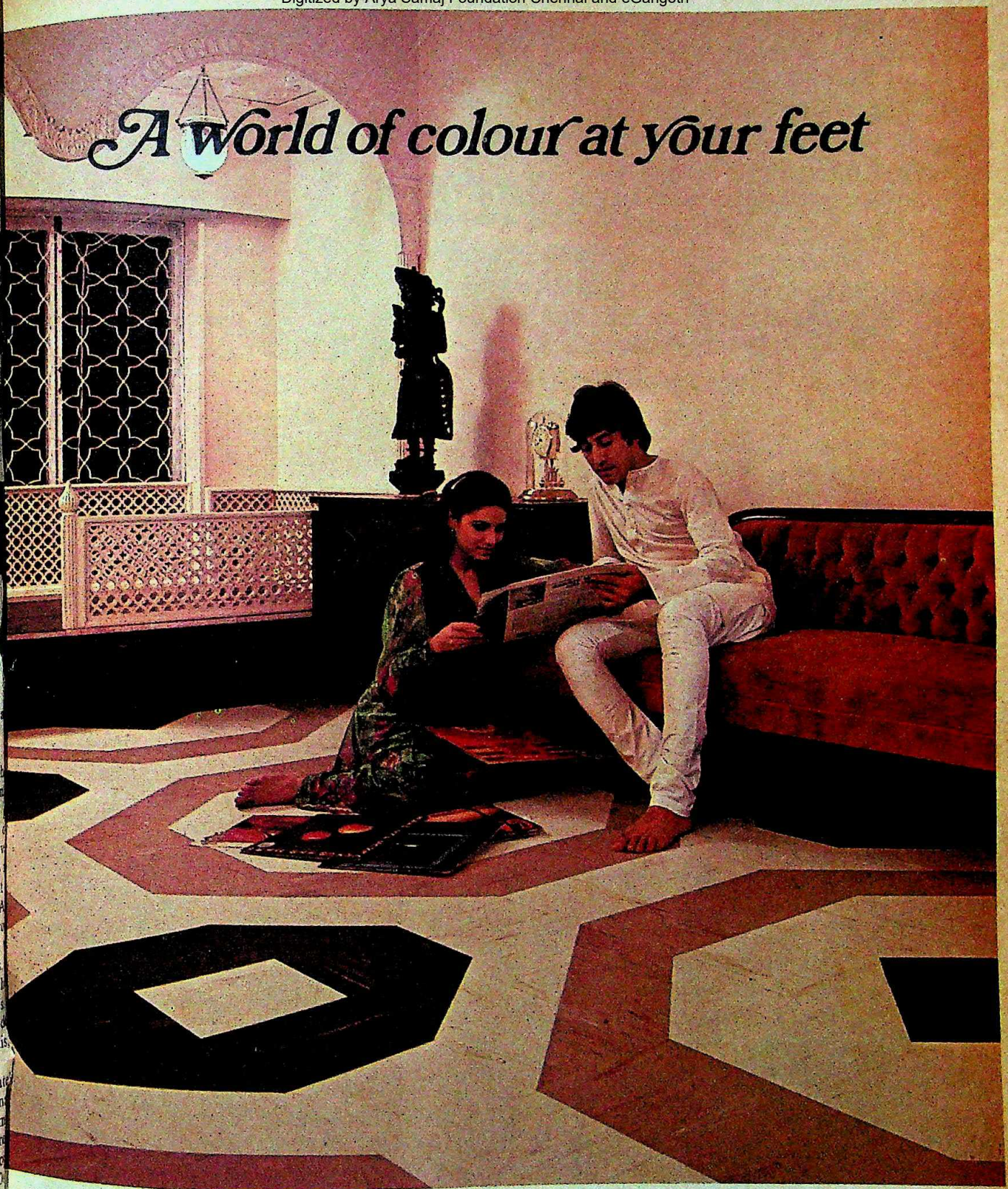

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nerate themselves publicly, surmises e begun that they are all in it together. s Sushila Chapnerkar, an active spok- oman of the Indian community in npa: "Anyone who has the name el—whether a doctor or an engi- —has been hurt, economically and so- y. In fact nowadays, to say that you from India has a bad connotation. I sorry for the Patels who run perfectly ent establishments." Pradeep Patel, se motel was one of the few in Tampa was not raided is putting together an nisation which will provide a platform credibility to the community and in conjunction with the local forces. admits: "If we had started this group re, maybe this would not have hap- ed." Adds Narsi Patel: "Any new im- rant group which competes with the blishment has to face prejudice." He the example of all Italians being matically linked to the Mafia at one e and adds: "It takes two or three erations to establish credentials."

Meanwhile the court battle in Tampa tinues. Three of the Patels involved e made news by hiring lawyer Henry nsalez, best known according to the al newspapers for representing reputed fia man, Santo Trafficante Jr, and for co-defence of heiress Patty Hearst.

But whatever the fate of the case, it ns unlikely that it will have a long effect on the Patels or their business vities. Says Pradeep Patel with convic- : "We have become the motel-keepers merica."

—ROHINI NILEKANI in Tampa

ADA

Dispelling A Myth

N RECENT years, escalating racial tensions in Canada have been sus- tained by tenuous but resilient images ch visualise Indian emigrants as para- s with large families, cornering an un- share of social welfare and unemploy- t benefits. Offering a convincing re- al, however, a recent survey in the awa-Hull area by the local chapter of National Association of Canadians of gin in India not only brings into sharp s a stable and affluent profile of the munity but helps dispel many misgiv- about them.

Taking the Ottawa region as a mic- osm of the whole, the compiled statisti- data shows that 67 per cent of the respondents were between 30 and 44 years old, while less than 1 per cent of them were over the age of 65. Indeed the majority of them come from the age group of 20–50 years—clearly the most productive years of an individual's lifespan. They are, consequently, likely to contribute positively to the economic well-being of their adopted country, and not be a 'drag' on society as most Canadians seem to believe.

Another popular misnomer is the large families that they are traditionally reputed to spawn. Succinctly disproving this notion, the report indicates that while 92 per cent of the respondents are married, 78 per cent of them have families comprising of four or fewer members. Only 5 per cent of them have families with five or more members. Eighty-one per cent of them live with their parents or other relatives, 63 per cent have one or two children and 19 per cent have no children.

Quite contrary to a widely-held belief, the majority of the Indo-Canadians tend to be highly educated, with 79 per cent of them employed in managerial professional categories and have annual family incomes in excess of 30,000 dollars.

Affluence: Quite contrary to a widely-held belief, the majority of the Indo-Canadians tend to be highly educated, with 79 per cent of them employed in managerial professional categories and have annual family incomes in excess of $30,000. A significant proportion of their spouses—31 per cent—also belong to the same occupational group. Indeed, their demands on the social welfare system seem to be virtually non-existent with 77 per cent of the respondents listing employment as their prime source of earning. Only 0.3 per cent, that is one case out of the 317 who responded, said that unemployment insurance payments were his source of income.

This economic well-being of the community is most evident in the choice of housing. Nearly 60 per cent of the respondents live in semi-detached or detached houses, 21 per cent live in garden or town houses, 3 per cent in duplexes and 16 per cent in apartments. An impressive chunk of 83 per cent of all these own their dwellings with a bare 17 per cent residing in rented homes.

Nevertheless, certain problems remain. The positive image notwithstanding, some respondents felt that discrimination on acount of lack of Canadian qualifications, Canadian experience, and conscious and unconscious racial prejudices had affected their careers. Even among children, the survey revealed that 33 per cent faced lack of culture heritage, 15 per cent lack of identity, and 13 per cent racial prejudice from their peers. Further the replication of Indian linguistic, regional, and socio-cultural groups in Canada has often been regarded as a major drawback in unifying the emigrant community into political and social action.

Identity Crisis: Currently, however, the boot is probably on the other foot with the problem of loss of identity looming large. While they continue to appreciate the 'economic opportunity' and the relative 'freedom of life-style' prevalent in the country, 48 per cent of these not quite archetypal 'Indians' feel that in order to participate more fully in Canadian society they should try and act more like Canadians. In other words, that they should integrate and adopt their 'good customs', learn their official languages fluently, their manners, their social and dress habits, and display a certain friendliness and open-mindedness.

Clearly they have come a long way since the early '50s when the first Indo-Canadian family is believed to have moved into the area. A gradual increase was to follow in the mid-'60s with the Federal Government rescinding its racially motivated prejudicial quota system for immigration from the Indian subcontinent. This was replaced by a point rating system that took into account family ties with those already in the country, as also educational qualifications and the need for particular types of people to fill positions for which Canadians were either unwilling or not available in adequate numbers. Today, 65 per cent of the Indo-Canadians in the Ottawa region are originally from India, 14 per cent come from the United Kingdom, and the rest from countries like East and West Indies, Africa and the US.

There is little doubt that the human capital embodied in this community can be valued in millions of dollars—a significant contribution to the assets of their adopted country. Indeed, if at all these statistics can be used to generalise, they are hardly likely to place demands on the country's old age services over the next 15 years at least.

—SURESH JAIN

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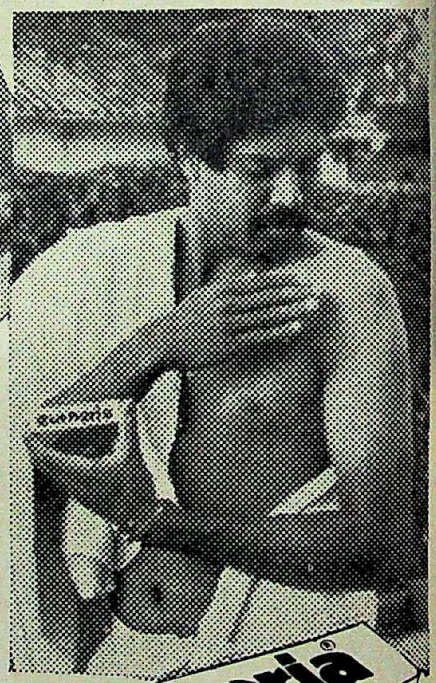
"EUTHERIA gives me prompt relief from muscular sprains and pains"

-Says Kapil Dev



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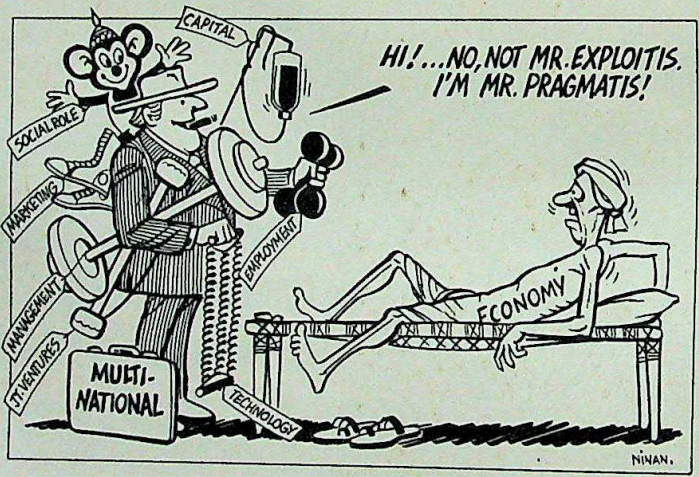
A Crumbling Stereotype

AS INDIRA Gandhi leads the Indian economy into the brave new world of foreign collaborations and stepped up alien investments while FERA (Foreign Exchange Regulation Act) gasps for air, the rhetoric about a sell-out to western corporate interests continues to mount. Opponents of economic liberalisation liken Finance Minister Pranab Mukherjee's recent visit to the United States as a surrender to neo-coca-colonialism.

The debate focuses, once again, on the role of the ubiquitous multinational corporation. Is the multinational an amoral, market-grabbing behemoth that, like ITT in Chile, devours nationalists like Salvadore Allende for breakfast? Or is it essentially a manipulable tool for capital formation and increased employment that can be disciplined into good corporate citizenships?

These conflicts have been well publicised. And experts have devoted years of study to assess whether the recognisable economic benefits of multinational investment in Third World countries—stimulation of local entrepreneurship through subcontracting, newly trained workers, dislodging local monopolists, technology transfers—are offset by serious social costs such as environmental pollution, foreign political patronage, firing workers in areas of underemployment through the use of capital-intensive production. Authoritative micro-economic cost-benefit analyses of the impact of multinationals in selected countries done by scholars such as Martin Sanders and Carlo Secchi (*Private Foreign Investment In Foreign Countries*), and the UNCTAD-financed report on the same subject by Sanjaya Lall and Paul Streeten yielded no conclusive results.



Changing Attitudes: But several new studies reveal that the old stereotypes are gradually crumbling. Multinationals—which have contributed about $6.7 billion annually in direct investment flows to developing countries—have become acutely conscious and sensitive to the apprehensions of developing countries about foreign domination of their economies. The United States in particular was sensitised to the fear of foreign economic domination after OPEC countries began to invest their surpluses in US assets.

The OPEC price increases, while devastating to the economies of the Third World, gave many developing nations a psychological boost. OPEC demonstrated that an organised group of developing countries had succeeded in forcing a shift of world health. OPEC inspired a loose, but still incipient, economic unity among Third World nations that led to the United Nations declaration on the establishment of a new economic order. For the first time, a confederation of developing countries was able to discuss all aspects of north-south economic confrontation. This yet fragile exercise in unity—the sharing of common experiences regarding the operation of multinationals gave developing nations the confidence to deal with multinationals—in the way as they had tackled other aspects of north-south economic relations—foreign investments, technology transfers and the interna monetary system.

"Despite the rhetoric still emanating at the political says Dr Isiah Frank, professor of international econom John Hopkins University School for Advanced Interna Studies, "many developing countries have achieved greater confidence in their technical negotiations with multinational are far more conscious of their ability to shape events an gotiate from positions of greater strength." And chastened OPEC experience, many industrialised nations now have a "g capacity to empathise with the determination of other co to control their destinies. As a consequence, multinational porations now tend to be less ideological and more prag and flexible in their approach to operations in the devel world," adds Dr Frank.

Wide-ranging Study: Dr Frank has just completed a prehensive study on ch taking place in the rel ships between multinati and the Third World. S sored by the Committe Economic Development the study presents the r of interviews with top m gers of 90 leading mu tional firms based in United States, Europe, and Australia. Frank did n away from any contro subject. The topics he in gated included 'unbundli the term used for findin dependent sources for va components of foreign in ment packages, local bo ing, adaptation and licensing of technology, transfer pr investment incentives, export requirements, and corrupt prac

One of the study's most significant findings was a sympathy among multinationals for the broadly-stated nat goals of developing countries." In their own interests, say Frank, corporations are accommodating Third World nee increasing training and employment of host country nati broadening local equity participation, and adapting product processes to meet the labour force and market needs of the country.

Dr Frank's study shows that while there have been mutu beneficial gains, tensions still exist. Multinationals, he cau must recognise that Third World governments are committe fulfilling the social and economic needs of their people and therefore, require various constraints on private business haviour. But Third World governments "must recognise multinationals are by their nature not direct agents of s change but that, given reasonably stable and equitable cond under which to operate, they can make major contributio Third World development goals."

Significant Findings: One shibboleth that Dr Frank tively demolishes is the widely held view that opposition to m nationals is based on progressive ideology. The most stable mutually profitable arrangements, including joint ventures

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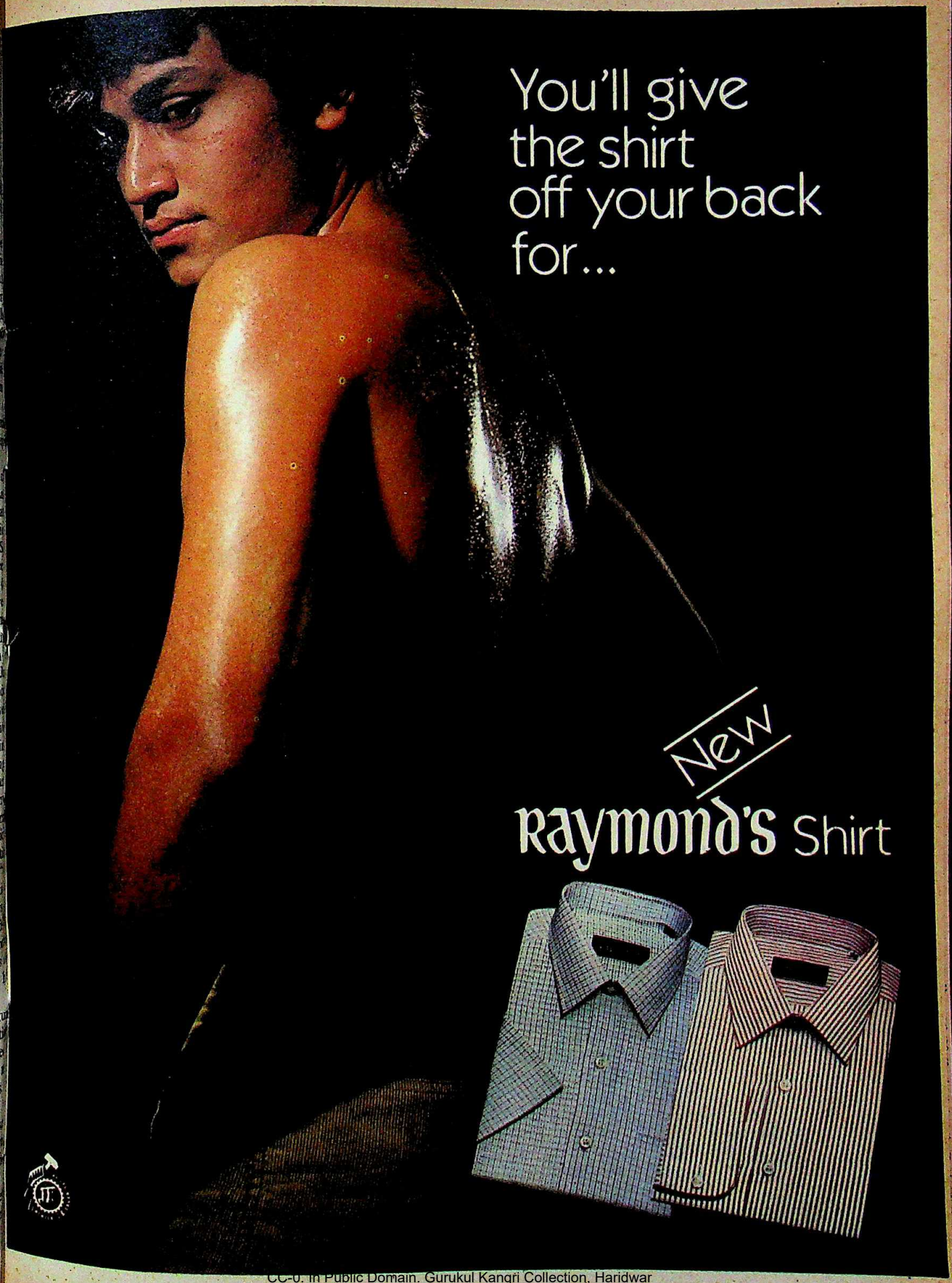

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chnology sales agreements, notes Dr Frank, have been negotia- d between multinationals and the socialist countries of East rope. With their strong governments and "clear sense of na- onal purpose, these countries have, by and large, been able to fer the multinationals firm and well-defined conditions without ar of being dominated or taken over."

Another startling finding is that multinationals point to stability—not ideology—as the main deterrent to investing road. But Dr Frank found that by "instability" the companies not mean political upheavals and changes in regime. Even ough foreign investment tapers off during such crises it re- vers when the new regime consolidates power. According to the w CED study: "Much more important are those forms of insta- ity that need not result from internal political upheavals: eats of political action, changes in conditions of operations ch as ownership and remittance regulations, complex and awn out bureaucratic procedures, and more generally, the ospect of arbitrary and unpredictable alterations in the rules of e game after investment decisions have been made."

While the criticisms of multinationals are real and based on idence, multinationals often serve as convenient scapegoats hen governments are unable to satisfy the needs and aspirations their people, the study ds. Because they are big, ey are seen as smothering cal enterprise. Because they e foreign they are seen as ens subverting the indi- nous culture. Because they e private, they are seen as pacious.

In their own interests multinational corporations are accommodating Third World needs by increasing training and employment of host country nationals, broadening local equity participation, and adapting products and processes to meet the labour force and market needs of the host country.

BUT REALITY doesn't always submit to these popular generalisations. ere is a succession of dilem- as undergirding Third World- ultinational relations. The udy offers some of these: if multinationals repatriate the bulk their profits they are depriving the host nation of the newly- ated wealth. If, on the other hand, the firms re-invest the bulk their profits locally, they are further increasing the ownership d control of the economy of the host country.

If multinationals pay local workers the standard wage, they exploiting cheap labour and garnering excess profits. If they y more than the prevailing wage they are siphoning off the best the labour supply and rendering local firms uncompetitive. If ultinationals bring in the latest machinery and equipment they introducing inappropriate technology and diminishing job portunities in the host country. If they bring in older and mpler technology they are short-changing the local economy.

Yet, most developing countries—China included—actively out multinationals and encourage investment. The reason, study notes, is because there does appear to be an overall nefit from foreign investment to the host economy. Labour ms to benefit not only because of higher wages and more oductivity but also because of more employment. Says Dr ank: "This may be particularly important where population d labour force growth rates are high, as they are in many veloping countries."

If foreign investment can in itself be attractive to host vernments why then the raging controversy over the impact of se corporations on economic development? To answer this estion Dr Frank and his team designed a lengthy catalogue of ecific tension-creating problems" and interviewed the kings and captains of leading multinationals across the world. His major findings was that multinationals are more sympathetic to the aspirations of developing countries than had earlier been believed and that they are willing to show considerable flexibility in the problem areas they encounter when dealing with the Third World. The following are some examples of friction areas and the responses the study received during extensive interviews:

► Effects on local entrepreneurs: Many host countries fear that the entry of a multinational in a field in which local firms already exist will stifle local entrepreneurship. The multinationals countered that in high-technology sectors the local competition is usually from other foreign enterprises rather than from local businessmen. The multinationals say that their presence actually stimulates local entrepreneurship by upgrading local products, expanded markets, and linkages with the domestic economy.

► Unbundling: Most developing countries oppose the total control of all aspects of an investment package—manufacturing, marketing, managing, transportation and so on—by a single foreign firm. "Unbundling" the investment package—letting other companies get a piece of the action—host countries say, helps them get domestic control over important sectors of the economy. Even though the multinationals did not welcome pressures to unbundle, their responses were varied and flexible. Most of them were willing to accommodate this pattern in the extractive (oil production, mining) field rather than in high-technology manufacturing. But they all agreed that the cost to the developing country using this method is much greater than the standard foreign investment package.

► Clash between corporate and national goals: Critics of multinationals charge that corporate goals—profit maximisation, diversification of raw material supplies—clash with national goals such as employment maximisation, rural development and social objectives. Interviews revealed that the goals are not mutually exclusive. Corporate executives showed a willingness to accept a social responsibility and claimed that they often served host national objectives better than many domestic enterprises.

► Technology transfers: Most developing countries clash repeatedly with multinationals over the appropriateness of the technology used by the company, the terms on which it is transferred, and the need to develop an indigenous research and development capability. Critics charge that foreign companies not only produce goods that are too sophisticated but that they also use production processes that are excessively capital-intensive.

But the study found that multinationals often tend to bend over backwards in trying to adapt products and manufacturing methods to meet local conditions. Most American manufacturers have formal arrangements for considering technological adaptations. One Swedish firm employs a special staff to design processes for specific use in Third World countries.

Says Dr Frank: "The most helpful contribution to this debate will be to seek ideas about how to reduce the social costs and increase the social benefits" of the operations of multinationals. Or, as Shigaeki Ueki, Brazilian minister for mines and energy said some years ago: "It is perfectly possible to neutralise the evils that multinationals can cause and take advantages of the benefits they can bring to our economy."

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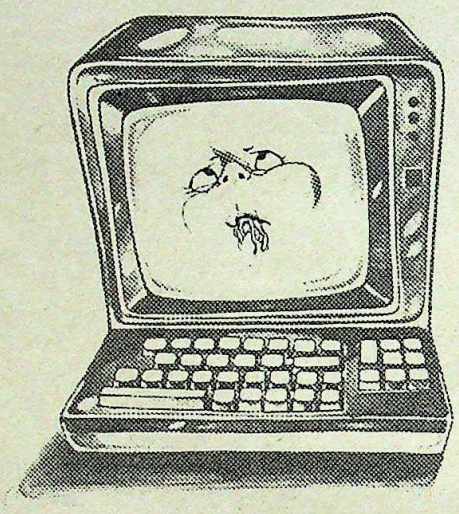

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THE NORTH-EAST

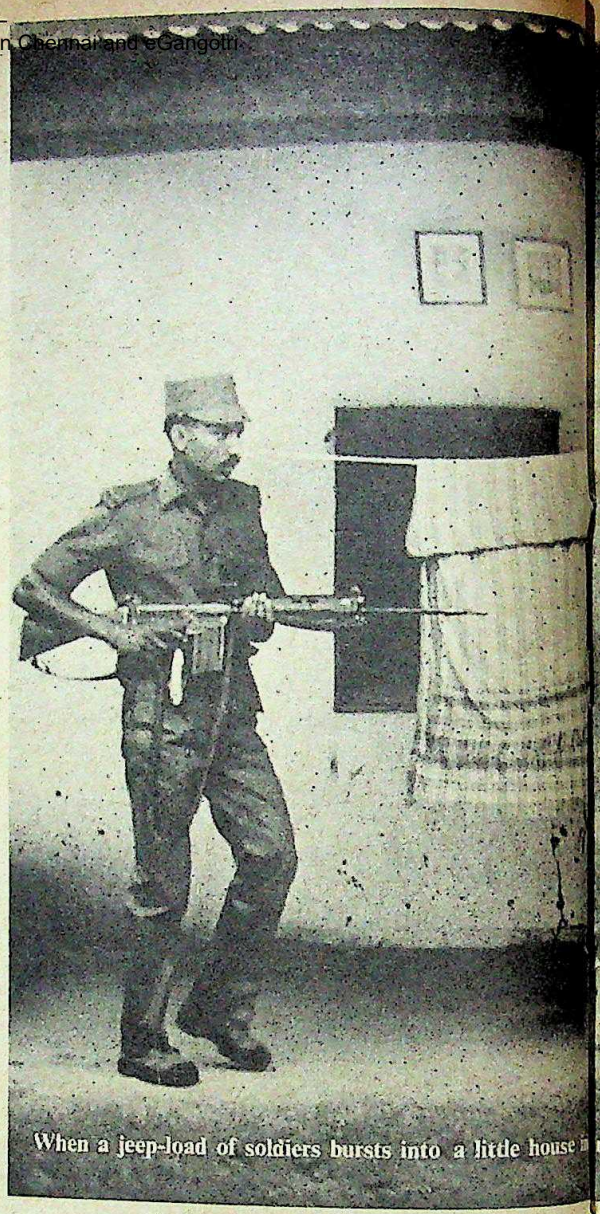
THE HUMAN TRAGEDY

It is a war without end, a no-win situation in which nobody can provide answers to some questions: How long will this go on? Which side will eventually prevail? What is the cost to the nation in money, *matériel*, men?

This war has no name. It is more an endless series of skirmishes than a sustained military confrontation. Yet, this war has been raging intermittently for 26 years in Nagaland, Manipur and Mizoram.

It is also a terrible human tragedy, a tragedy that flings soldiers trained to battle with the enemy's identifiable army against tenacious opponents who are Indians—and yet foes.

Trapped between the two sides are the ordinary civilians—the villager, the simple government employee, the middle-class town inhabitant. For them, the future spells strife, bloodshed, terror and hatred.



When a jeep-load of soldiers bursts into a little house in rebel, th

IT IS a journey into the heart of darkness, a sadness made sharper by the cold highland air. The sun rises far earlier in these regions than anywhere else in the country, and the nights are full of jungle sounds. At every step these sounds grow in cadence, filling unfamiliar ears to bursting; the darkness seems to hide a thousand men with hungry guns.

The tension swirls around all the time, and the Nagas, the Manipuris and the Mizos, accustomed to laughter and quick song, used to their own strong identities, nevertheless harbour deep fear—and anger. Every night-time knock heralds danger—either the hunted guerrilla demanding shelter or food at gunpoint, or the harried soldier bursting in to ransack the house in pursuit of his quicksilver quarry.

The steep jungled hills that tumble pell-mell through the region provide ideal terrain for the guerrilla. 'Civilisation' in the western sense came late to these hills, in the late 19th century, and it has not yet supplanted the older—and equally civilised—order.

In 1956, when Angami Zapu Phizo lit the fires of revolt in Nagaland, the Indian Army was sent in to quell the flames. Unaccustomed to jungle warfare, fed with the doctrines of counter-insurgency gurus like Frank Kitson and Robert Thompson, men who brewed mistakes committed during the Malayan counter-insurgency into disaster in Vietnam, the army behaved more like a garrison force, charged with the task of bringing fierce aliens into line.

Many mistakes, dictated by whimsy and caprice, were committed in the years afterwards, but the Nagas, the Manipuris and the Mizos recognise that they are still seen as uneasy partners in a strained marriage. And insurgency has a way of incubating an endless sequence of mistakes.

Over the years, the tragedies of these states have become as commonplace as those elsewhere in India. But truth has b a casualty of this war, too, and bloody counters between the guerrillas and the curity forces' today merit only scant s in the national press.

Meanwhile, the nation has been p ing in more and more troops into t areas. Dozens of rebel leaders are either prison, or dead, or have come "u ground". Nagaland's Phizo and Mizoram Laldenga are in exile in the West. But th war continues.

The tragedy is immeasurable, and brutal truth is that Assam, and Khalis affect the national psyche more only cause they provide vital supplies of oil, timber and food. In contrast, the Ce complains of pumping in untold crore aid into Nagaland, Manipur and Mizo and of subsidising their unproduc economies.

Delhi's perception of the 'far No east' is warped by its geographical dist

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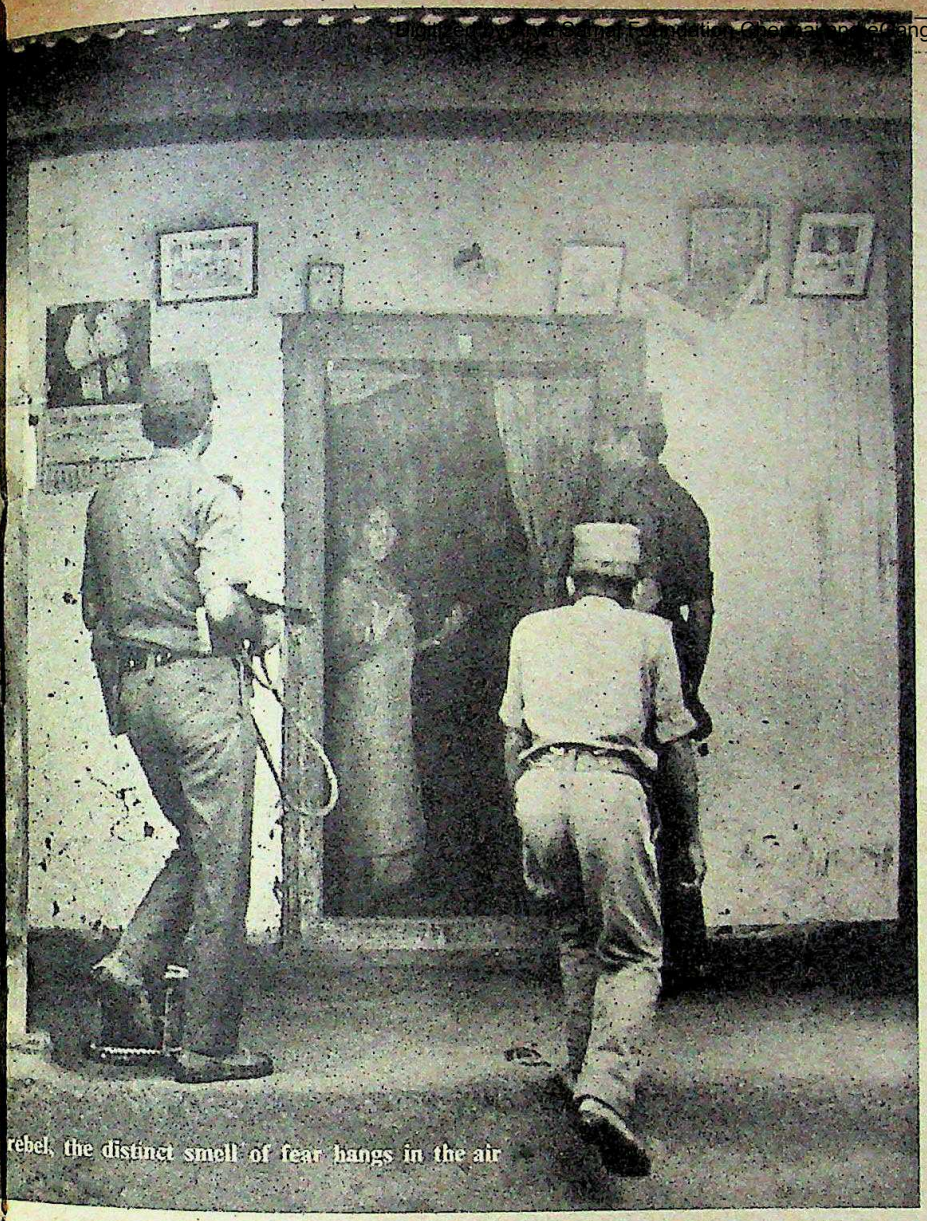

rebel, the distinct smell of fear hangs in the air

MANIPUR

Death's Wings

FEAR is an infectious dis ease. It slowly invades th bones, setting off shudder when an army Jonga sc reams to a halt in th middle of an Imphal street soldiers spewing out wit sub-machine guns at firing position. A little-boy figure sits in the Jonga, olive green cap pulled low over his face. "He' our latest informer," says the young impatient Major. The informer ha pointed a finger at a passer-by. Th passer-by is stopped and searched, hi shirt ripped open, his protests stilled wit a slap. The informer, a diminutive yout only 19 years old, stares back at the crow that collects, his eyes holding a mixture o defiance and terror. The crowd mark him: he has become a stooge, he was no brave enough to stand up to interrogation But the informer is young, and many o Imphal's youngest and best men have bee claimed by the underground. Back at th army camp atop the Singjamei hillock i the centre of Imphal, the boy stumbles o the Jonga. His hands and feet come int view: they are chained together.

Fear and suspicion have becom Manipur's pseudonyms. The army jawa is ostensibly helping Manipur's civ authorities curb a law-and-order problem But the soldier is a human being: hi uniform does not turn him into machine. He remembers other soldier killed by urban guerrillas who whippe out guns from innocuous sling-bags, i broad daylight.

At very tense moments, fear acquire a distinct smell, and when a jeep-load o soldiers bursts into a little house in shadowy lane to search for a hidden rebe the smell hangs in the air. "There was thi rebel we were chasing," recalls a jee driver. "It was horrible; he knew the lane very well. When the havildar caught u with him, the boy coolly shot him throug the heart. He was like a tiger."

The soldier in Manipur is an itineran fisher of rebellious men, and the men h hunts are fish at home in their ow waters. The soldier's image of Impha often consists of sudden encounters wit the guerrillas, or the stifling life of th barracks, or a blur of faces as a convo whips through the streets. "I get ba dreams," confides another soldier, lookin nervously to see if his officer is withi earshot. "I know there will some day be bullet for me."

How did all this begin? Is Impha

om the capital. Nor are people elsewhere the country very concerned about what ppens in these distant regions. Shaped by eir histories into close-knit, insular lives, e North-easterners of Mongoloid stock lk painfully about how they are often ta- en to be foreigners in other parts of India. uch ignorance only deepens their sense of olation.

These warped perceptions boil over en mediocre bureaucrats from other parts India—more often than not on 'punish- ent postings'—are sent to administer these nsitive areas. Such men have treated their arges like colonial outposts.

All the people in this region have proud artial histories, traditions of valour, pro- ess and pride. For them, India represents ly a brown colonialism that replaced the hite colonialism of the British. To them, fe ideally means a dignified existence, se- re in values that have been pieced tog- her over centuries. What they demand is *sensitive partnership and peace, not vassal-hood and bloodshed.*

It is an impossible situation. The young Naga, Meetei or Mizo who studies in universities outside his region still wants to return to live among his people. But unemployment and anger quickly build up, and self-respect finally seems to flow only from the barrel of a gun.

The mistakes run deeper. Saner minds in the army speak feelingly about the web they are entangled in. Corruption, abysmal economic development, and thoughtless destruction of traditional societal values have provided insurgency its best encouragement.

As the heat increases, the security forces, guns at the ready, cannot distinguish between the people and the rebels, and the civilians in turn cannot distinguish between one soldier in uniform and another. What is happening to all the actors in this interminable tragedy? INDIA TODAY *Correspondent* CHAITANYA KALBAG *set out to find out.*

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part of India too? The questions become indistinct in the heat, and the answers are complicated. Like most insurgencies, the Meetei revolt began because young and educated men discovered that they could not get jobs without paying bribes, that corruption and exploitation had reached incendiary point. The Meeteis had more reason to feel boxed-in—they were surrounded by hills inhabited by Naga and Mizo tribals. Within Manipur itself, therefore, there was isolation within isolation. Imphal is very much part of India, but when an outsider is contemptuously called *mayang* (foreigner), and everyday lives are interrupted by sudden death, the mind begins to look for a logic for this situation.

There is no logic in many deaths notched up only because this is a war in which innocents will get killed. On January 12 this year, a boy called Basant Singh is arrested by the army in Imphal. He is a pre-degree science student. His body is found the next day. A government press note says he was shot while escaping. The Opposition brings this up in the Assembly, there is an uproar, and a judicial enquiry is ordered. Basant Singh is found innocent and the Government grants his parents compensation of Rs 0,000. That, say Imphalites, is the money that buys a clerk's job in the secretariat.

The soldier in Manipur is an itinerant fisher of rebellious men. His image of Imphal consists of sudden encounters with guerrillas, or the barracks' stifling life, or a blur of faces as a convoy whips through the streets.

KODOMPOKPI is more a blurred suburb than a village, lying on the fringes of the airport, 10 km from Imphal. Its houses better-built than usual. A game of volleyball is on at the playground bordering the village. In April this year, Kodompokpi's 2,000 inhabitants woke up to gunfire. It was not a new sound for them, but it was louder than usual.

The previous night 14 rebels from the People's Liberation Army (PLA) commandeered the upper storey of farmer S. Bira's house. The army was tipped off, and early in the morning a large number of soldiers, led by a brigadier, surrounded the village. All the villagers were shepherded on to the playground, and the battle began. Somehow, before they could be anticipated, the rebels fled through a screen of thicket and shrub towards a quadrangle surrounded by five houses. The women in the houses fled in panic, and the real shoot-out began then.

Four hours later, after the army burnt down the five houses in which the rebels were hiding, it had won one of its best victories against the insurgents—nine PLA men killed, including ranking *ojha* (leader) Kunjbihari, and five captured.

What about the owners of the destroyed houses? Kangjam Shamu, 54, says impassively that everything in his house, and those of four other farmers was destroyed. Bare-bodied, unsure of whether the strangers are friends or intelligence men, he takes time to talk. The battle bewildered the five men: they had become unwitting parties to it. "We only got a tent to replace each house, some blankets, and some rice," says Shamu. "Also, the army gave us Rs 6,000 per family as compensation. We asked the army for more, but they said: go to the Government. The Government has done nothing." The five men lead the way to the burnt-out ruins of a granary, gingerly lifting charred handfuls of paddy from the ground. The men were in the fields when the battle took place. But their women-folk were brushed by the wings of death.

But all this is in the crowded Imphal valley, inhabited by the Meeteis, where passions ebb and flow in lunatic rhythm, and the urban insurgents melt into a sea of similar faces. Manipur is also being torn apart by another major insurgency, this one fought by the hardier Nagas. Around April last year, the hilly East District, inhabited by the Thangkhul Nagas, suddenly began to be infiltrated by large numbers of armed rebels belonging to the National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN), led by Thuingaleng Muivah, himself a Thangkhul. The NSCN bases are situated at Somrah and Ngachan, just across the border from Manipur in Burma. Late last December, alarmed at the inroads made by the NSCN, the army posted the 21 Sikh Battalion at Ukhrul, headquarters of the East District.

ON FEBRUARY 19 this year three trucks carrying soldiers from the Sikh Battalion were rounding a sharp bend in the mountain road to Ukhrul near a small bridge called Namthilok, 70 km from Imphal. The convoy was ambushed in textbook style by the NSCN.

It was a quick, ruthless and efficient guerrilla operation, and it was clear that Muivah, once a follower of rebel Naga leader A.Z. Phizo, had put his training in China to good use. For 15 minutes, as the surprised soldiers vainly tried to return fire, the Nagas' bullets rained down on the "killing ground". Twenty jawans and a civilian contractor were killed. The attackers vanished into thin air. It was one of the largest-ever and best-planned ambushes in the North-east's bl

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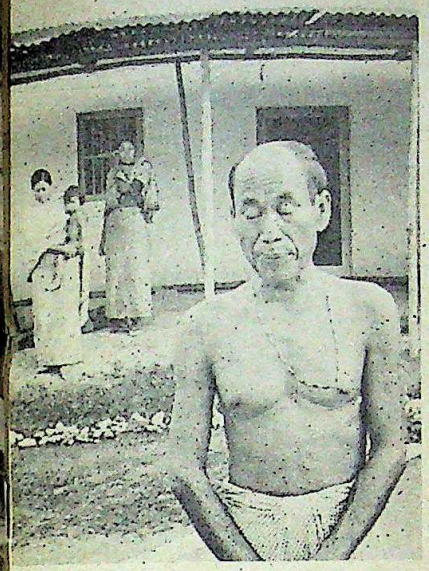
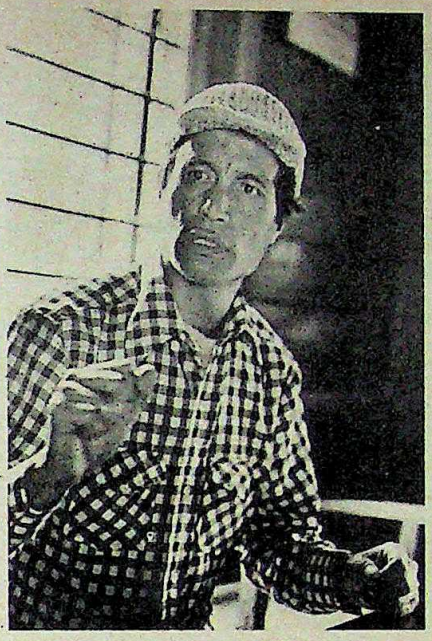


The army burnt our houses and gave each family Rs 6,000 as compensation. The government has done nothing.

—Kangjam Shamu, *Kodompokpi*



We are trapped between the underground and the army. The army can judge us with a single bullet.

—Kongsui Luithui, *Ukhrul town*

istory. Later, the soldiers found that the mbushers had even dug trenches at the te. The only bright spot in the senseless laughter was the heroism of one wounded kh soldier, who kept his finger pressed rmly on his Stengun trigger, spraying the r with bullets and preventing the mbushers from snatching any weapons.

"How would you feel if 20 of your iends were killed in one terrible ccident?" asks the army officer, his eyes andering off. "They had planned the mbush very well. They must have got aid om every village on the 150-km stretch nside from the border. We hadn't even set p camp properly."

The NSCN has not more than 1,500 en in its ranks, but insurgency, like ater, finds its own level. Every time the ecurity forces kill a few rebels, the surgents broadcast a dirge of oppression, nd more recruits take the place of the ead. It is like trying to empty a bog filled ith quicksand—the more you scoop out, e more it sucks you in.

The men from 21 Sikh had ndergone, in full battalion strength, a ve-week 'pre-induction' course at the ounter-Insurgency and Jungle Warfare chool at Vairengte, in Mizoram, from November 10 to December 14 last year. Much of the soldiers' training focussed on Psy Ops (psychological operations)—the winning of the people's hearts and minds.

THE NAMTHILOK ambush was like an unexpected blow in the gut. It brutalised both the army and the people of East District. Closely-knit, their barrack lives as interlinked as those of the tribal Nagas, the soldiers were chafing at separation from their families, and the prospect of a three-year stint in surroundings that were suddenly hostile. They reacted violently to the loss of their comrades. All their training was swamped by rage, revenge and sheer cruelty. The jungles had brutalised the Naga ambushers. Their cruelty brutalised the army. The army in turn turned upon the people. It was a numbing chain reaction.

Ukhrul town is an object lesson in underdevelopment. Its population is 6,000, and in many ways it seems to have become a village that grew into itself. One long street traverses the town from end to end, the district hospital and the district magistrate's bungalow forming punctuation points, the road rising past the police station and an Assam Rifles camp to the market area, where a popular tea-shop is owned by a perpetually drunk Sikh.

Ukhrul is headquarters of a hilly district that covers 4,323 sq km and has a total population of 87,000. Yet, it boasts of three ancient diesel generators that turn out a total of 200 KW of electricity—just enough to provide lights to half the town on alternate nights, only until 11 p.m. Ukhrul has no water supply—its households collect rain-water or trek to distant streams. The district hospital has no ambulance and no X-ray machine. seriously ill patients have sometimes been airlifted by helicopter to Imphal for treatment. The telephone exchange, or the postal system, do not work, and Ukhrulites send mail through friends travelling by bus to Imphal. "Good bureaucrats from elsewhere in India do not want to serve in Manipur," says Shimthee Ruivah, a Naga student leader.

"The ambush came as a shock to us," says Kongsui Luithui, 40, a member of the Autonomous District Council. "It was cold-blooded slaughter. The rebels must have been showing off their muscle, and the Sikh Battalion had not got acclimatised to the area. But does this explain why they behaved as they did?"

Luithui has other reasons for his bitterness. Last year, after he protested at the arrest of two Ukhrul girls, the army officer commanding the Assam Rifles post arrested him. Two days of torture ended in Luithui being helicoptered to hospital in Imphal with excess loss of blood. The army officer was court-martialled and lost four years of seniority as punishment. Thin-voiced and long-limbed, Luithui adjusts his Sherlock Holmesian cap as he describes the weakness the beating-up had left him with. "We are trapped between the underground and the army," he says. "The army's cruelty to the people after the ambush drove many young men into the rebels' ranks. The truth was that the army could judge us with a single bullet."

The people in Ukhrul are certainly caught in a trap. In February last year the NSCN's guerrillas killed seven fellow Nagas in the town in one evening. They were accused of 'collaboration' with the army, of false collection of money in the NSCN's name, of supplying girls to the soldiers, or even of simple drunkenness.

The least of the reactions to the ambush came when District Magistrate Gyan Prakash Joshi slapped collective fines of Rs 100 per household on three villages—Sikibung, Shangkai and Lamlai Chingphei—situated close to the ambush spot. For a few days the villagers there were herded to the road and roughly interrogated by the soldiers. The deadline

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INSURGENCY

Brewing Revolt

THE MEETEI insurgency in Manipur's Imphal valley stems from a terrible imbalance in population distribution. More than 67 per cent of the state's population of 1.43 million is concentrated in the valley, which covers only one-tenth of the total area of 22,356 sq km. The valley is surrounded by five hill districts, populated largely by various Naga tribes, except in the south where many Kukis and Mizos reside.

Manipur's population leapt by one-third between 1971 and 1981. Underdevelopment here is compounded by a high rate of literacy (41.99 per cent) and unemployment that afflicts more than a tenth of the population.

Ruled by the benign Maharaja Bodh Chandra Singh, Manipur reluctantly acceded to the Indian Union in 1949. But merger did not lead to assimilation, and in 1965 several young Meeteis, joined by Yangmaso Shaiza (a Thangkhul Naga and later chief minister of the state) secretly formed the Revolutionary Government of Manipur (RGM). Some revolutionaries, including Nameirakpam Bisheshwar Singh, even went into the then East Pakistan to obtain support.

The RGM was liquidated in 1969 when the Government imprisoned several of its leaders in Agartala jail. That was where Bisheshwar met Naxalite prisoners and decided that the future lay in a tie-up with China. The RGM leaders were granted total amnesty in 1975 by Congress chief minister Dorendra Singh.

Soon, angry because his mentor Sudhir Kumar was helping Dorendra Singh, Bisheshwar formed another secret group of rebels who journeyed quite a few times to Lhasa, in Chinese-occupied Tibet, for ideological and tactical training. The People's Liberation Army (PLA) unleashed its urban guerrilla war as recently as in July 1978. The following year, another disgruntled Meetei youth, Tulachandra Singh, formed the People's Revolutionary Party of Kangleipak (PREPAK), Kangleipak being Manipur's historical name.

Today, both Bisheshwar and Tulachandra are in prison in Imphal, and insurgency is ostensibly well under control. But Temba Singh, the only *ojha* (guru) trained in Lhasa to remain underground from the PLA's 15 original leaders, is leading the PLA's reported strength of 250 in regular forays against the security forces.

The PLA's policy objectives were set out in three secret volumes titled *Dawn*, the last of which appeared in early 1980. Emblazoned with red stars, the documents succinctly set out Bisheshwar's vision of liberation. "The most urgent issue at the present stage is a real Marxist party," they insist, "guided by Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong thought—a party which, by mobilising the masses, can lead the people to an armed revolution. We should wipe out Delhi's effective strength by means of guerrilla warfare."

PREPAK is a more lumpen group, given to senseless acts of violence. The party vows to establish a 'Socialist Sovereign State' in Manipur, and to suppress all "counter-revolutionary people and class enemies".

Mizoram: For a quarter-century after Independence, Mizoram (area: 21,087 sq km) remained one of Assam's 14 districts. Only in 1972, six years after the Mizo insurgency led by Laldenga broke out, was it granted Union territory status. Although it is a small dot on India's map, Mizoram's population of 4.87 lakh enjoys a literacy rate of 59.5 per cent. Mizoram's agricultural economy depends on *jhum* or shifting cultivation on the steep hillsides.

Insurgency in Mizoram was fed not so much by the kind of social disillusionment that existed in Manipur, but by the exigencies of food. *Mao tam*, a crippling famine, struck Mizoram in 1959, and the hardships caused then, and the neglect of the then Assam government, contributed greatly to insurgency.

Insurgency however led to the forcible resettlement of many Mizo villages in grouping centres, and even today the union territory suffers from frequent droughts, necessitating the airdropping of food to many isolated villages and the transportation from outside of every commodity of everyday consumption.

Today, more than six years after Laldenga returned from exile in the West, he has had to return there, his prolonged "peace talks" with the Union Government in Delhi called off. Pushed up against the wall, the MNF has embarked on a campaign of terror since early this year, and is at the same time manipulating Mizoram's opposition parties, led by the Congress(I), into provocative stands that can only perpetuate the dubious effects of the Mizo insurgency. Although the MNF currently has only 350 men in its ranks, more security forces have been posted in the union territory to combat the renewed insurgency.

Underground armies dotting the region envisage the eventual liberation, with Chinese help, of land that will take in Nagaland, Manipur and Mizoram.

Nagaland: 'Civilisation' came to the warrior-like Nagas only around 1873 when the first Baptist missionaries arrived to spread Christianity. Today, most of the Nagas are devout Christians of the Protestant faith.

Historical Naga settlements eventually led to the creation of dozens of distinct tribes, and each tribe evolved its own distinct language. Even today, an Angami Naga cannot understand the Ao dialect, or a Chakhesang, the Khemungan dialect.

Most of Nagaland's area of 16,487 sq km consists of densely jungled hills; the population is sparse (7.73 lakh in 1981). A 42 per cent literacy rate has contributed to a situation where the average young Naga, beset by unemployment and limited prospects in farming, gets frustrated.

Angami Zapu Phizo, who spearheaded the Naga National Council (NNC), declared independence for Nagaland on August 14, 1947. Two months earlier, the NNC had signed a nine-point agreement with Sir Akbar Hydari, the then governor of Assam.

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gave the Nagas considerable omy. But alienation between the s and the Assamese (Nagaland, was a district of that state) grew y, and in March 1956, full-scale ities broke out.

Phizo meanwhile escaped to exile gland in 1960, and continued to ermind the insurgency from on. He was not a party to the ric' Shillong Accord in 1975, ostensibly ended the insurgency. rtheless, believing that Phizo had he "sell-out" to India, one of his militant lieutenants, Thuingaleng ah, set up a breakaway faction the National Socialist Council of aland (NSCN), with its headquarters rma, in 1980.

Muivah was aided by two other r rebel leaders, Isak Chishi Swu S.S. Khaplang. Declaring that itics is successful but only when ed by arms", the NSCN resolved to on the armed struggle for pendence.

Although Muivah is guided by xist doctrines, and many NSCN rillas have received training in sa and in China's Yunnan pro- e, the NSCN says that it stands for h in God and the salvation of kind in Jesus". Intelligence sources the NSCN's 1,500 men comprise the est rebel 'army' in the North-east.

In the seven years since the ong Accord, the NSCN's ranks have led because of the growing pre- es within Nagaland. With no in- ry worth the name, governmental loyment has come to mean the future for most educated Nagas. hough the Inner Line system in aland (and Mizoram) means that ernment employees are paid 33 per salary extra, there is a vast di- tomy between the elite Nagas and os and the majority of the poorer agers.

Ideologues in the underground ar- s dotting the region, like aland's Muivah and Manipur's eshwar, visualise the eventual libe- on, with Chinese help, of a huge of land that will take in Nagaland, nipur, Mizoram, the Kabaw valley the Liem area west of the ndwin river in Upper Burma, the kan State in central Burma, and the ttagong Hill Tracts of Bangladesh. In total area, these areas will be ger than the present Bangladesh, there will be two fine seaports in 'liberation zone'—Chittagong and yab.

The soldiers should be like gardeners—they should tend their gardens, the nation, and not let cattle from outside get in. Instead, they are destroying the beauty in the gardens they ought to protect.

—Z. Ningaima ***(far right) and fellow woodcutters, Ukhrul***

for the payment of the fines was due to expire on July 31, but three days earlier, Joshi and district police personnel forcibly collected the fines from the three villages, pulling out property and restoring it only when the fine was paid up.

At 27, Joshi is very young, and more willing to talk than the average soldier tramping through Ukhrul's main street. He wears glasses, an unkempt beard, and seems a little lost in the spacious bungalow he lives in. He says the collective fines were sanctioned by the Assam Maintenance of Public Order Act, 1947, extended to Manipur. "I collected the fines before my deadline expired just to let the villagers know that the administration functions," he says.

Joshi is not saying something remarkable. The recurring attitude among even seasoned North-east administrators is that the tribals need disciplining, the tribals understand only the language of force.

"Innocent people have definitely suffered," says the district magistrate, "but even the army is hamstrung—how do you prove in court that a villager gave shelter to a rebel? The villagers' duty is to report to us if any rebel passes through their area. If they refuse to cooperate, the army has no alternative but to suspect everybody."

Joshi does not mention that the Disturbed Areas Act and the Armed Forces (Assam and Manipur) Special Powers Act confer extraordinary powers on the army. East District is virtually under martial rule, and the army can arrest people on mere suspicion, detain them for unspecified periods for interrogation, and only then hand them over to the civil police.

The day after the ambush Joshi was rushing back to Ukhrul from a tour. He was stopped at an army checkpost; his vehicle and credentials were scoffed at. For three hours the district magistrate fumed and raged; he was allowed to go only when a senior officer arrived. "That was only an aberration," says an embarrassed Joshi.

K. Akai, 38, and Z. Ningaima, 35, are both ex-army men, and both served in the Assam Regiment. Now their faces are lined with apprehension, and their hands, calloused by hard work, move expressively as they describe their own experience of the army's gut-reaction to the ambush.

The conversation with Akai and Ningaima and seven other men takes place in a longish room, somebody's living-room, lit only by two flickering candles. The day after the ambush, say the two men, they and a dozen other woodcutters were trekking towards their workplace. As they were passing the army camp at Phungrei, just outside Ukhrul town, a

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patrol pounced on them. Their saws, axes and machetes were thrown aside, and for three hours they were systematically beaten up. The soldiers believed that S. Ragin, an 18-year-old boy in the group, was a rebel. Ragin is a class 10 student at the Ukhrul High School.

Only when Akai and Ningaima offered to run back to the town to fetch their old army identity cards did the soldiers let up. But by the time they returned, breathless, Ragin had been severely beaten. District hospital records later showed that he had suffered from extensive heamatoma—clotted blood—and subcutaneous bleeding. Says a furious Ningaima: "I was posted in South India with the army for seven long years. We were very friendly with everyone there. The soldiers should be like gardeners—they should tend their gardens, the nation, and not allow cattle from outside to get in. Instead, they are destroying the beauty in the gardens they ought to protect."

TALKING about their experiences long after, the men and women of Ukhrul take time to remember the little details of the inhumanity they encountered; but as the memory floods in, their faces change from the usual calmness to contortions of remembered pain.

Thingthing is 20 years old, and except for a yellow T-shirt and a plain, scrubbed face, she could be just another Naga villager. It takes a lot of time to locate her; the entire day she has been working in her family's field, tending the sugarcane and maize crop, and only when the sun goes down does she trudge back up the rocky path, her head bowed low, crowned by a leather strap that holds up a big pot of water hanging at her back. The water has to be brought from a stream about 3 km outside the village.

The village is called Kalhang, and is situated 50 km from Ukhrul on the new border road. Outside the headman's long and dark hut rises a large patch of chest-high marijuana plants. Three tiny children, covered with dirt, play happily with roughly-fashioned tops. The village's show-piece, the church, stands atop a hillock, its spire burnished.

Thingthing is the eldest of nine children in a very poor family. "Thotwon and Khathingla, two other girls, and I were taken for questioning thrice by the army," she says, her voice getting rushed as her anger rises. "On the third occasion, in February, the three of us were taken by the major all the way to the army camp at Awang Kasom, and detained for two hours." Her voice falters; the interpreter tells all the men to go away. "The soldiers even plucked our pubic hair," says Thingthing, anguish in her eyes. "We have no education, and we cannot even talk to them. Why did they behave like beasts?"

After the soldier finished, he made me put on my clothes again and made signs to warn me that he would kill me if I reported the incident. He marched me at gunpoint to where two more soldiers were standing.

—K. Shangkai, ***sodomy victim, Nungbi village***

The Awang Kasom camp of the army has attained notoriety for more than this one incident. Particularly, word has spread throughout East District about what the army did to an old man called K. Shangkai. Shangkai lives in Nungbi village, very close to Kalhang. Perched atop a cliff, the village can be reached only by a jeep with four-wheel drive.

SHANGKAI is frail and somewhat startled in his expression. He sits next to the fire in the centre of the long room, his narrative occasionally making him jump down from his low stool. At 52 years of age he has four children, the eldest son doing his B.A. at Shillong while the father tends his little patch of land.

On May 22 this year, Shangkai and his older brother Honlei had taken a large herd of cattle out to graze at Chamza, a place near Nungbi. The village men pooled their cattle and took it in turns to take them grazing. Honlei wandered a little ahead, and overcome by the heat of the afternoon, Shangkai decided to take a nap in a disused shed on the hillside.

"Suddenly I was woken up soldier," he narrates, "who aske something. I could not understan language. Then he held up two finge was asking: were there two of us? for my brother, I said no, I was Then the soldier slapped me. I was to remove my shirt, and he beat m his rifle butt."

Finally, the soldier pulled Sha into an adjacent ravine and asked squat there. "He looked around to anybody else was around," says Sha "and then asked me to remove my and kneel with my palms on the gro His rifle planted on the old man's the soldier began to take off his trousers. When Shangkai looked bac was soundly clubbed. The soldier ko behind him, spat on his own penis a the old man's anus, and then proceed sodomise him.

"After he finished," recalls Sha his voice shaking with pain and ange made me put on my clothes again made signs to warn me that he woul me if I reported the incident. He ma me at gunpoint to where two soldiers were standing. One of

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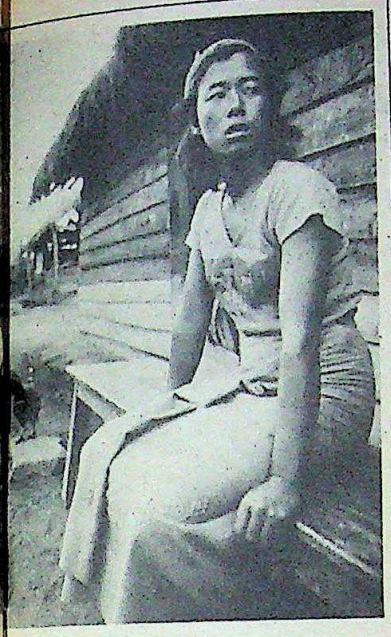

The soldiers plucked out our pubic hair. We cannot even talk to them. Why did they behave like beasts?

—Thingthing, *Kalhang village*

His face seems as if he has walked miles through an ice-box—taut, the muscles frozen, glaze-eyed.

—K. Rashing, *Huining village*

eared to be his leader. After some ment, this soldier finally let me go."

The soldier's name was Bakshi Singh, of course Shangkai did not know it. shi Singh's face, however, remained rinted on his memory. For the old , it wasn't just another Sikh face. "I great difficulty in climbing," says ngkai, "but I somehow went back to ngbi. My brother was hiding near the tion. He said he had fled when he saw soldier grabbing hold of me."

Stunned at the fate that had befallen ngkai, his eldest daughter ran to mon a relative, Kanrei. A village der also rushed to Shangkai's house. At they did not believe what he told n. "Then I told them I was still ding," says Shangkai, "and showed m."

The incident occurred on a Saturday. following day Nungbi's senior agers went to the army camp at Awang om to lodge a complaint. They were ed to return a week later because the cerned patrol party had not yet rned to base.

Only a week later, therefore, was ngkai able to identify the soldier who sodomised him. The old man was taken to the district hospital at Ukhrul. The records there are matter-of-fact. His injuries are listed as "contusions on waist and backbone, bleeding injury in anus... forcible intermission of blunt weapon (or) penis... resulting from the act of sodomy".

Bakshi Singh was eventually court-martialled at Jorhat in Assam, sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment, and dismissed from service. "How can I be satisfied with a court martial?" asks Shangkai. "How can I be satisfied with such scanty punishment? How can a human being do something like this?"

HUINING village, 20 km from Ukhrul town, has attained historicity too. The Sikh Battalion raided the village on March 5 at 8 p.m. All the women were hustled into the village church and not allowed to leave till the next morning. K. Rashing, 30, was taken away for questioning. A tall man, Rashing is on this particular morning wearing a large and warm woollen shawl, but his face seems as if he has walked for miles through an ice-box—taut, the muscles frozen, glaze-eyed. His knees tremble, and not because Ukhrul is 8,000 feet above sea level.

"I was dragged away to the army camp," says Rashing, "and after a few days, I forget how many, I was taken to the big camp at Leimakhong near Imphal. For 41 days I was given the worst treatment the army could think of." The voice cracks, and in the crowded dining room of the Ukhrulite where all these recent sufferers have gathered, almost as though they were petitioning the outside world through the visitors, the other people scrunch backwards against the wooden walls, embarrassed.

Rashing's voice lowers to a whisper, and has to be amplified by the interpreter. "I was given electric shocks all over my body, even in my private parts," he goes on in a monotone. "Hung upside down and thrashed on my soles with lathis. Water was poured into my nose as I hung that way, and chilli powder pushed into my rectum." Rashing didn't crack under the questioning—there was nothing he could have told his tormentors, anyway. He was just another villager, trapped in this madness.

The night Rashing was taken away from Huining, the villagers, not able to comprehend why the army had descended on them, tried to placate the major and the captain in the raiding squad by presenting them with the only gifts of value they could think of—beautifully-woven Naga shawls. Every household in Ukhrul and the surrounding villages weaves its own shawls—brilliant compositions in black, red, a bit of green and white, each motif steeped in its own symbolism, the shawl painstakingly created on a sloping loom.

Four days after Rashing was arrested, however, the soldiers came back to Huining. This time they picked on C. Paul, assistant pastor of Huining church, and C. Daniel, headmaster of the village school. The two men were beaten and made to sign a blank piece of paper, which was then forcibly attested by C. Shangnam and H.L. Machihan, two village leaders. Paul and Daniel were taken away.

They have not returned to this day. Their wives, Vangamla and Thingkhuila, are beside themselves with grief and anxiety. Thingkhuila is obviously a devoted mother; she breast-feeds her fifth child while the taller and fairer Vangamla describes their ordeal. The room is ringed with men from Huining, but Vangamla's eloquence is sufficient.

"The army told us that it had released our husbands the very next day," says Vangamla. "But they did not return. On March 15, we walked all the way to the army camp. We actually saw, through

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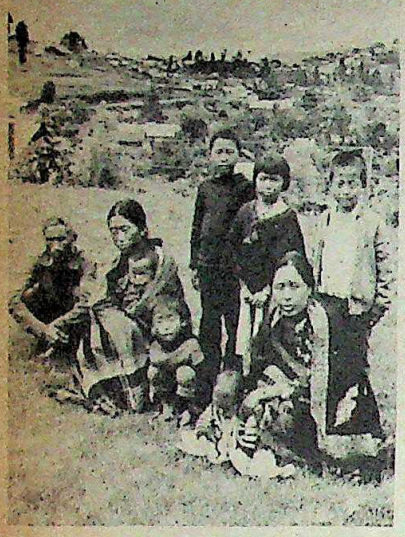

We saw our husbands being led to a tent. They were blindfolded, an armed soldier on each side.

—Vangamla *and* Thingkhuila *(the seated women), Huining village*

A silent crowd collected as the two men cowered inside the police station, their faces drawn with fatigue and terror.

—R. Molongring *and* R. Hopeson, *Kharasom village*

The recurring attitude is th the tribals will respond on to disciplining, the tribals understand only the language of force.

the fence, our husbands being led to a tent; they were blindfolded, an armed soldier on each side. That was the last time we saw them."

The army says that the two men have joined the underground after their release. To Huining's shocked villagers, it seems unbelievable that two of their prominent citizens should do something so obvious and not inform their distraught wives.

THE DOCTOR at Ukhrul's little hospital has records that show 52 villagers he personally treated between February 20 and May 30 this year for injuries that were "the results of beating, torture, and electric shocks". "Many of my patients had burn marks on their fingertips and genitals," says the young and popular doctor. "I would think that the people brought here were the very serious cases, because distances are so high that the villagers can't bring each and every illness to the hospital."

"Thangkhul women are very brave, and very hard-working," says N. Ruivana, president of the Thangkhul Shanao Long (women's association). "They are the ones who work longest in the fields. But now we are mortally scared. We can't move around freely, we move only in groups of 10 or 15. Why have the soldiers behaved like this? They think we are sex objects, they jeer and say things we cannot understand when we pass by." The Thangkhul Shanao Long was formed in 1974 after Miss Rose died. Miss Rose (nobody remembers her full name) has become a semi-canonised figure in East District. Eight years back, in 1974, Miss Rose was raped by some bottled-up soldier of the Indian Army; unable to face the future, Miss Rose killed herself. People remember her a lot these days.

District Magistrate Joshi readily admits that the army may have gone berserk in one or two places, but he thinks the people are exaggerating its misdeeds. "We have been integrated physically into India," says a young Manipur Naga, "but not emotionally." Joshi has his own ethnic explanation. "Just as the villagers cannot distinguish between one Sikh soldier and another," he says, "the soldiers cannot distinguish between one Naga and another. The villagers think all Sikhs are oppressors, the Sikhs think all villagers are insurgents."

The people of Ukhrul are not fanatical in their hatred or anguish. They point out that the army responded to the torture complaints by posting a brigadier in Ukhrul in late April, and replacing one very cruel intelligence officer who had conducted most of the interrogations. In early August, an additional battalio 12 Garhwal, was posted near Ukh "counterbalance" the 21 Sikh, becau Garhwalis were "docile, friendly sol

But has the army really spent i over the Namthilok ambush? As r as on August 5, at midnight, th Battalion's soldiers arrested Molongring and R. Hopeson, two from Kharasom village, 90 km Ukhrul. Molongring, 25, is a bachel runs a *paan* shop. Hopeson, 39, is a culosis patient. When the two men d return for some days, Kharasom's vi thought they had been killed.

Suddenly, early in the morni August 11, word flew through th town that the two men had been ta over the previous night by the army t police station. A silent crowd collecte the drizzly cold as the two men co inside the police station. The police about to send them to the district ho Molongring and Hopeson lifted dirty, ragged shirts to show the t marks—shock burns around their n navels and genitals, a stumbling ga meant they had been beaten on their

The police station was crowded awed onlookers. The two inspectors did not object when photographs taken of the two men.

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RAM

roup Therapy

IT IS not easy to mingle with the ordinary army jawan and to discover what makes him tick. Yet, watching a file of jawans returning from a tough, three-day patrol is educative. usted, their faces drawn with fatigue the tensions induced by the jungle, carbines slung over weary shoulhefting leaden rucksacks packed their supplies, boots muddy and in places, the soldiers seem to have punished as much as the rebels they by the implacable jungle and its al of horrors—leeches that can suck blood for their relentless appetites; quitoes that induce malaria overnight. Most army units are posted for a mum of three years in the "active" h-east. Three years there can make man lash out at the most fleeting of ows. Indeed, the staccato savagery of war-without-end often brings out the al in the two sides. Yet again, it is a eful war, with no artillery pieces nding enemy positions, no jets ming in to strafe the visible foe. The ing is sudden, shadowy, and brief, the bat at close quarters, and death is r predictable.

Today, the chatter of the machine- in Mizoram only occasionally rises e the incessant noise of the *ngirtlings*, jungle crickets. The average Mizo onal Front (MNF) guerrilla is far less mitted to his cause than the Naga or tei insurgent. Since 1976, when enga returned to India from exile ad, the MNF's main endeavour has to use insurgency as a lever to gain tical power in the union territory.

UT SOME of the long-term upheavals caused by the Mizo insurgency will nebe forgotten. Traditionally, Mizo so- has been strongly village-oriented. re village chieftainships were abolished 956, the headmen exercised tremendous rol over the villagers' lives. Each ge in turn was a small, self-contained mmunity, almost totally self-sufficient in d, *jhum* or slash-and-burn cultivation the neighbouring hill slopes yielding ugh rice and maize.

Fired by the philosophies of counterrgency gurus Thompson and Kitson, army decided in 1967 to "group" oram's scattered villages, in order to n the insurgency that had erupted in ruary of the previous year. Thousands

Evils like drinking, gambling and petty crime took root. People became very lazy. Neighbours became strangers.

—Ralliana *and his father* Selchhunga, *Saitual, Mizoram*

of villagers were forcibly evicted from their traditional homes, herded to either side of the slender road linking Mizoram with the outside world, and resettled in the 'grouping centres'. Stockades were built around these settlements, identity cards issued to the inhabitants, and movement in and out severely restricted. When the operation ended, 516 of Mizoram's 764 villages had been pushed together into 110 'grouping centres'.

THE EFFECTS of regrouping were disastrous, and afflict Mizoram even today. The MNF insurgency grew out of a famine relief movement, but Mizoram today is constantly teetering on the brink of famine. What happened was that the Mizo farmers had to trek farther and farther to reach cultivable areas. The slightest lapse—providing shelter to an insurgent, for instance—was punished by withdrawal of rations and curtailed freedom of movement. Soon, the land under cultivation fell drastically in area, and agriculture plummeted as a result. The jungle steadily crept back into many traditional *jhum* areas. By 1970, Mizoram was facing an unprecedented food crisis.

The damage done is clear. Almost every item of consumption, from salt to rice, has to be transported today by road into the union territory. The monthly figures of foodgrain imports are startling—5,500 tonnes of rice, 221 tonnes of sugar, 500 tonnes of wheat.

Ralliana is a smiling, 40-year-old man, quick with his figures and very polite with strangers. He is the headmaster of the high school in Saitual, one of Mizoram's larger towns and an important 'grouping centre'. Teaching runs in Ralliana's family. His father Selchhunga, 85, proudly points out a photograph hanging on the wall in which president S. Radhakrishnan is handing the retired teacher a national award. Wizened and perky, the old man scurries inside to don a faded coat for the photograph.

Ralliana conducts the visitors around the crowded alleys of Saitual. "Saitual was a grouping centre," he says, "but it was also an important insurgent stronghold at the height of the MNF revolt. I myself was in the MNF for some years." Today, Saitual has 585 houses and a population of 3,725—a number beyond the older inhabitants' reckoning. On a chart in his house, however, Ralliana has diligently pencilled in the rising population numbers.

"Four other villages—Sihfa, Tualbung, Lungpher and Saichal—were crammed into Saitual's bursting confines," recalls Ralliana. "*Jhum* cultivation is cyclic," he explains, "and *jhum* land takes seven years to return to a stage where it can be re-cultivated. You can imagine what happens if the jungle reclaims land totally."

Regrouping led to a boom in commerce, too, and some Mizos gave up farming to take up trade and government contracts. In one of the grocery shops lining Saitual's main street sits Lalhmingliana. At 45, he has experienced the worst of the social consequences of regrouping.

"My family was uprooted from Sihfa along with 180 others," he says, "and resettled here. The Sihfa villagers were not given new houses or loans; we had to fend for ourselves." In sheer frustration, Lalhmingliana joined the MNF; he returned only in 1972, a hardened 'captain' of the rebel army, to take up farming. "We have never eaten as well as we did in the old days before the regrouping," he says bitterly. His face turns stony as he surveys the stacks of tinned foods on the shop's shelves. "This is what 'discipline' gave us," he says, "tinned goods we cannot afford."

"Our identities were shattered by regrouping," he goes on. "Suddenly, all kinds of characters were living side by side in the grouping centre. The younger people began to like the main road; it was their passport, they thought, to the outside world, to prosperity. But they did not

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LALTHLAMUANI

Cry Of Anguish

NO VEHICULAR traffic moves on the vital road linking Silchar, in Assam's Cachar district, to Aizawl, the capital of Mizoram, without heavy armed escort these days. The cease-fire with the Mizo National Front (MNF) was lifted early this year, and the MNF's ranks were steadily whittled away by successful police and army operations. Upset because its leader Laldenga was forced into exile in West Germany, the MNF initially tried to use the suspended peace talks as a lever to gain political capital. When village council elections were held soon after the cease-fire was rescinded, Mizoram's opposition parties, led vociferously by the Congress(I), used the suspension of the peace talks as a propaganda tool, and the ruling People's Conference (PC) candidates were badly beaten in a majority of the villages.

In May this year, however, with the MNF's campaign of terror hanging over their heads, the voters changed tack: of four by-elections to the Assembly, three were won by the PC and the fourth by a PC-backed independent. The MNF's rage knew no limits.

My husband was a true moderate. After he returned from the underground he became a 'born-again' Christian, an active Presbyterian. What did he do to deserve this cruelty?

—**Lalthlamuani,** ***the widow of the murdered Mizo MLA***

Reprisal: In a tucked-away house in the Bungkawn locality in Aizawl, a woman called Lalthlamuani is mourning the MNF's irrationality. Thirty-three years old, Lalthlamuani is employed in the Education Department. A plump, matronly woman, she wears a satiny blouse and the distinctive Mizo *lungi*. She is quiet-voiced, her grief spent, looking now and then at her infant son, squalling as he is pacified by an awkward male relative.

Lalthlamuani's husband Rivung Zadinga, 35, was one of the victorious PC candidates last May. His election from the Phuldungsei constituency capped a steadily rising public career, during which he had grown into a church leader and the brightest PC hopeful.

Showing the visitors a cluster of photo albums, Lalthlamuani points out highlights in the life she shared with Zadinga: moments trapped between the plastic sheets of the elongated volumes. Getting her to talk about Zadinga is painful; it brings back memories, and her eyes flood with tears. "On June 15," says Lalthlamuani, "my husband was on a thanksgiving visit to Lungphun village in his constituency. He was killed by an MNF assassin there." Zadinga's body was helicoptered back to Aizawl the following day. It was sudden, inexplicable cruelty.

Lalthlamuani's grief bubbles over when she recalls that Zadinga himself was an MNF guerrilla from 1966 to 1968. "My husband was a true moderate," she sobs. "After he returned from the underground he became a 'born-again' Christian, an active Presbyterian. What did he do to deserve this cruelty? He was not a stranger to the MNF."

Moral Succour: Zadinga's photographs stare back from the walls of the house. He is stern-faced, even in a picture where a Chakma tribal in his constituency is handing him a bamboo flask filled with water. He has left four children behind, the youngest of them a six-month-old son. The walls are also lined with mementoes of grief—testimonials in ornate calligraphy from various PC units, and a profusion of artificial flowers in gaudy bouquets. Every morning the house fills with visitors and neighbours, the women sitting around smoking their acrid *bidis*. Everyone pitches in with the housework: the aim is to keep the family's attention diverted from its grief.

Zadinga's death, and that of Z. Kapmawia, editor of the pro-government *Chhawrpial* newspaper who was killed by the MNF in Aizawl the day before Zadinga, have had a tremendous impact on the Mizos. The two men were the only Mizos killed during a fortnight of terror that claimed nine other lives. Overnight, the MNF lost a tremendous amount of public sympathy.

In the months following, the MNF has been trying desperately to rescue its tarnished image to keep up the pressure on the Government. But hundreds of non-Mizos, scared by the June terrorism, have fled the union territory—depriving schools of teachers and governmental agencies of personnel. Worse still for the MNF, the Mizos now seriously doubt the integrity of the once-admired rebel army.

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from their places, and their ation only increased. Discipline went the drain."

t is a little incredible to listen to complaints, for alienation and a loss nship are attributes of big city life, for the city-dweller Saitual is just er small town. But when Saitual in resent form was shaped forcibly by rmy, it led to a heartfelt loss of the s' old life-styles. Complains Ralliana: eard of evils like drinking, gambling etty crime took root. People became lazy. Neighbours would not erate with each other."

n the latter half of the '70s, unable pe with the miseries of the grouping es, more and more Mizos began to e back to their old village sites. But sites were called *thlaw bawks* porary villages) and until very tly the Government did not even gnise their existence. The *thlaw bawks* not entitled to food subsidies; their bitants could not vote in village ncil elections. For all purposes, inhabitants were non-persons.

GALAND

e In The Soul

REVOLUTION is not wrought overnight. Insurgency is no joke. Ultimately, the insurgents in the North-east have little or no chance of wresting independence from the vastly erior grasp of the Indian Army. What keeps them going? Knowing that lt means death, capture, or a danous life in the jungles, why do so many ng men take up arms?

Nowhere has the experience of insurcy been longer and greater than in galand, and nowhere else in the North- has human suffering been more pain- and protracted. Nagaland was the oratory in which the Indian Army, new counter-insurgency, committed its big- t errors. The experiences of those years f helped the army evolve better tactics ighting the rebels. But Nagaland has ered from stasis since 1975, when the llong Accord ostensibly brought peace he bloodied state.

Highly literate, the Nagas have been ven to the wall by the growing rich- or hiatus in the state, which is ruled by orrupt clique of politicians who treat ers only as tickets to a multi-crore- ee future. And nowhere in Nagaland is growing alienation more visible than Khonoma village.

Situated barely 25 km from Kohima, the capital, Khonoma has attained a history all its own. In pre-British days, the Khonomias, who belong to the Angami tribe, had established paramountcy over all the villages in the region by dint of their warriors' ferocity and military skill. Before the British finally subjugated the Nagas in 1879, they had to fight pitched battles with the Khonomias, who killed many British soldiers before they surrendered. Angami Zapu Phizo, the father of the Naga insurgency, is a Khonomia; so are many of the rebellion's most legendary figures, particularly 'General' Mowu Angami, the commander-in-chief of the underground army.

When insurgency broke out in full force in 1956, Khonoma bore the brunt of the army's fury. Singled out because it had produced so many rebel leaders, the village was ringed by five army camps, and the entire population was forced to flee into the surrounding jungle.

Gentle, soft-spoken Ngutuono, 50, is one of Khonoma's respected women. Her face frequently crinkles into a smile, but there is something hard in her eyes. Two of her three brothers were prominent rebels—Mhasiu Gwizantsu, the eldest, was president of the underground federal government, and Dobu Chase, the second brother, was speaker of the Tatar Hoho, the underground parliament.

"Man, woman and child, we all had to abandon our homes and run," recalls Ngutuono. "I was myself imprisoned in Imphal Jail for some years." Her hands knot themselves on her lap as she talks about her brother Dobu. "There was a cease-fire, and Dobu was visiting Khonoma. The army was waiting for him, and he was pounced upon and shot through the throat. His body was dragged through the village before it was handed over to us.". Dobu Chase was killed in 1974. Eighteen years earlier, however, Ngutuono lost her youngest and most loved brother, Pelesato. "Pelesato was a missionary, in the Chakhesang area," says Ngutuono. "He was tortured for many days before he died at the hands of the army. What had he done to deserve such cruelty?"

KHONOMA is dotted with the graves of men and women who died in those fiery years, the "martyrs of the Naga cause". The village is very suspicious of strangers, believing every visitor to be a "government agent" who will distort their voices before they reach the outside world. But the villagers do not hesitate in speaking out. "We were jailed, tortured, beaten, bound, spat on, hung upside down and thrashed," says Ngutuono. "The army even came after us into the jungle to flush the women and children out. The peace you see today is illusory. The army, instead of dousing the flame of revolt, only added fuel to it."

We do not believe we can ever live under Indian rule. We only hope the struggle will be resolved peacefully.

—Ngutuono, *Khonoma village*

Sebi Dolie, 55, is an introspective man, his girth wrapped comfortably in a vibrant Angami shawl. He very rarely changes his stoical expression, not even when he is talking about something that greatly angers him. He is wrapped in a low-keyed cocoon of silence, and the Khonomias inevitably defer to him.

Dolie talks about the years of the insurgency, and the effect they had on Khonoma's psyche. "Our suffering came about not because of wrongdoing," he says, "but because we believed in our cause. We wanted to protect our identities, to govern ourselves."

Naga village life revolved around certain traditions. One of these was an evening gathering of village folk where all kinds of problems were argued out. "We were denied even these fundamental rights of assembly," says Dolie. "Our land is our most precious asset. We believe it is sacred and God-given. We were torn away from

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it. We had to watch it run to seed."

Dolie remembers one incident vividly. "It was in the late '60s," he says. "There was a cease-fire—there were frequent cease-fires during the war. One of our bravest lads, Captain Arno, came to visit his family in the village. Arno was chased like a dog through the village, with everyone watching, and shot dead when he was cornered."

On the outskirts of the village stands a large, elevated shed, a rest-house for any passing and tired traveller. Beside it rise several rough columns of stone, put up by villagers to commemorate their dead ancestors. Dolie leads the way to Arno's grave, just outside the rest-house. The grave is unmarked and topped by a flat stone—a natural seat. "We buried him with his .303 rifle," says Dolie. "We haven't put up a tombstone because it may be desecrated. We will write Arno's story in stone one day when we are free."

Older Khonomias like Ngutuono and Dolie believe sincerely that Nagaland will be independent one day. It is unnerving, seven years after the Shillong Accord, to hear the Khonomias speak of the "Indian people" like a separate entity. "We do not believe that we can ever live under Indian rule," says Ngutuono. "We only hope the struggle will be resolved peacefully."

Six young and bright Nagas decided in early June this year to return to the jungles. Their stories are symbolic of the anger and disillusionment that are swelling the ranks of the pro-Phizo federal army and the larger NSCN force led by Thuingaleng Muivah. One of the six men is called Khoto. Ngutuono says that Khoto's mother was killed by an army bullet when he was an infant in her arms. "We have a saying," she says. "The child will always walk in the trail of his parents' blood."

Another of the young men who went across into Burma in June is Tubu Kevichusa. Tubu's father is one of Nagaland's most illustrious citizens—he was the first Naga matriculate, the first IAS officer, the first member of Parliament.

Our suffering came about not because of wrongdoing, but because we believed in our cause.

—Sebi Dolie, *Khonoma village, Nagaland*

The Kevichusas also belong to Khonoma.

Tubu Kevichusa gave up a flourishing law practice in Dimapur, Nagaland's second-largest town, to take up arms. In eloquent letters to his friends explaining his decision, he states the realities of the Naga situation. In one letter he writes: "The Naga people have waited more than any other nation in the Asian subcontinent for wisdom and honour in those in whose hands our fate had been placed by an accidental twist of history." In another, he says: "Other nations pay heavily for the price of war but the Nagas are now paying heav seemingly peaceful The Shillong Accord utilised by (the) In consolidate their mili litical and commerc tions in the Naga hom

Up there in K looking out at th fields, reworked dilig the villagers, the blood still being spilt becaus surgency seems a waste. What Nagalan Manipur and Mizoram today are lasting solutions, the restora many cherished values, and the slow together of an endurin nership. Everywhere three states, the c people, the army and bels seem trapped in with no routes outward up on a mountain roa the ceaseless chitter cicadas echoing throu silent jungle, these q rise up like a phalanx sts to haunt the peop care.

Ultimately these have to choose their this war without end. N sums this up better tha Debray, who as a you concerned Frenchman know every Latin A insurgency intimately. I when the Indian Arm engaged in putting dow the Naga and Mizo gencies, Debray was a ing, from close quart study the Bolivian masterminded by 'Che' Guevara. Captu the Bolivian army, he on trial. In his statem the trial, Debray summ the human tragedy of insurgency:

"Naturally the tragedy is that not kill objects, numbers, abstract terchangeable instruments, but, pre on both sides, irreplaceable individua sentially innocent, unique for those have loved, bred, esteemed them. the tragedy of history, of any histo any revolution. It is not individuals are placed face to face in these batt class interests and ideas; but those fall in them, those who die, are p are men. We cannot avoid this con tion, escape from this pain."

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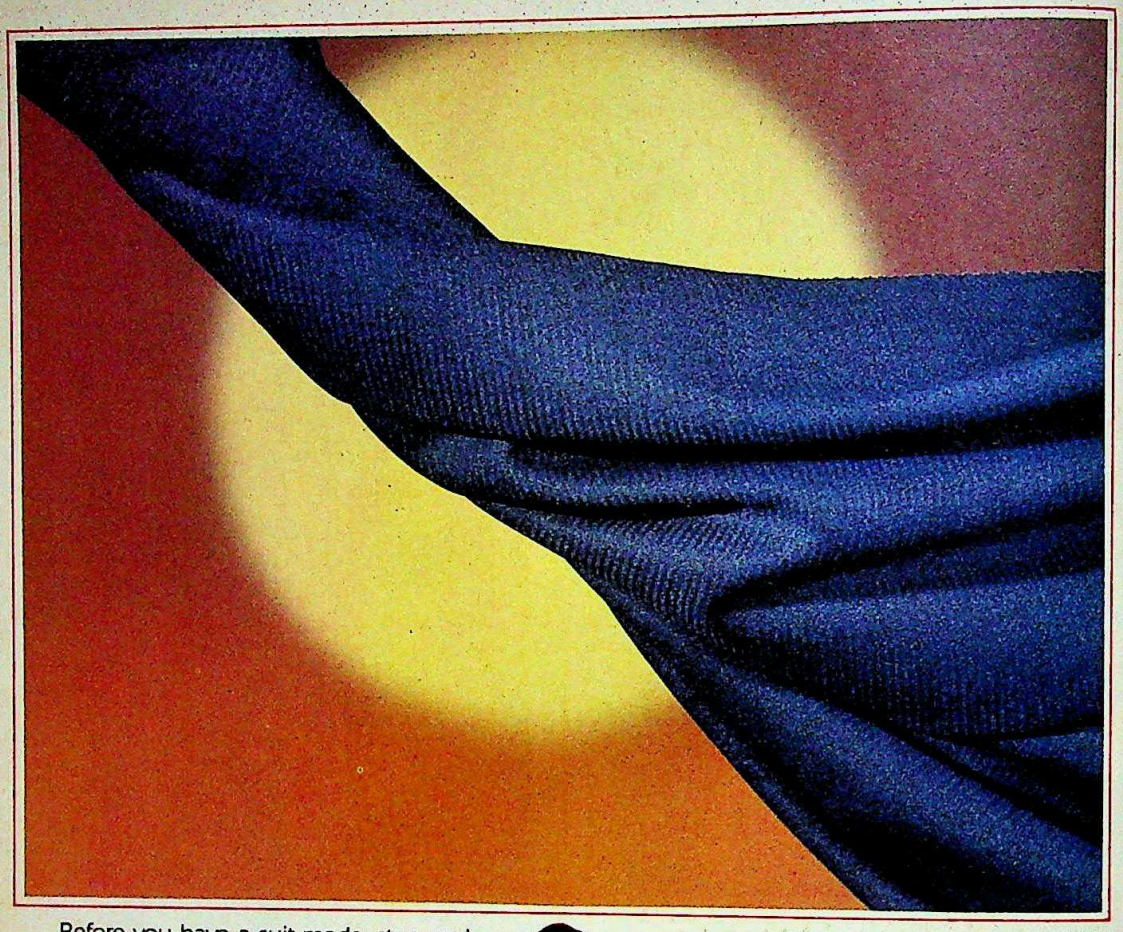

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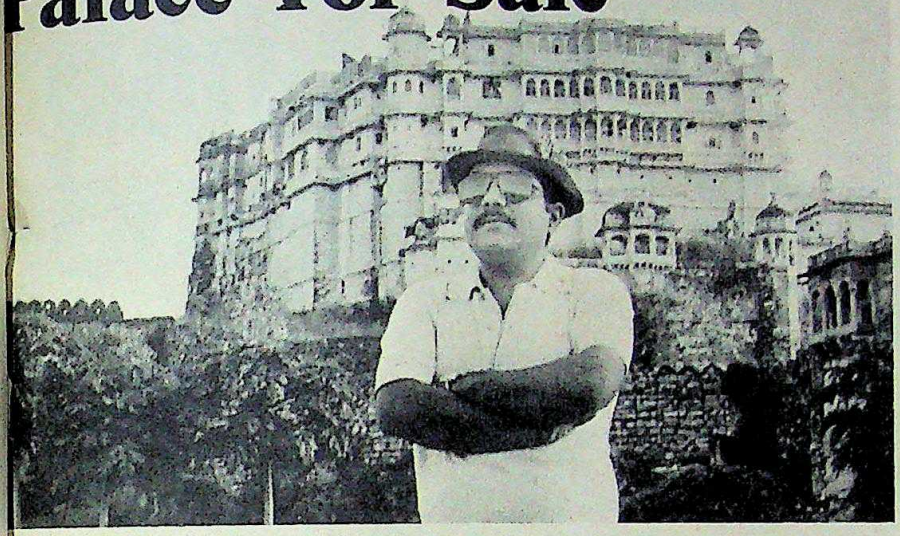
ELWARA

Palace For Sale



Akshey Singh poses before the palace fortress: meagre response

A SMALL classified notice appeared in the pages of *The Times of India* back in 1979. It read: "Fort for sale, rooms, excellent location on Delhi-medabad national highway outside aipur." Since then, the monumental ace 17 miles north of Udaipur has lain ant, its 400-year-old, four storey facade nting the valley between Udaipur city the pilgrimage town of Nathdwara.

There are few takers for this extraor-ary palace-fortress. Its owners, who ong to the erstwhile Delwara feudatory he Mewar kingdom, have been trying og it for years but with little success. s Maharaj Akshey Singh, the tubby year-old scion of the Rajput *thikana:* ll the offers we have got for the palace far are so paltry that they run into no re than a few lakhs. We can't seem to a buyer for a property that in many er parts of the world would be worth a ket. Selling a palace in India is a big off in the 1980s."

Akshey Singh, who operates as a inessman out of Udaipur, and his older ther Vikram Singh inherited the Del-a Palace through their family but have-lived in it since they were schoolkids. has anyone else. The place has been ked up, parts of it falling into total epair, its driveway choked with rubble weeds, since their father Rajrana man Singh moved to Ajmer in the y 1970s to supervise his sons' cation. He died there in 1975 and it med too impractical to return to occupy sprawling family mansion that contains 36 stables, four garages, a playground and innumerable bedrooms with attached baths.

Rising out of Delwara village, which has its own higher secondary school, hospital, police station and telegraph to service a population of about 5,000, the palace, alas, has regressed in time out of sheer disuse. It has no electricity, because the last time the lights were on in the mighty house of Delwara, they operated through the palace's private generator. The last time the garages were full, they housed an Oldsmobile, a Buick and two jeeps; and as for the stables, 20 horses and one elephant were maintained to conduct the frequent hunting expeditions in the surrounding country. "My father shot over 100 panthers," says Akshey Singh, "my older brother shot about 10 but, by the time I grew up, I didn't bag more than two. It's an indication of changed times. In fact, you'd be lucky today to sight any wildlife at all in the region."

Changed Fortunes: Loss of wildlife apart, the Delwara Palace is a sad reminder of the rapidly changed fortunes of former princelings. Because Delwara was merely a zamindari as opposed to a full-fledged princely house which benefited from privy purses till their abolishment in 1970, there was virtually no form of subsidy to keep the palace going. The depletion of the family's resources occurred steadily over two generations: first, the old feudatory properties that contained some 200 villages were slowly sold off, then the old palace staff of 100 servants and retainers were settled, and finally some of the treasures housed in the palace—including a gold-encrusted swing from Persia and fabulous collections of miniature paintings—went. Today, it is hard to find any decent furniture in the palace, though some of the beautiful glass inlay work in the walls for which Udaipur is famous remains. Unlike richer princely houses who converted some of their old homes into palace hotels the Delwara Palace was all the family managed to retain.

No Takers: Now they want to get rid of it but can't find serious takers. Says Singh: "Certain parts of it could be nicely restored to provide accommodation for the thousands of pilgrims flocking to the nearby temples of Nathdwara and Eklingji who have nowhere to stay. Or the place can be converted into an educational institution or something—either way it would cost around Rs 20 lakh for basic renovations." Businessmen, local industrialists—even a film star—who have expressed interest in picking up the property in the past, have somehow all lost interest. "It's basically the maintenance effort that puts them off," admits Singh. Rather despondently he adds: "Can you imagine the effect my advertisement would have had if it had appeared in the *New York Times* instead of *The Times of India*?"

In his efforts to provide the palace a happy ending—and himself a reasonable price—Singh has been distributing typed sheets listing Delwara's attractions as well as his family's hoary ancestry. Among the major enticements offered are:

► "The typical Indian village folk dancers can be arranged."

► "Horse riding can be one of the pastimes."

► "The famous bottle (sic) field known as Haldighati is three miles".

Still, Akshey Singh is surprised at the meagre response. His ancestor, Rajrana Sajjaji who fought with the legendary Rajput warrior Rana Sangha, founded the House of Delwara in the year 1500. His great grandson Raja Man Singhji, chief organiser of the army of Mewar, fought in the battle of Haldighati. Later successors established the fortress as generation after generation added to the palace. Four centuries later, their direct descendant, Maharaj Akshey Singh of Delwara, is simply fighting a battle to sell the fort that he has been saddled with. People, he muses sadly, often thinks he's being facetious when he offers them a fort for sale. But when he drives them out to the site and shows them around, they are so impressed, they think he's sillier to want to dispose of it. "So you see," says Akshey Singh, "it's not a very common kind of problem."

—SUNIL SETHI

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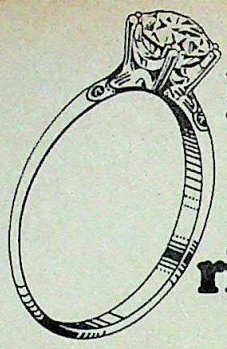

Indian muslin and the ring trick

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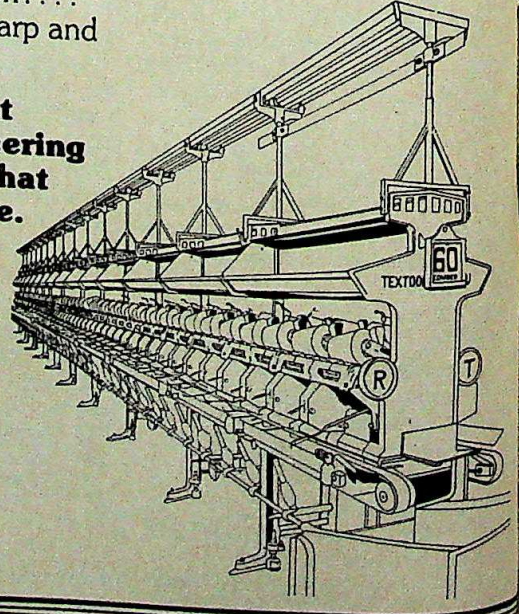

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Its anti-dandruff action continues to work even after you wash out the dandruff.

HELENE CURTIS

est/80/JKHC/59r

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BIHAR

Gift Of The Grab?

SALEMPUR village in Samastipur district of Bihar today boasts of a bright, new hospital called the Jainath Seva Sadan. The modern referral hospital, which is yet to open its doors to the public, is the fruit of selfless efforts on the part of social worker Jainath Mishra, 60, whose Seva Sadan Samiti appealed for donations which philanthropists gave out readily—among the generous donors were contractors, engineers and even businessmen from outside Bihar. According to people in the area, the hospital cost Rs 4.5 lakh to build. The Samiti announced its decision to hand the hospital over to the Government, a gift that Chief Minister Jagannath Mishra gratefully accepted on April 23 at a dignified ceremony. Thereby hangs a tale.

Salempur is the village of Jagannath Mishra's in-laws. Jainath Mishra is the younger brother of the chief minister's father-in-law, the late professor Gaurinath Mishra. Of the nine founding members of the hospital—who are also executive members of the Samiti—six belong to the Mishra family: Jainath Mishra and his two cousins Bhavnath Mishra and Gananath Mishra, Veena Mishra, the wife of the chief minister, Jagdanand Jha, the state's director of public relations and a close relation of Jagannath Mishra's, and the chief minister himself. This overwhelming presence of Mishra heavyweights has drawn comment that the philanthropic contractors, engineers and businessmen did not hearken to Jainath Mishra's appeal only out of selfless desire for social service.

Ample Funds: The saga of Salempur's Jainath Seva Sadan began in 1976 when the social worker floated the Samiti and called for donations for a hospital—Jagannath Mishra was chief minister then. Coffers opened with gratifying rapidity. Rambilas Mishra, the Lok Dal MLA who represents the Sairanjan constituency in the Assembly—Salempur is close to Sairanjan town—asserts that "contractors, engineers and businessmen from outside Bihar donated funds to get favours from the chief minister". Rambilas also pointed out that this inflow of funds stopped when the Janata Party came to power but as soon as Jagannath Mishra became chief minister once more in June 1980, the money started flowing again. Within two years, the hospital was ready.

Jainath Mishra: service before self

This must have been a satisfying experience for Jainath. His earlier attempt at social service was way back in 1967: he had stood as an independent candidate in the 1967 assembly elections against the official Congress candidate but had lost his security deposit. Jagannath Mishra had campaigned for him then. This time, however, Jainath, now a heart patient, says that the chief minister had little to do with the hospital and adds: "It is purely a voluntary action based on contributions from poor people."

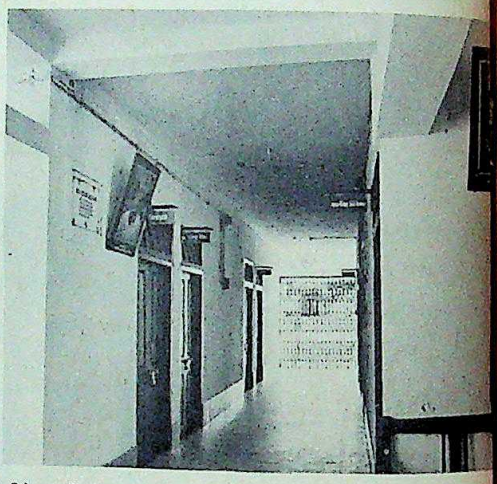
Samiti treasurer Bisheshwar Jha says that he does not know how much was collected and from whom. He says he handled the account in Sairanjan bank and kept details of expenditures but added that "there was another account in Patna". However, Jha revealed that the first instalment of Rs 75,000 had come from Dhanbad; Rs 1.5 lakh had come from Vijay Singhania, managing trustee of the J.K. Trust, Bombay. Jha confirmed that the donation drive was stopped during the Janata period but could not explain why.

Land Dispute: Local residents are not too pleased with Jainath's effort. One reason is that as soon as the hospital was finished, the Samiti reportedly launched a campaign to oust the family of army havildar Bindeshwar Rai, who had settled on government land near the Sadan. The Samiti asked the authorities to land to the hospital so that an attendants could be built there. S wife Ramwati: "My husband is this nation. We will die for this la have nowhere else to go."

While Jainath Mishra affirms Samiti had only requested the authorities to allot them land afte some to Rai, Rambilas Mishra that Jainath wanted to oust Rai f area; the Lok Dal leader said he h ence that Rai's claim to the land h pending with the authorities for 10

There are other reasons w Jainath Seva Sadan had raised a hackles. One is the decision Samiti—on the eve of the inaugurat

KRISHAN MURARI KISHAN



A list of donors (left) and the hospital: rich patronage

name it after their mentor; the Sam resolved that under no circums would the name be changed in the People also ask why the hospital wa ded over to the Government even be had started functioning. The chief ter, of course, made grand promises specialists, an X-ray plant and an a ance, and sanctioned Rs 1.25 lakh, fag-end of the 1981 budget, on Ma 1981. He also promised that the insti would be completed by the end of Not a brick has been added.

Jainath himself laments the a of the Government. He says that be of his heart attack, he had offere hospital to the Government, but six nths had passed and "files were still ing in the secretariat". Mishra sta Patna most of the time now, but that the "whole problem was that ther had the stamina to run to o every day nor would they accept brib doing the job". Jainath's Samiti is planning a library and a Obviously, for this one do-gooder th no shortage of funds. —FARZAND A

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OPHYSICS

Reaching For The Stars

USING army surplus searchlight reflectors, scientists at the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research, bay (TIFR), have recently come up with astonishing findings about the nature mma rays emitted by stars.

Last month at an international work- on gamma ray astronomy in Ootaind, TIFR scientists told a cluster of rts in the field that the rays radiated by pulsars (stars which have exploded ng behind a very dense core; also known eutron stars) were being emitted, not in dy beats as speculated before, but in adic bursts that varied every minute.

Professor B.V. Srikantan, TIFR's ectacled director, who heads the team of archers: "The findings will go a long way helping us to understand the nature of e stars."

The TIFR results took the workshop icipants belonging to USA, UK, Ire-, Japan and Australia by storm. rophysicist Trevor Weeks of the Smithian Institute, USA, which had sponso- the workshop jointly with TIFR, said: a very exciting result which is likely give us a new insight into high energy cesses in pulsars." The Smithsonian ups, headed by the bearded Weeks, had mselves studied the pulsars ten years but were unable to come up with any dence of variability in the emission of se high energy gamma rays. Early this r a UK group headed by Professor Ted ver of Durham University found that se rays varied on a fifteen minute pe-. But Weeks says that the TIFR fings of a minute-to-minute variation are r more significant." The participants ve now agreed to get back to their laboories and study the variability phenona in greater detail.

Significant Study: The TIFR study is portant because research on high energy mma rays is still in a nascent stage and eral astrophysicists are sceptical as to ether celestial bodies like pulsars emit se rays at all. Recent technological adnces have helped astronomers to observe rs not only by visible light but on other ctromagnetic radiation beamed by them, h as radio waves, infra-red, ultraviolet, rays and gamma rays. A study of each of se frequencies helps in collecting commentary information about astronomical jects.

TIFR studied two pulsars—the Crab d the Vela—believed to be the youngest utron stars in the universe. Pulsars are rotating neutron stars with about the same mass as the sun but compacted in an area the size of a large city. The magnetic field of these pulsars is a billion times more powerful than that found on earth. Pulsars are believed to be formed when stars reach the supernova or giant stage and explode. While the outer particles are scattered, the core of the star collapses into a small, compressed, rapidly spinning object that slows down and stops after billions of years as the star dies. An astonishing fact about a pulsar is that it contains one billion tonnes of matter in one cubic centimetre. In 1054 A.D. the Chinese recorded the Crab's supernova explosion that resulted in the formation of the Crab pulsar, which is now spinning on its axis 30 times a second.

Parabolic mirrors : solving mysteries on clear, moonless nights

While there are presently 300 known pulsars, they were first detected as recently as 1968 when Jocelyn Bell and Antony Hewish of Cambridge University recorded regularly spaced radio pulses every one and one-third seconds coming from a point in the sky. Ever since the discovery of pulsars, so named because of the radio pulses, astronomers have been studying their electromagnetic spectrum. It is theorised that because of the pulsars' powerful magnetic fields, electrons emit beamed radiation not only in visible light but in radio frequency. Like a cosmic lighthouse, a pulsar flashes once in each rotation. In fact the beams from pulsars are so regular that they keep far better time than the most accurate clock found on earth.

New Discoveries: While the "rock-solid beat" has been noticed in radio waves, X-rays and even medium high gamma rays emitted by the Crab and Vela pulsars, the TIFR has come up with the amazing discovery that the very high energy gamma rays come only in short bursts. Observes Weeks: "The mechanisms that power pulsars seem to be breaking down at very high energies. There seems to be an instability and if we are able to give reasons for it, we might, hopefully, find a new energy mechanism." The TIFR study also establishes that pulsars do generate gamma rays at fantastically high energies—a fact that astronomers doubted before. Srikantan points out: "We now have another frequency by which we can understand the physical processes that are going on in celestial objects so far away." The Crab pulsar is estimated to be 400 million times as far from the earth as the sun is.

Although the TIFR has been studying gamma rays for the past decade, only recently have they come up with some positive results. Buying 20 army surplus searchlights at a cost of Rs 40,000, the Institute used the reflectors as parabolic mirrors to catch the tiny blue flashes of light that fall like a shower when the gamma ray strikes the earth's atmosphere. Set up in Ootacamund, the parabolic mirrors track the pulsars on clear moonless nights and capture the tiny amounts of light on a photo-multiplier. This sensitive device converts light signals into electrical impulses which are recorded on magnetic tape and later fed into high-speed computers at the TIFR laboratory in Bombay. With 150 hours of observation, TIFR possibly has more data on high energy gamma rays than any other research group in the world. The team is now wading through the wads of computer rolls in their laboratory to find out what Srikantan hopefully calls: "Some of the why and hows of these celestial objects."

—RAJ CHENGAPPA

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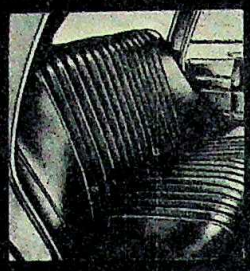

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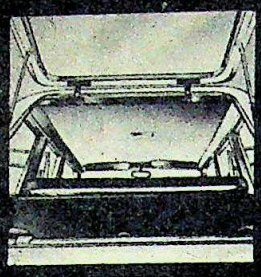

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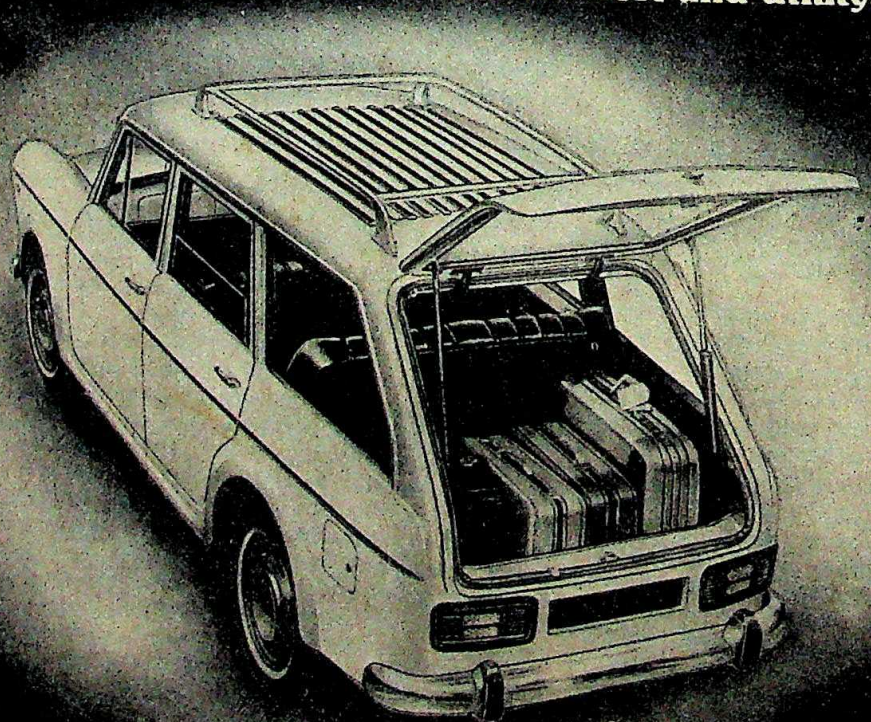

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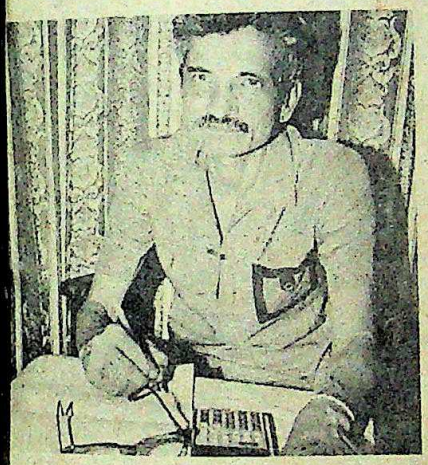
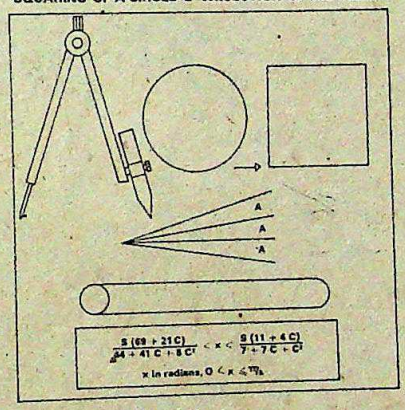
HEMATICS

ail Break

T IS as implausible a team as anything Hollywood might dream up. Shivajirao Medshikar, an ex-convict with two ders behind him and M.S. Huzur-ar, a staid, solemn-looking professor at mbay's Institute of Sciences. Together, odd couple claim to have solved two he world's oldest mathematical ridd-—how to square a circle and trisect an le.

The breakthrough has come after 17 rs of obsessive research by Medshikar. eight years he worked in the confines Nagpur Central Jail, where he was serv-a 48-year sentence for murder. After





Medshikar (left) and the formula: unusual angles

remission in 1973, he continued his rk and for the last six years he has been lped by Huzurbazar, who dug into ma-ematical tomes for solutions to theoreti-l bottlenecks. The last one year has been ent refining the basic formula, and now e pair are finalising plans for publication d working out a list of journals and athematicians to send their book for rification.

Squaring circles and trisecting angles ean little to the layman, but the problems volve basic principles of geometric con-ruction: one problem is to construct a rfect square of exactly the same area as given circle using only a ruler and a mpass, and the other calls for a perfect vision of an angle into three equal parts ing the same principle. Medshikar's ork resulted eventually in two decep-vely simple expressions which use trigo-metric functions to arrive at a substan-lly correct approximation of *pi* which is e ratio of the circumference of a circle its diameter. Under Huzurbazar's active guidance he found he could use the method to square circles, trisect angles and even divide angles into an unlimited number of parts. Says Medshikar: "Our formula gives a result which is true to ten decimal places, which is the closest anyone has got."

Attracting Attention: Although Medshikar's remarkable claims are still to be confirmed by independent mathematicians, his work has already begun to attract attention. Says Professor A.J. Katdare of the city's K.C. College: "Professor Huzurbazar is a leading mathematician, and if he has verified it, the formula should be correct. This is a problem which has been unsuccessfully attempted by reputed mathematicians, so even a better approximation is a considerable achievement."

The man behind it all, Medshikar, remains a curious story-book character. He has never had any formal training in mathematics and dropped out of college after his intermediate in science. He later became a forest officer in Akola, but in 1966 he was jailed for what were described at the time as 'political killings'. Medshikar admits his crimes laconically: "Yes, I did kill them. But my plea for self-defence was rejected." About his mathematical talent he says: "I realised that mathematical ability and training have no connection so I decided to ignore all the books on the subject."

Today Medshikar finds that he has become something of a celebrity. He is constantly badgered by the press on his short visits to Bombay. Unaffected by all this he is now trying to solve another mathematical riddle by refining the formula he has already worked out. He has even been approached by film producer Mani Kaul for permission to make a movie based on his life. But no script could be stranger than real life. —LAKSHMI MOHAN

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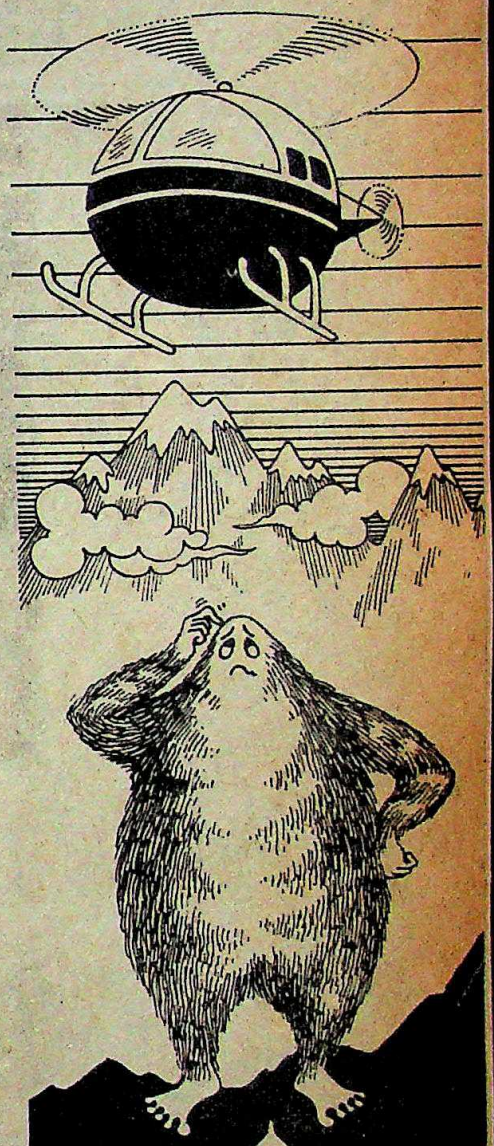

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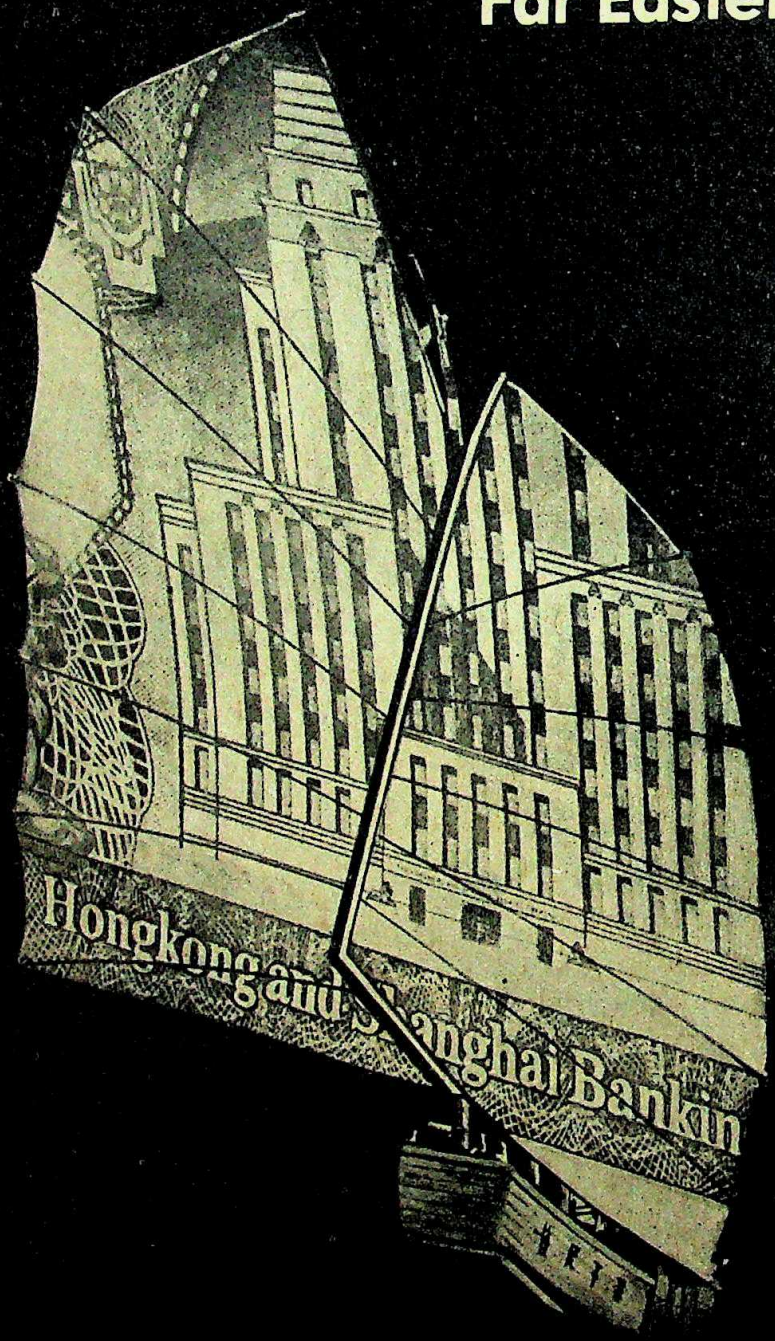

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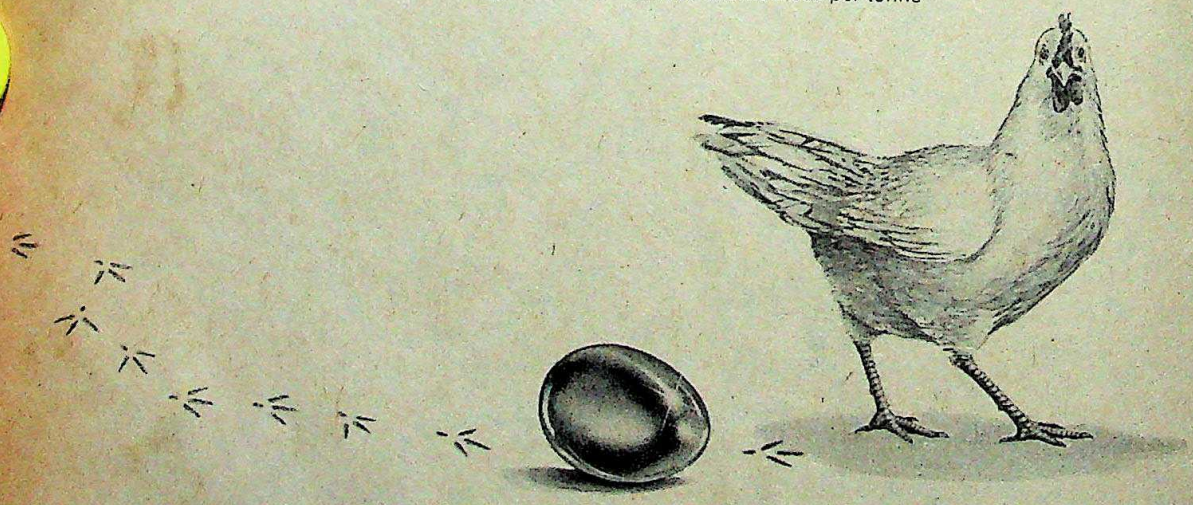
Fuel oil consumption costs of typical low efficiency boilers and Enormous Savings in operation if they are replaced by High Efficiency THERMAX Boilers

STEAM OUTPUT OF TYPICAL OLD BOILERS	TYPICAL EFFICIENCIES OBSERVED BY PCRA, NPC AND OTHER BODIES	ANNUAL FUEL OIL COSTS ON 2 SHIFTS A DAY & 300 DAYS PER YEAR **	ANNUAL FUEL OIL COSTS WITH MINIMUM 82% EFFICIENCY FROM THERMAX BOILERS	SAVINGS WITH THERMAX BOILERS	PAY PER
TONNES/HR	% (GCV)*	RUPEES	RUPEES	RUPEES	MON
2		28,23,000	14,40,000	13,83,000	3.
4	45	55,68,000	28,80,000	26,88,000	2.
6		83,52,000	43,20,000	40,32,000	2.
2		24,96,000	14,40,000	10,56,000	4.
4	50	49,92,000	28,80,000	21,12,000	2.
6		74,88,000	43,20,000	31,68,000	2.
2		22,08,000	14,40,000	7,68,000	5.
4	55	44,16,000	28,80,000	15,36,000	3.
6		66,24,000	43,20,000	23,04,000	3.
2		20,16,000	14,40,000	5,76,000	7.
4	60	40,32,000	28,80,000	11,52,000	5.
6		60,48,000	43,20,000	17,28,000	4.
2		18,24,000	14,40,000	3,84,000	12.
4	65	36,48,000	28,80,000	7,68,000	7.
6		54,72,000	43,20,000	11,52,000	7.

* Gross Calorific Value of Furnace Oil: 10,200 kcals/kg. ** Price of Furnace Oil: Rs.2,500 per tonne



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with 65% efficiency
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lakhs with two shifts
period of one year. A
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-raising capacity
around Rs.7 lakhs.
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ill of Rs.43 lakhs. A
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l Year after year.
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ECOLOGY

The Ravages Of Man

THIS is the moment of doomsday prophets. The environment is a subject that currently excites strong passions, and the accusers, pointing at years of neglect and degradation, seem to be winning. That much, at least, seems to be clear from an unusual event last month: the publication of a private report, the State of India's Environment—1982, brought out by a group of voluntary agencies and individuals. Edited by Anil Aggarwal, Ravi Chopra and Kalpana Sharma of the Centre of Science and Environment, the report presents an almost uniformly gloomy picture. At the end the only question that remains is: which part of the country's ecological segments will go first—the rivers choked with rubbish, the hills stripped of trees or the air thick with pollution?

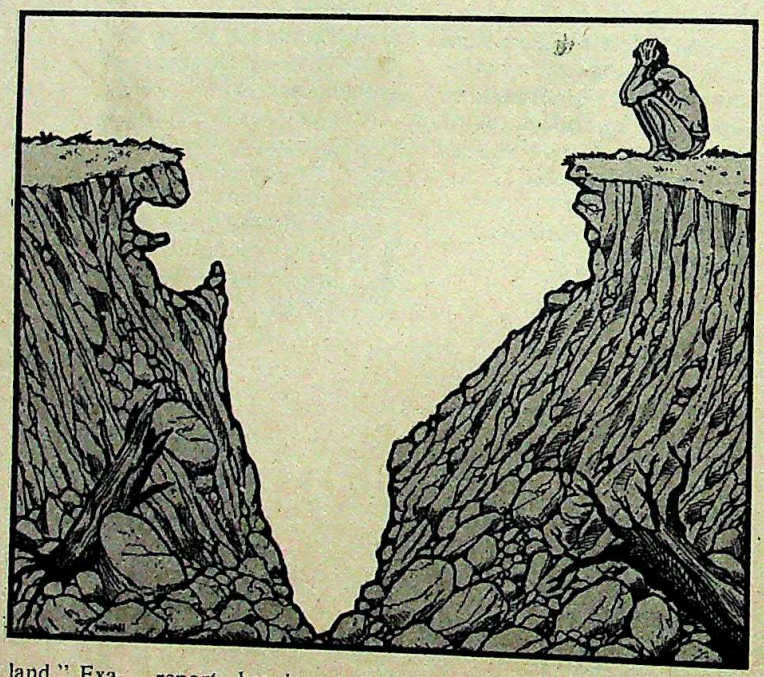
The report is unique in more ways than one. For a start, it is the first time that a non-governmental agency has attempted the mammoth task of studying all aspects of India's environment. But even more than its range, it is the focus of this report that is unique. Says Aggarwal, who was its chief architect: "We have tried to keep people at the centre of the report, and tried to prove that every ecological niche in the country is occupied. There are no waste products, and no waste land." Examples of this abound. For instance, when rivers are polluted, the fish die and fishermen are deprived of their livelihood.

But the report emphasises that it is not only the effluents of industry which lead to people being uprooted. Even laudable projects can upset the ecological balance. For instance, when new areas are brought under cultivation, cattle herds and their nomadic masters are pushed out of their land. And when any of these groups are deprived of their means of livelihood they are left with no choice but to join the dispossessed masses drifting to the already overcrowded cities. Says Aggarwal: "If we do not plan carefully, then our development will destroy more than it develops."

Worst Hit: Three areas are identified in the report as being the most in need of attention—deforestation and its attendant questions of floods, energy and soil erosion; water pollution; and the not so frequently discussed problem of land management. Aggarwal says that while the air pollution problem is also grave it is still just barely manageable.

Leading the way in the pollution horror story are the rivers of India. The prestigious National Environmental Engineering and Research Institute estimates that 70 per cent of the available water in India is polluted. The Ganga, according to the report, has become a "network of cesspools and drains", with the constant discharge of industries and municipalities. Aggarwal puts it even more bluntly: "The Ganga is probably the most polluted river in the world." The Hooghly estuary is choked by the discharge from over 300 industries and most of its fish have been killed. The peninsular rivers are in no better a state and even the Planning Commission admits: "From the Dal Lake in the north to the Periyar in the south, the Hooghly in the east and Thane Creek in the west, the picture is uniformly gloomy."

While industries are the main target of attack, the report points out that human settlements account for four times as much waste water as industrial discharge. Delhi's lifeline, the Yamuna, for instance, has practically been turned into an open sewer. Its water has become unfit for bathing and drinking up to Agra because Delhi discharges 54 per cent of its sewage without treating it. And shocking out of 3,110 towns and cities only 209 have any form of sewage treatment facilities. The health hazards from this are immense and the report points out that two-thirds of the illnesses reported in India are caused by water-borne diseases like typhoid and cholera. The result: a staggering 73 million workdays lost and labour production estimated at Rs 600 crore annually.



Stripped Bare: The rivers of India's rivers are in a condition its forests are hardly better. The country is being stripped bare of its forests at an alarming rate. The study of the highly neglected Himalayas alone account for one-seventh of the country's forests. A perfect example of what is happening everywhere is Meghalaya, for instance. The thick tropical forests that cloaked it originally have been reduced to rubs. Ironically, Cherrapunji, the wettest spot on the earth, has become a "virtual desert". Assam, which supplies 60 per cent of India's plywood requirements, has only 19 per cent of its area covered by forests though official statistics blithely maintain that it is 36.4 per cent. The reason is that all this indiscriminate felling has led to the high rate of siltation of the Brahmaputra. In certain places the bed of the river has risen by 1.35 metres a year.

Efforts to prevent deforestation have been less than successful. The proposed Forest Bill is, according to the report, more likely to hit the tribals than the plunderers—the private contractors for the timber industry. Afforestation is just unsuccessful and in the last 30 years 2 million hectares have been afforested while 4.5 million hectares have been stripped away. Only Gujarat has had any success in its efforts at social forestry.

With forests depleting rapidly

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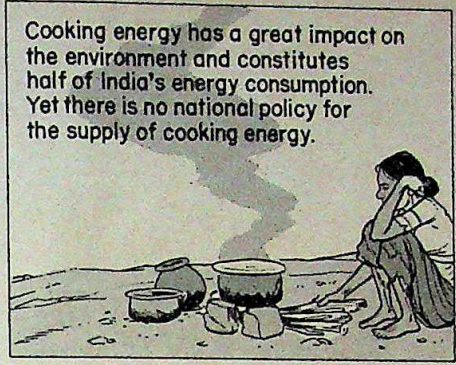
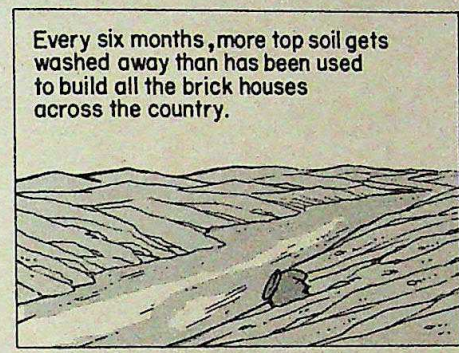
try is in the grip of an acute fuel age, especially because firewood re- s the major source of cooking energy he country—surprisingly it still pro- 50 per cent of the cooking energy in city and 70 per cent of it in villages. enormous dependence on firewood resulted in the demand far outstrip- the supply. In the Garhwal alayas, women walk at least 10 km out of four days for an average of hours a day to bring back about 25 f wood with each headload. The si- on is much the same in most rural s of the country. The report warns that e Government wants to meet the basic s of the population without causing lesale environmental destruction, it evolve a national cooking energy cy.

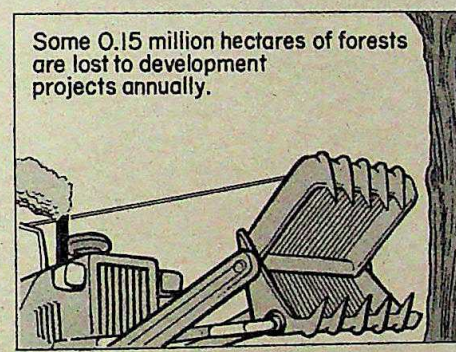
Land Shortage: Land management is usually given high priority in ecologi- debates. Perhaps one of the greatest ices that the report performs is to drag issue out of the shadow. With terms green revolution and bumper crops nkled liberally over most government rts, people tend to get the impression India is still an inexhaustible granary. so, says the Department of Science Technlogy, pointing out that of the geographical area of 328 million hec- s, as many as 175 million, or 53 per suffer from serious environmental de- ation like water and wind erosion, rlogging, salinity and shifting culti- on. As a result, 60 per cent of the total vable area of 140 million hectares re- es urgent conservation measures. le the possibilities of increasing the on's irrigated area are vast, most of land remains unirrigated, single- ped and low-yielding.

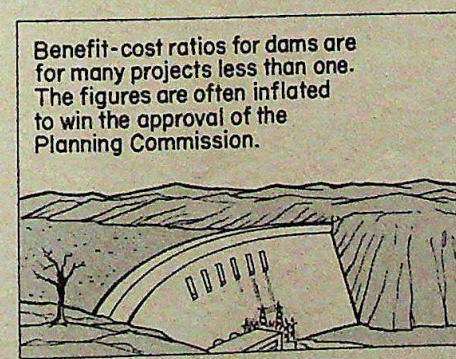
The report estimates that every six nths the amount of soil that gets wa- away is more than the amount used build all the brick houses from hmir to Kanyakumari, and adds dis- certingly: "At the current rate of soil sion we may be losing this quantity of every four to five months." Apart m turning fertile fields into waste lands, erosion has led to more damaging blems like siltation and floods.

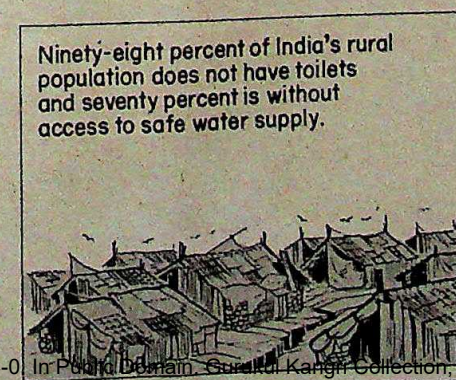
Closely allied to land management is plight of the nomadic groups. It is om realised that a large number of ple in this country live a nomadic exis- e. The statistics speak of a mere 5 per . But translate these figures into actual s and they acquire a new meaning. per cent of India's population is 34 ion people. As their grazing lands are ually being destroyed, these people e with their animals into forested areas adding to the deforestation problem and showing how easy it is to topple the ecological balance.











Choking Atmosphere: Air pollution is almost as bad. The Sixth Five-Year Plan document shamelessly admits that the levels of sulphur dioxide and particulate matter in major cities like Calcutta, Delhi and Bombay exceed the permissible limits set by organisations like the World Health Organisation. Although air pollution has reached dangerous levels, people are yet to awaken to this new menace. The Central Government has been tarrying over the matter for years. Although an expert committee had prepared a draft bill as long ago as 1972, the Prevention and Control of Pollution Act was passed only last year. Environmentalists are sceptical of its success as they feel it will just become part of the suffocating bureaucracy. As the report bluntly puts it: "It may generate a lot of hot air as is evident from the rash of seminars held around the nation after the enactment of the law."

Some environmental problems inevitably amount to a health hazard. Many illnesses stem from a lack of pure drinking water or insanitary conditions. The United Nations estimates that one person of every three lacking water or adequate excreta disposal facilities in the world lives in India. The report gloomily predicts: "Given the existing situation where only 30 per cent of the rural population is covered by clean water supplies and 47 per cent of the urban population and 2 per cent of the rural population with adequate excreta disposal systems, things are unlikely to improve dramatically within this decade."

Basic Laws: Only in the last three years have a number of environmental institutions like the National Committee of Environmental Planning and the Central Department of Environment been established. But both these institutions "lack adequate authority and qualified data". An official review points out that there are basic flaws in environment protection laws and cynically remarks: "When the legislation is adequate, the implementation is poor." What is worse, the report points out, is that the Government is yet to develop an explicit national policy on forests.

But while the Government goes its own cumbersome way, there are signs that attitudes are changing: Aggarwal says that they were able to finish the work in a matter of months only because of the phenomenal cooperation that they received from all over the country. They received unstinting help from professionals like Madhav Gadgil and Kailash

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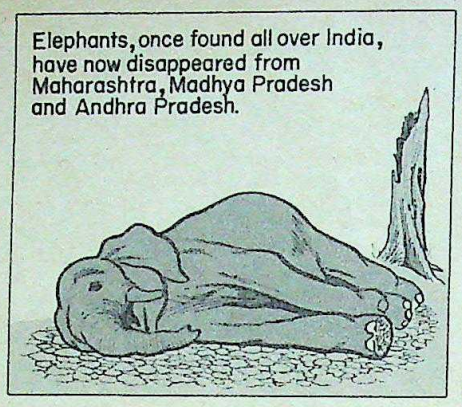
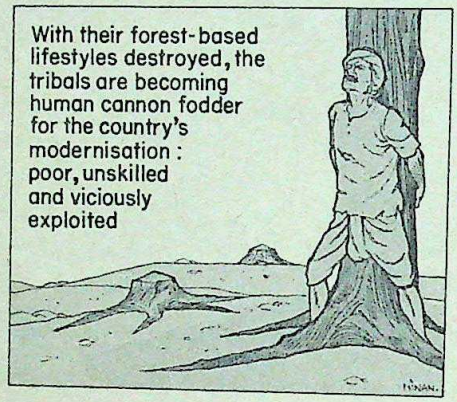
Malhotra and many others. Gadgil spent a full Sunday in Aggarwal's house dictating the wildlife chapter. And while the Government was constrained by its customary red tape, Aggarwal says that there were several bureaucrats who went out of their way to help. Says Aggarwal: "The response was unbelievable. People really do believe that the environment is a major issue."

The study was started in January but work only really got under way in March. Considering the speed at which the report was put together its scope is quite remarkable. Inevitably there are gaps. Aggarwal himself willingly admits this and mentions nuclear energy as one area which they have omitted.

He says, however, that this report is essentially an overview. It has served its purpose by pointing at broad areas and identifying issues that need attention. It will not be the last word. Ravi Chopra is in fact working full-time on a follow-up. Necessarily some of the future work will be quasi-research.

While the report is a milestone for India's environmental planning and should do much for developing the required consciousness among the people, it is not


Elephants, once found all over India, have now disappeared from Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh and Andhra Pradesh.


With their forest-based lifestyles destroyed, the tribals are becoming human cannon fodder for the country's modernisation: poor, unskilled and viciously exploited

flawless. It has perforce to rely on ment statistics. But, ironically, of ssive degradation of the environm these are unable to mask the wou the report is still able to bring h true impact of the tremendous done so far.

The report tends to take a glance" at India's wildlife and tribals. The lack of time for compi report shows up in many places. W names of ecological movements rinkled throughout the report, it have been better if these were co into a single chapter as a ready re for the uninitiated.

But these flaws are minor in an wise monumental work on the st India's environment. As the report points out: "The list of enviro problems is too long and the human of environmental degradation ju high to allow for any complacency efforts to conserve the country's eco bank still minimal, India is rapidly t ing a vast wasteland. Indians canno close their eyes to this continuing dation of their national environment

—RAJ CHENGAPPA with BALAKR

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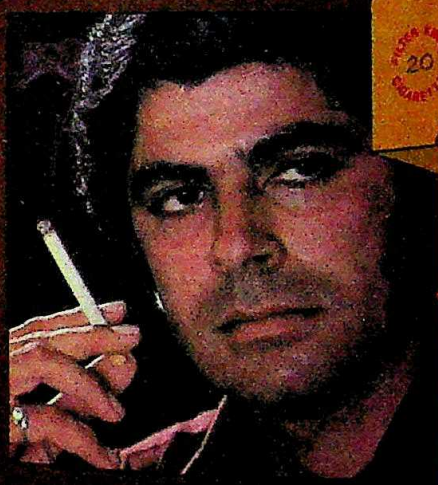

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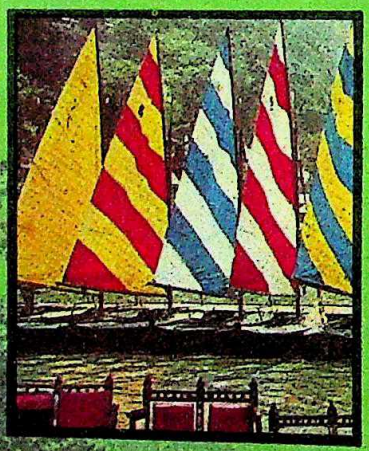

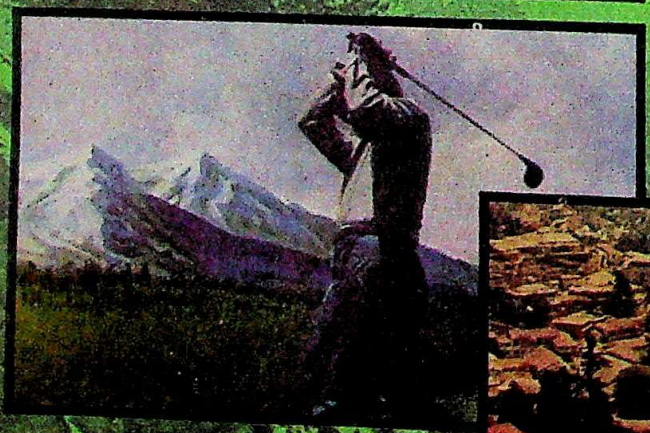

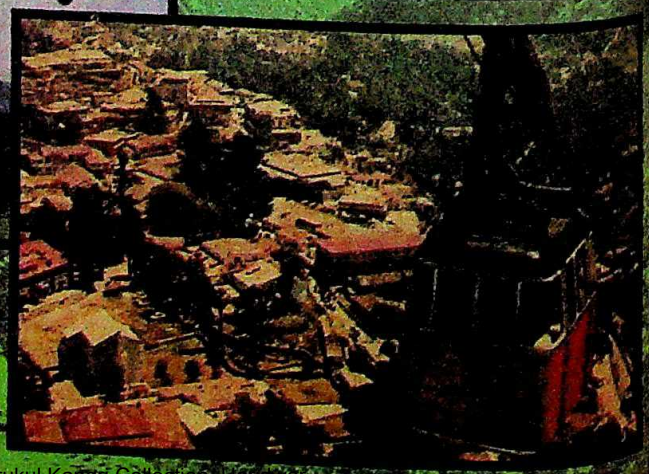

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MOBILE ALLIANCES

SUZUKI Motor Company is spreading its Indian net beyond its prize first catch, Maruti Udyog. The Japanese company has been talking to the public sector Scooters India Ltd for design improvements of the latter's Vijai Super scooters, which have failed to realise their full potential in the marketplace. Prior to this, the Lucknow-based Scooters India called off its collaboration agreement with Puch of Austria for producing a new range of two-wheelers. The replacement of a European collaboration partner with a Japanese one is fresh indication of the new Japanese onslaught on the global scooter market, with Honda and Yamaha being the two other new entrants. The domestic automobile industry, meanwhile, has been agog with rumours that Scooters India may venture into the production of a three-wheeler bubble car in collaboration with Suzuki, which could conceivably compete with the new Maruti. But Scooters India officials deny that there have been any talks on the subject.

OSE CROP

WITH the kharif harvest expected to yield no more than 74 million tonnes of foodgrains (down by 6 million from last year's 80 million), the question of further food-n imports once again confronts the Agriculture Ministry. ng to the good rabi procurement, food stocks with the ernment are more now than they were a year ago; but ake from the public distribution system is likely to increase ause of the smaller harvest and, as a possible consequence, a in food prices later in the year. Further, some of the stocks h the Government consist of damaged wheat which cannot be ased through the public distribution system. This confluence actors may leave the Government with no option other than decide on fresh imports, over and above the 2.5 million tonnes heat already contracted with US exporters recently.

HEELING UP CAPACITY

WITH over a dozen applications already having been cleared in recent months for the manufacture of two-wheelers, most of them with foreign collaboration, the ernment will soon close the door to fresh application on the und that enough fresh capacity has been licensed and that the d is getting crowded. But clearance is expected to be given rtly for Bajaj Auto's application for expanding its licensed acity from 1.6 lakh to 4.6 lakh two-wheelers annually.

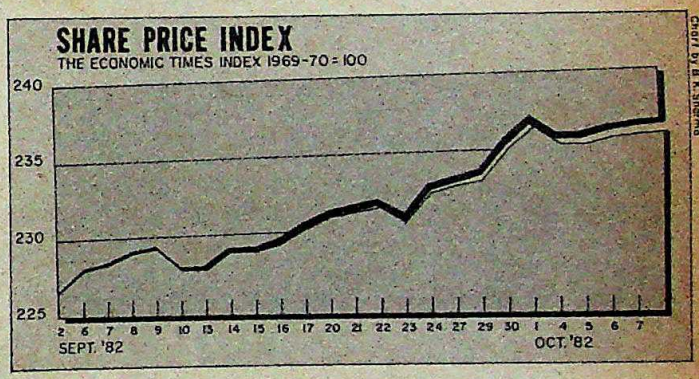
Approval is also expected for the Escorts application to nufacture 1.5 lakh two-wheelers of 100 cc engine capacity. The orts proposal (for production in tandem with Yamaha) has n cleared by the directorate-general of technical development GTD) and now rests with the Industry Ministry.

EMIER MOVES

S G.P. GOENKA of the Duncan group carrying out a stock market raid on Premier Automobiles? Five share brokers in Bombay have been buying Premier shares, and at least one of m has acted regularly on Goenka's behalf before. Premier res have gained Rs 25 in three days, rising to Rs 418 in early ober. But a take-over bid is unlikely to be successful without p from the financial institutions, which control 31 per cent of company's shares. Vinod Doshi, boss of Premier, denies owledge of a take-over bid, and says the institutions and reholders are "very happy with the current management". But adds: "Yes, I have heard that our shares have been active."

SHARING HOPE

THE STOCK market seems to have suddenly found fresh grounds for hope and good cheer, suggesting that investors may finally have got rid of the bogey of recession. After listless trading through all of August and the first half of September, share prices have started a steady upward climb. The *Economic*



Times share price index hovered around 230 and even lower for weeks on end, touching 226.9 in early September, then suddenly moved up in mid-September and by September 30 was at 235.9 and still climbing. But this was still well below the year's highest level of 256.3, reached some months ago.

GOING ELECTRONIC

REMINGTON Rand's proposal to manufacture electric typewriters in collaboration with Triumph-Adler of West Germany has run into trouble following Triumph-Adler's decision to stop the manufacture of electric typewriters in its home country. Remington Rand will therefore be unable to get the imported components involved in the production programme. The company is now thinking of changing over to electronic typewriters, in keeping with the global trend, and is looking for suitable collaboration. But this will mean amending the industrial licence granted by the Government, which is for electric typewriters.

Meanwhile, the public sector Hindustan Teleprinters is going ahead with its programme to manufacture electric typewriters, making use of a licence it had obtained well ahead of Remington Rand. And a private entrepreneur is already setting up a unit to manufacture electronic typewriters—with "intelligence" and "memory"—in collaboration with Hermes of Switzerland.

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Qutab Hotel

India Tourism Development Corporation

Landed at Palam 8.15 am. Zipped across to the Qutab by taxi. Ample time for breakfast.

Thank goodness the Qutab is so near.

The meeting was going to be a tough one. It was good that I could relax for a while. Nehru Place is just a 15 minute drive.

The meeting was super. I think we've clinched it.

1.30 pm. Enough time for lunch at the Qutab with the GM and Factory Manager.

A great success. They liked the steaks at The Grill and we carried on our discussions.

Left for Okhla 15 minutes away. And Faridabad (which is just a half hour drive)! Impressed. It's going to work out.

Feeling tired. The green lawns of the Qutab were a welcome sight. Sat by the pool over a long drink.

By 7 pm was feeling quite energetic. Couldn't resist the 4-lane bowling alley. The only one in the country.

Dinner at the Williamsburg Room with Indian and Continental specialities. It was the perfect way to end a perfect day.

It always happens just right at the Qutab.

Now! The Ashok Club

Introducing an exclusive club. For swimming, bowling, tennis...

Heavy discounts on other ITDC facilities. Write to the General Manager, Qutab, for details. Today!

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Tel 660060 Cables QUTABOTEL Telex 031-3637

Divisional Manager (Marketing)
India Tourism Development Corporation
Jeevan Vihar, 3 Sansad Marg New Delhi 110 001
Tel 344905 Cables TOURISM Telex 031-2831
Or
Ashok Reservation Service

New Delhi	Madras
Tel 350070	Tel 89672, 83865
Cables CENTRES	Cables TOURISM
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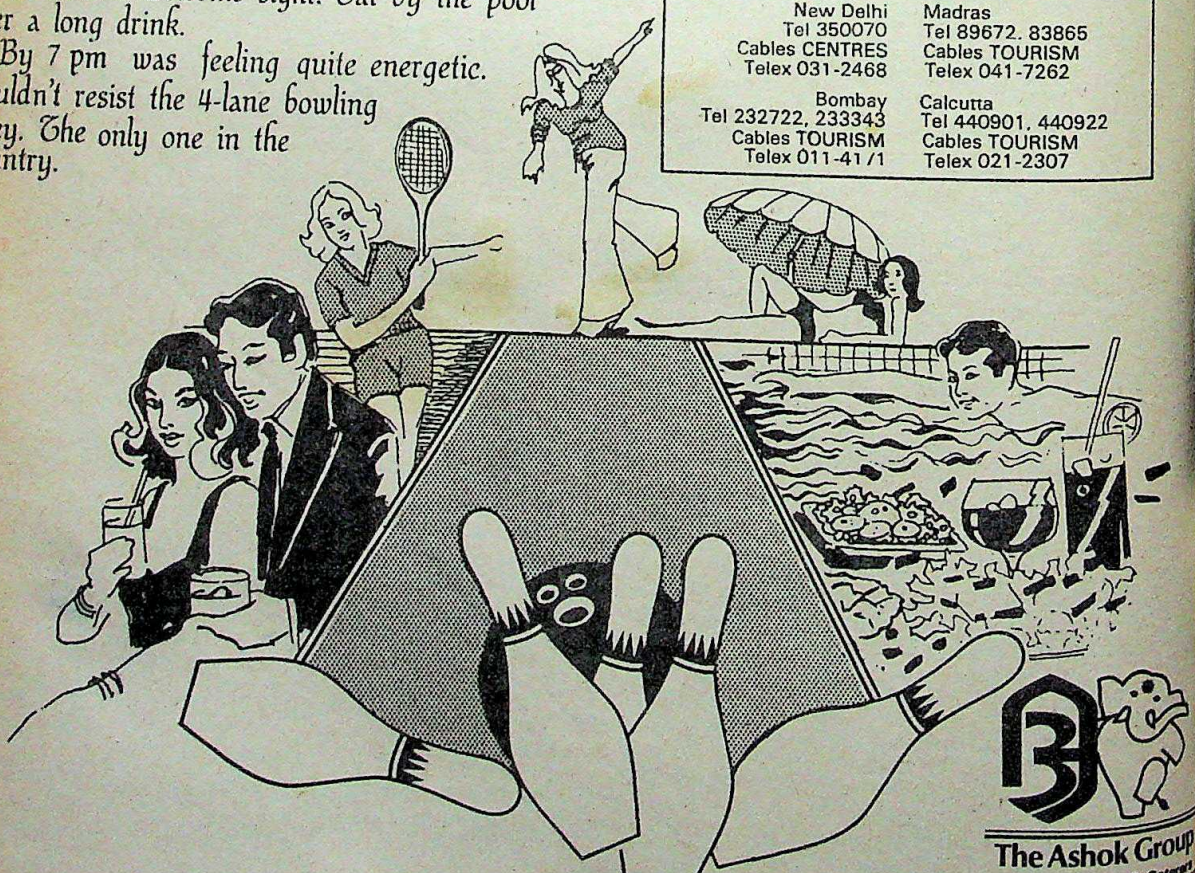
Bombay	**Calcutta**
Tel 232722, 233343	Tel 440901, 440922
Cables TOURISM	Cables TOURISM
Telex 011-41/1	Telex 021-2307



The Ashok Group

Official Hoteliers & Caterers for IX Asian Games Delhi 1982

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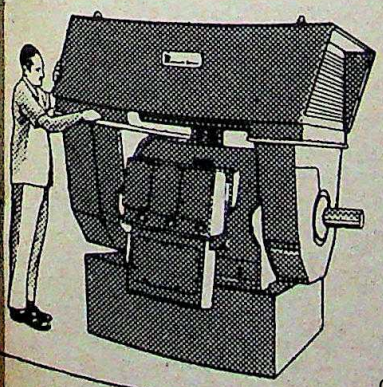
The prime movers for the Thal-Vaishet fertiliser project

Crompton Greaves motors



Crompton Greaves sets a new landmark in a very specialised field. Our 35 HT motors will be the prime movers for the Thal-Vaishet fertiliser project. This demonstrates our unmatched ability to design special-purpose motors. Crompton Greaves HT motors are manufactured to function in hazardous conditions with gases and corrosive elements. Safety is ensured with the help of the most updated technology of an epoxy mica-based thermosetting class F sealed insulation system. Many other continuous process plants in India and Sri Lanka have similar motors from Crompton Greaves in operation. And our expertise is always available for pre-sales service or blueprints for alternative schemes.

The Thal-Vaishet and Hajira projects are taking the country towards self-sufficiency. And Crompton Greaves plays an important role in the process.

Crompton Greaves LIMITED

Machine Division II
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INDUSTRY

Land Of The Shining Sun

THE MORE you think you know about money, the more you have to learn. If money is really that tight—recession and all that—how is it that companies, good and indifferent, have little difficulty in raising finance from the public, either in the form of bonds 'convertible or otherwise' or fixed deposits? I went recently to look up a friend who works for one of those mushroom finance companies that have sprouted all over Delhi in the wake of the stock boom following the Emergency.

He operates from an office at the end of a corridor crammed with teashops, travel agencies and one-man import-export outfits. The office is nothing to look at from the outside; but when you step in you step into an incredible world of money, with people falling over one another to hand in their bits of paper along with cheques and drafts, and busy clerks who have no time to greet you filling in receipts and handing over hundred-rupee notes as commission. You go in with a cheque for Rs 10,000 and come out with a crisp hundred-rupee note in your pocket.

On the morning I was there, I counted over 90 people in a space no bigger than an oversize bus. As far as I could see, they were met an affluent lot—schoolteachers, airline clerks, shopkeepers and others—with a sprinkling of safari-suited company executives. They were actually queuing to hand in their applications for bonds and fixed deposits and collect their commission. My friend said that they often collected Rs 25 lakh to Rs 30 lakh on a good day, sometimes more. One person who had come all the way from Ghaziabad was visibly put out when told that the company he was interested in had just closed its fixed deposit account as it was over-subscribed. He had come with a draft of Rs 35,000 which was now useless.

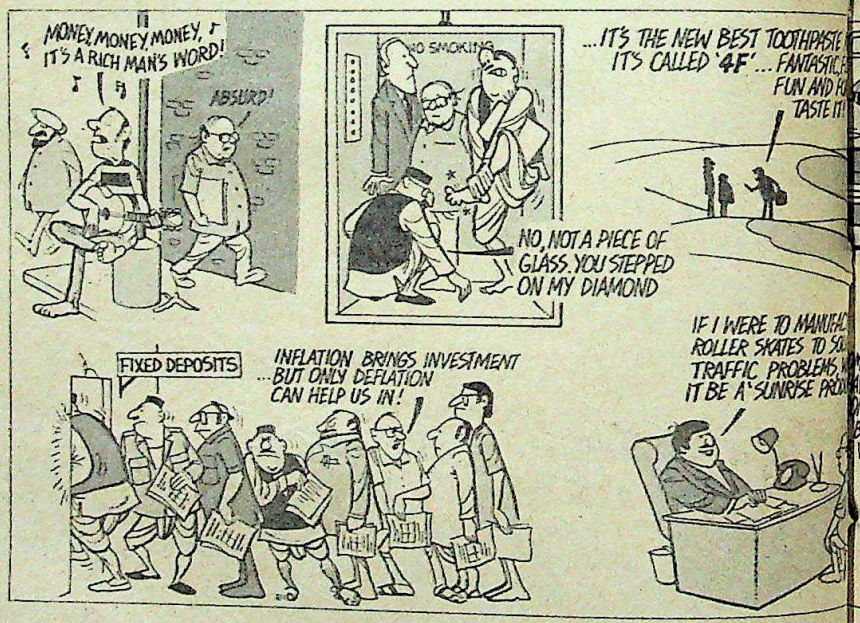
Changed Picture: The myth of poverty is politically fashionable, but it is still largely a myth. Sir John Thomson, who used to be British High Commissioner in India until recently, said in New York last week that "India is a more successful country and a more successful society than not only most people outside India think but most Indians think." John Kenneth Galbraith, who has also represented his country here, agreed with him. He criticised the tendency of Indians and non-Indians, "not out of modesty or humility", to denigrate the great industrial and economic achievements of India in the past years. "People within India," he said, "have not kept pace with what has been achieved or what is being achieved."

I went round Bombay with a visiting American friend last month, visiting old areas like Bhuleshwar and Girgaum, the old heartland of the city, where most buildings are more than 75 years old and seem to have been put together with nails and strings. The chawls in Girgaum, where rents go no higher than Rs 50 or so per month for a small tenement, are slums to look at from the outside, but house affluent shopkeepers and jewellers who have been moving into the area for the last 25 years or so, after paying *pugrees* of over Rs 1 lakh to former tenants who have themselves moved to the suburbs.

Girgaum is a vast slum, but it is not a poor slum. On the contrary, most families have TV sets, tiled bathrooms, and many rooms have false ceilings with window air-conditioners. My American friend had to revise his opinion about poverty in India—gathered from the so-called research studies undertaken by his colleagues in Europe and the US—after visiting a couple of families who entertained us with goodies that could have come straight from the kitchens of the Taj Mahal Hotel—and some did!

Sunrise Industries: Girgaum, like Karol Bagh in Delhi, used to be a class community—teachers, clerks keepers—but no more. It is now one of the most flourishing in which did not even exist 20 years you go to one of those tall buil Opera House and travel up by its lifts, you can watch dhoti-clad G going up and down with small paper in the pockets.

The bits of paper contain di —thousands of them—all of them for export after being cut in the h of cutting establishments spread ov gaum as well as the suburbs, and such small towns as Palanpur in G



This is an entirely new industry wh year exported over Rs 700 crore w polished diamonds, the second export industry after engineeri Bombay itself, the industry employ than 100,000 workers, most of boys and girls, and around 15 throughout India.

It is in many ways a primitive stry—a slightly souped-up version cottage industry—and according to who control it can do much better has done so far. It is competing wi gium and Israel and according to S Doshi, chairman of its export pro council, it can reach a target of Rs crore in about two years' time, pr its requirements of credit and other ties are met by the Government

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ves priority status, which it does not today.

The main point about development in is that the industrial economy is antly renewing itself, adding onto its r industries like diamond cutting and s which did not exist on their present 20 years ago. It is said that 75 per of Japanese industry consists of pro- s that are less than 20 years old. On other hand, British industry is full of ucts that are more than 50 years old, some of its steel plants that are now belatedly shut down go back a hun- years, if not more.

India, on the other hand, is in a posi- to look around and add to its indu- l capacity products that are up and ing rather than products that are on way out. In Japan, these industries known as sunrise industries, and dia- d cutting and hotels are certainly In- s sunrise sectors. It is not clear why Government is chary of assisting these stries and prefers traditional products engineering and chemicals.

ONE REASON may be that these in dustries cater to the more affluent classes. It is, after all, the rich who in five-star hotels and give dia- nd-studded necklaces to their wives and friends. But this is also, like poverty, a h. If, before the current textile strike, had gone to jewellery shops in Lal- g and Parel 'confirmed working class s' you would have found it hard to in and almost impossible to strike a ain amidst the hubbub of a highly ferous proletariat. Money, after all, is a t equaliser, and a working class family with five earning members is more valuable custom than a middle class household with a single earning member. Diamonds are a working man's best friend, too!

Healthier Economy: The 8-month-old textile strike has certainly made more than a dent in Bombay's economy; but the fact that the workers are not desperate and are prepared to back Samant to the hilt means that many are able to coast along on their savings or—and this is more likely—have been absorbed by Bombay's economy. It speaks much for the health of this economy that it can absorb over 200,000 people without much strain.

In Udaipur the other day I found the city ringed with large and small industrial units, while 20 years ago the place was a vast sandy desert (except for the main town). There are pesticide plants and synthetic fibre mills with a large sprinkling of Udaipur's mainstay, limestone and marble quarries. But the local industrialists—and most of them are small—are not selling raw marble from their quarries and have put up sophisticated plants to make artificial slabs and tiles that are said to be the latest craze in Ahmedabad and Bombay. These are also sunrise industries of a sort and should help the local economy along when the more traditional industries like ores and minerals have had their day.

Problems: The Indian mind, which does not adjust easily to change, sees a problem in every solution. There are numerous cases where solutions to old problems have created a series of new problems. Success in manufacturing has brought out the lag in agriculture. The need to expand the production of food for domestic consumption became as acute as it did partly because of the remarkable growth of industrial output. The green revolution has spawned a collection of new problems concerning plant diseases, inequality, unemployment and the other so-called second-generation problems. The need for population control arose from successful attack on mortality and the resulting extension of life-spans. Growing unemployment is partly the result of high productivity and growth of manufacturing investment. Education raises excessive aspirations and contributes to emigration to cities and the consequent unemployment of the educated.

The same goes for technology. There is a school of thought which believes that had we not gone in for massive steel plants and other industrial projects and instead spread our investment activity thin on the ground, we would be much better off. This is doubtful. It is virtually impossible to create a large force of highly qualified technical personnel and expect it to work on windmills and solar cookers! Technologies move in clusters, one kind spawning another. A man who has learnt to drive a truck is qualitatively a different man from a man who steers a bullock cart. And the whole problem of development is to create a new industrial man and a new industrial class and set them free to enable them to absorb new technologies, adapt them to their requirements and go on from there. For every problem the new man is able to solve, he will be faced with ten problems; but that is precisely where his technical education and 'modernization' are supposed to help.

Inexorable Change: Getting back to diamond cutting: A man who started off as a grinder on an ancient grinding machine 20 years ago has been able to design his own machines and now operates half a dozen units employing nearly 300 people. He would be much better off if he exported polished diamonds on his own, but he is totally blank about that side of the business, though his sons aim to enter the export field. In a single generation, the daily wage earner (Rs 7 a day) has become a factory owner in his own right, with a turnover of lakhs and ulcers to match.

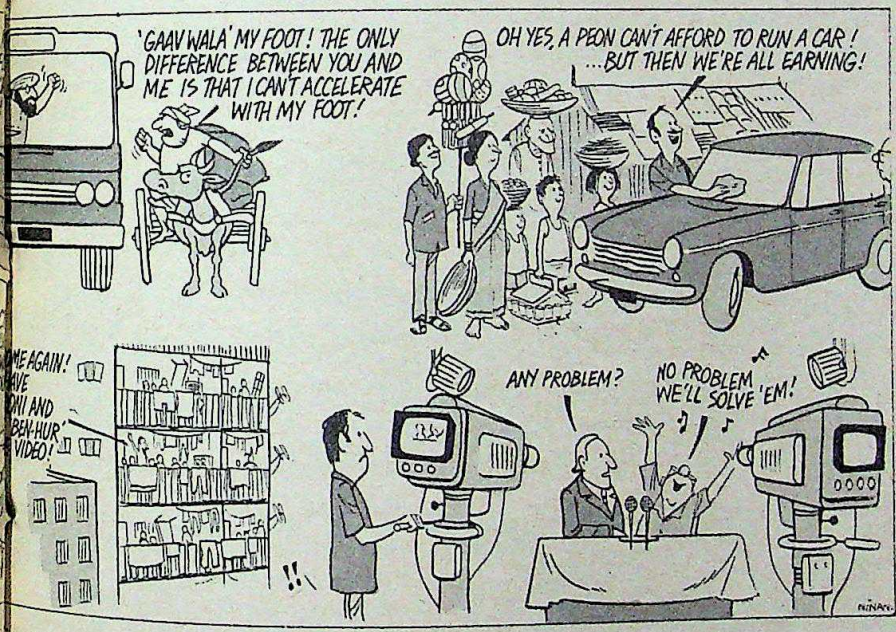
"Do you have problems?" my friend asked. Being American, he is always interested in problems.

"I should like to give up all this and retire to my village."

"And will you?"

"I guess not. I have not been there for 30 years or so, and may not find my way back."

Most innovators are people who have lost their way in the industrial jungle and mean to stay there.



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THE SARABHAI S

Boardroom Blitz

THE COUP came silently, unannounced, but it was nevertheless swift and stunning. There were none of the boardroom battles or factional squabbles which normally lead to such a change, but the management take-over in the textiles-chemicals conglomerate was as complete as one conducted on the floor of a shareholders' meeting. In a stroke the management of the Ahmedabad Manufacturing and Calico Printing Company, better known as Calico Mills, changed hands, leaving the giant corporation—1981-82 sales: Rs 167 crore—short of its four top managers. Unseated at the marathon board meetings held between September 27 and 29 were Chairman Suhrid Sarabhai Jr, chief executive Bachubhai V. Bhatt, and executive directors K.N. Taneja and Kartikeya Sarabhai.

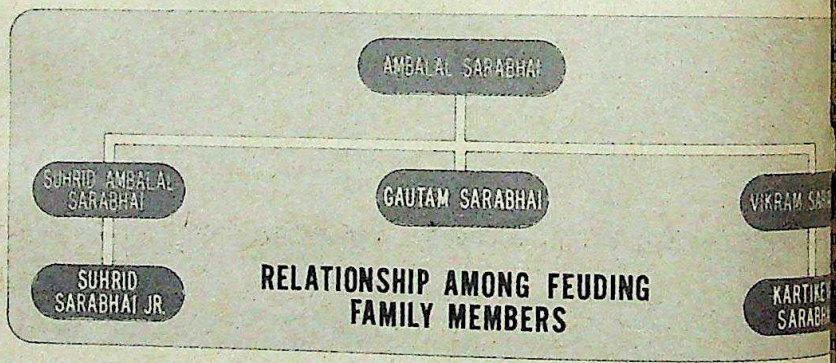
Despite the apparent outward calm, it was internecine warfare at its worst. The 103-year-old textile company is owned and managed by the Ahmedabad-based Sarabhai group, which last year shot to the status of seventh largest industrial house in India: its two highly-diversified conglomerates, Calico and Ambalal Sarabhai Enterprises (ASE) own assets worth over Rs 343 crore, and racked up combined sales in the past year of roughly Rs 366 crore.

Six years ago Gautam Sarabhai, 65, the elder statesman of the corporate empire, engineered an informal division in family management which left him in charge of ASE and Suhrid Sarabhai Jr at the head of a professional team at Calico. Gautam is the only surviving son of family patriarch Ambalal Sarabhai. His elder brother Suhrid Sarabhai, the father of Suhrid Jr, died in 1946, and Kartikeya's father, Dr Vikram Sarabhai, in the mid-'70s. Gautam very nearly calls the shots in family affairs. His 1977 decision thus excluded both nephews from the board of ASE, but Suhrid Jr was Calico's chairman and Kartikeya, as a director of the textile company, had the opportunity to rise into the company's front line management.

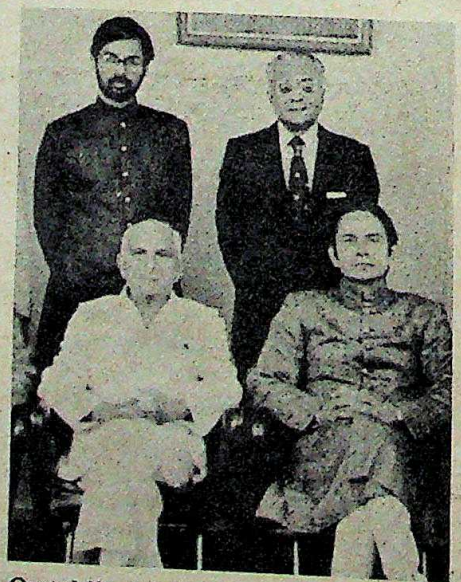
Changing Canvas: But last fortnight's shake-up changes all that. When the boardroom deliberations which left his nephews out in the cold were complete, Gautam Sarabhai was firmly in the saddle as chairman and chief executive, and he had inducted three whole-time directors of ASE onto the board to aid him. The top level changes make Calico a virtual division of ASE: Gautam is executive chairman of both, Kshitish Divatia a common vice-chairman, and the two companies share four other directors. Both Suhrid and Kartikeya Sarabhai are now involved neither as directors nor in any executive capacity in either company. Admitted Suhrid Jr, 41, the diminutive and mild-mannered man who headed Calico for exactly a decade: "I am certainly involved with both companies as a shareholder, but have nothing to do with their management. But I'm starting some businesses of my own along with Dr Vikram Sarabhai's family and his son Kartikeya, beginning with an electronics unit at Gandhinagar."

A family split in the Sarabhai group has been talked about for some years, but it was really the past three months' manipulation which finally brought it open. To date, in fact, no div shareholdings or property has tak and the group administers all its through a string of jointly-manage ment companies and trusts. Alth mily members had agreed, more years ago, to ultimately assig individual's holdings to him, this rely a long-term plan which is su implemented. Since August, howe harmony has been threatened by ing disunity over Calico. Ultimatel larisation of the family into two groups occurred.

The Calico take-over was a piece of manipulation. Getting with three of his four sisters—the takes little interest in business affai thus getting a clear majority in the held company which controls the S family's Calico holdings, Gautam a ced last August that as the mill value had dropped, he intended to family shares. Against roughly Rs years ago, the market price of C Rs 125 share had dropped to jus Rs 200 in August. Arguing that was merely an investment like any Gautam informed the family that no option but to disinvest.



RELATIONSHIP AMONG FEUDING FAMILY MEMBERS


Ousted directors Kartikeya, Bhatt (standing), and Suhrid (seated right); and survivor Shah

Since Gautam Sarabhai is putably in control of the investmen pany, it was clear that he could good his threat. His back to the and faced with the unpleasant op losing the company to outsiders, Su decided that he had no alternative give in and invite his uncle to tak the company. Said Bachubhi Bhatt, seated Calico chief executive who years worked his way up from a trative assistant to executive vice-ch of the company: "When Suhrid ini us of Gautambhai's decision to di the board felt that by inviting him over as chairman we could put mo ssure on him to retain the company was only because of this that we him to step in." Added B.K. Shah

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e Bombay-based Special Steels, who ns an independent director of o: "Suhrid only stepped aside in or- o preserve the family heritage and a dispute. And it is to his eternal that Ambalal Sarabhai's heritage re- s intact today. He's made a great sac- for this."

Ouster: Once he received the invi- n to take over, Gautam Sarabhai pro- went the whole hog. The Calico l was informed that to function pro- he would need directors of his own sing. And to make room for them, existing directors would have to Included in the ouster were pro- nal managers Bhatt and Taneja, e careers with Calico date back more 30 years. "What the members of this y do to one another is their busi- " said an enraged Calico insider. "But has really shaken the entire company e manner in which Gautambhai has ed Bachubhai Bhatt, a man whom tam had himself groomed for the top ion because of his outstanding ormance."

However, Gautam flatly denies that as forced anybody out, or pressurised Calico management in any way. ere is just no question of my easing body out," he said, "I have the war- t relationship with them all. As for the ge that I have used pressure to gain rol of Calico, nothing could be further n the truth. Every investor has a right decide whether he wants to continue an investment or disinvest, and this ly is no business of the board of any pany. If the board invited me, it is because they feel that with my 37- experience in handling Calico I'll be best person to perform the difficult of leading the company through the ent bad patch."

Implicit in the dismissal of the four ctors, however, is the assumption that have failed as managers. The ouster taken place under a cloud of disrepute ch will not easily blow away. Indirectly ging his nephews with 'non- formance' a note from Gautam to the s on the current change in Calico sta- "The appointments of executives in management of business as well as of ctors on the boards of companies uld be reserved only for those who me- it by capacity, irrespective of their fa- y affiliations. Implicit in this philo- hy is the notion of accountability, with concomitant right, or rather obli- on, to change an executive for non- formance."

The past three years have seen a dy erosion of profits in Calico and, while the company has not actually gone into the red, it is today facing a serious crisis in both liquidity and profitability. Spiralling interest rates combined with large borrowings, reduced production in many of the company's lines—including caustic soda, chlorine, calcium carbide and PVC—and the demand recession in textiles have all taken their toll, cutting into Calico's operations. The chemical plant, in fact, has never really recovered from a 10-month Datta Samant-led strike three years ago, which left many machines corroded and less than fully efficient. Finally, at end-1981, the company's management found that many of its specialised chemicals could not compete in a market flooded with cheaper imports. Unable to bear the costs of running them, it shut down its PVC resin and industrial solvents lines.

Travails: Gross profit as a percentage of sales has dropped sharply in the last decade from around 13 per cent to roughly 5.5 percent last year. But Calico's profit and loss figures do not tell the whole story. Many of the factors affecting the company are external and not directly controllable by its management. Company insiders argue that Calico's travails are no different from those of any other company in the same field, and that in fact the Sarabhai company has performed better than most.

Despite the outward calm, it was internecine warfare at its worst. In a stroke the management of Calico Mills changed hands, leaving the giant corporation short of its top four managers.

A major problem for the company has been liberalised imports and the dumping of industrial raw materials by giant foreign corporations. Starting three years ago, successive liberalisation measures have brought polyester fibre and PVC solvents within their scope, and, like every other unit manufacturing these items, Calico has been unable to compete with the absurdly low-priced imports.

Scoffing at the charge of management ineffectiveness levelled against the ousted team, B.K. Shah asserted that in fact the Suhrid Sarabhai-Bachubhai Bhatt combination had done well in the adverse circumstances facing the company. "As far as the directors are concerned they know that there was absolutely nothing wrong with the Calico management," he said. "As with any other business, it is passing through a bad phase because external factors are against it. And if any section thinks it can do better, then let me assure you the board does not think so. It was only to prevent a shift of management outside the company that we invited others to take over."

The future of the simmering Sarabhai feud remains uncertain. Gautam Sarabhai has no sons and will, in all likelihood, install a team of professional managers in Calico before retiring. In ASE he has already nominated Kshitish Divatia, currently executive vice-chairman, as his successor. It is expected that a similar arrangement will ultimately be worked out in Calico too. Meanwhile, it is apparent that his nephews are busy with plans to set up independent industries, and quite possible that they will now press for the division of shareholdings in the family property that was agreed upon. In a studio-office situated in the heart of the forested 30-acre Sarabhai town estate "Retreat", Suhrid Jr draws up plans for the ultra-modern electronics outfits he wishes to start.

Meanwhile, the family dispute has opened a Pandora's box of allegations and charges about the Sarabhais. Dropping their well-known reticence to hurl charges at one another, both members of the Sarabhai family and their trusted retainers were spending much of their time in mud-slinging. One theory advocated for Gautam Sarabhai's indecent haste in throwing out the past Calico management is that he and his sisters were upset because Bhatt and Suhrid Jr had broken the traditional links between the Sarabhai companies.

According to sources in Calico, a private Sarabhai company, Bakubhai Ambalal, has always served as agent for all Sarabhai group purchases and sales abroad, thus netting an annual commission in the region of Rs 55 lakh on Calico's foreign trade alone. Under the Bhatt-Suhrid Sarabhai management, however, Calico formed a subsidiary abroad called "Calind" to act as its agent, thus depriving Bakubhai Ambalal of an assured source of revenue. Similar allegations about other purchase agencies, sales outfits, and intermediary firms are becoming common in the aftermath of the Calico take-over. For a group which has always functioned with decorum and behind a wall of privacy, it is an ignominous way in which to break up.

—CHANDER UDAY SINGH
in Ahmedabad

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PHARMACEUTICALS

The Bitter Pills

IT ISN'T an industry with the healthiest of reputations. And the Government wielded the scalpel last month to cut out the cancer: 18 combinations of drugs that have been determined to be either dangerous, irrational or useless.

Production of these drugs, marketed in no fewer than 350 formulations, stopped at the end of September following the most radical surgery undertaken by the Government so far on a controversy-ridden industry. The formulations will be on the market till next March, when their sale will also be banned.

Many of the drugs were banned in other countries years ago: household pain-killers that can cause stomach cancer, sex stimulant drugs that are in fact quite useless, irrational combinations of antibiotics that build not good health but drug resistance, and much more.

Till almost the very end, the industry fought tooth and nail to prevent the axe from falling, plying the Government with memoranda and counter-arguments, scuttling the work of two committees that went into the question of drug safety in the early and mid-1970s, and in the case of an earlier ban, filing a lawsuit against the ban order, only to withdraw both the case and the drug.

Successful Campaign: But after years of campaigning by concerned doctors, consumer body enthusiasts and others, and the work of no fewer than three official committees, the final decision was taken earlier this year to weed out the harmful and useless concoctions. There were still some weak noises of protest, but the ban order was greeted with an almost anti-climactic acquiescence.

Some of the drugs banned are so patently irrational as to be laughable: pain-killing tablets that contain vitamins, for instance. Other cases include typhoid drugs that are sold as catch-all remedies and sedatives that should have been discarded long ago because safer and better substitutes are available.

Drug company representatives themselves are willing to concede that the ban is based on valid grounds. Says S.N. Sawhney, general manager of Ranbaxy Laboratories: "In most of the 18 cases, the ban is justified." But the pity of it is that the companies which produce these drugs never thought of withdrawing them on their own initiative. Says S.S. Gothoskar, drug controller in the Central Government: "I wish the companies had shown a sense of responsibility and taken action on their own. The companies should do these things themselves."

Controversial products: a need for self-correction

Profit Motive: But there are others who argue that the absence of self-correction is no surprise, and indeed is typical of the industry. Says Anil Agarwal, who has written a book on the subject (*Drugs and the Third World*): "The word 'health' does not exist in the drug industry's dictionary. The word they do concentrate on, instead, is profits."

Activists in the field also argue that the ban should have come much earlier. Says Dr Mira Shiva of the Voluntary Health Association of India: "The dangerous side-effects of many of these drugs have been known for a long time, and other countries acted on this basis long ago. The ban on these drugs should have come well before last month."

Shiva and others also argue [illegible] Government's ban order does no[illegible] numerous other drugs that are k[illegible] be unsafe or useless, drugs that ha[illegible] banned elsewhere, and which hav[illegible] subjected to widespread misuse. An[illegible] a case in point: it has been banne[illegible] least eight countries, and the maj[illegible] cases of the shortage of white blo[illegible] puscles are linked to this drug, b[illegible] drug continues to be sold in India.

Recommended Ban: Combinat[illegible] Analgin were in fact one of five [illegible] recommended for bann[illegible] the Sane Committee a[illegible] Drugs Consultative Co[illegible] tee (DCC) in 1979-8[illegible] both were overruled b[illegible] Drugs Technical Ad[illegible] Board (DTAB)—and w[illegible] valid reason, say critic[illegible] other such case was th[illegible] bination of penicillin [illegible] Streptomycin. According [illegible] a study published in Bri[illegible] far back as 1969, "such [illegible] binations are ineffective [illegible] ed dose combinations".

Yet another widel[illegible] combination, of Strept[illegible] and Chloramphenicol [illegible] suggested for withdra[illegible] the DCC, which said "in[illegible] minate use of Strept[illegible] may lead to serious to[illegible] fects on the eighth c[illegible] nerve"—causing vertig[illegible] sometimes permanent [illegible] ness. Indiscriminate us[illegible] leads to drug resi[illegible] making them useless [illegible] really needed—Streptomycin for T[illegible] Chloramphenicol for typhoid. I[illegible] evidence of such resistance is a[illegible] becoming available.

Such condemnations are not [illegible] course, universally accepted. The [illegible] panies themselves refer to a numb[illegible] counter-arguments. And Gothoska[illegible] plains what prevailed on the DTAB to [illegible] the combination of Streptomycin [illegible] Chloramphenicol. "It was felt that [illegible] enteritis is a serious problem in Indi[illegible] that such a strong drug combinatio[illegible] needed to fight the problem. Other [illegible] ries which may have disallowed the [illegible] bination may be happier placed re[illegible] gastro-enteritis."

Widespread Misuse: Sometime[illegible]

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em is not lack of safety *per se* but
pread misuse—often aided and abet-
by the manufacturing company. A
oversy that continues to rage con-
the Oestrogen-Progestogen hormone
which the Government banned ear-
his year because of continuing misuse
esting pregnancy (at unacceptable risk
e foetus.

The use of these drugs for testing pre-
cy has been given up abroad, and as
ack as 1976 the Government asked
ompanies to carry a warning against
f the drug for pregnancy diagnosis.
company medical representatives con-
d to promote it aggressively for pre-
this purpose, and standard phar-
utical compendiums, based on infor-
on provided by the companies, con-
d till as late as 1981, to say that the
could be used for pregnancy
osis.

The market leader in this is Glaxo's
odyl. The company's Medical Direc-
M. Paul Anand, insists that its litera-
is the same as that of the parent

It is irrational to ban a drug because it is misused.

Paul Anand, *medical director, Glaxo Laboratories*

pany in Britain. But a May 1980 issue
he triannual Current Index of Medical
cialities (CIMS) in Anand's office lists
odyl as a pregnancy diagnosis drug.
warning against use in pregnancy was
rporated only later.

N 1979, the Indian Council of Medical
Research (ICMR) had appointed a com-
mittee to study the question. The com-
tee suggested an outright ban of the
g. Dr B.N. Purandare, a leading
aecologist who was on the ICMR panel,
misses warnings against misuse as use-
: "Does anybody read these warnings?
erywhere it is written poison, but does
have any meaning for the doctor
en there are hundreds of canvassers
m the companies telling him that this is
use of the drug?"

The ban finally came a few months
after a concerted public campaign, but
xo is still leading a campaign against
say that because a drug is misused, it
uld be banned."

Deliberate Neglect: This is not the

DRUGS

Outlawed

THE 18 combinations of drugs whose production has been banned from October 1 include the pain-killer amidopyrine, combinations of vitamins with tranquillisers and anti-inflammatory agents, combinations of the anti-spasmodic atropine in analgesics and anti-pyretics (which bring down fever), and combinations of strychnine (which is supposed to help build appetite but whose therapeutic effect is doubtful) and caffeine in tonics.

Others banned are combinations of yohimbine (claimed to be a sex stimulant) and strychnine with testoterons and vitamins as well as combinations of iron with strychnine, yohimbine and arsenic (an out-dated poison that once used to be applied to make horses shine!).

Also banned are combinations of sodium bromide (a nerve sedative) or chloral hydrate (a hypnotic drug to induce sleep) with other drugs. Drug companies say that there are better substitutes for these now available, like barbiturates and diazepam.

A major category banned are combinations of ayurvedic and unani drugs with modern allopathic drugs, though implementation of this may be difficult because the combination is often done in small-scale or cottage operations.

Dangerous Combinations: Phenacetin also makes its exit because it can cause kidney damage (this drug is popularly used in combination with aspirin and caffeine to make APC tablets). Yet other combinations that will stop being produced are antihistaminics (anti-allergy drugs) with anti-diarrhoeals, and penicillin wih sulphonamide (both are anti-bacterial in action, but the former is toxic).

Combinations of vitamins with pain-killing analgesics are also banned, along with combinations of Vitamin C with the antibiotic tetracycline. Vitamin C is supposed to help absorb tetracycline in the blood, but this effect is said to be unproven.

There is a partial ban on hydroxyquinoline except for preparations like Mexaform, which are for treating diarrhoea and dysentery. Also banned are combinations of steroids with other drugs for internal use, except for the treatment of asthma.

Combinations of Chloramphenicol (used to treat typhoid) are banned except in combination with Streptomycin. Such combinations have been banned abroad.

The last two combinations banned are of ergot (used to treat migraine) except in combination with caffeine, and of vitamins with anti-tuberculosis drugs except combinations of the tuberculosis drug INH with Vitamin B.

Some offending drugs: overdue ban?

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only case for which Glaxo can be pilloried. A second concerns the anti-nausea drug Ancoloxin, sold in India for precisely what Glaxo's parent company warns against: nausea during pregnancy, since use of the drug during pregnancy can lead to the birth of deformed babies. Glaxo's Managing Director, J.S. Khambatta, once explained this as an "administrative failure" and action to issue warnings with the drug is supposed to have been taken. But, last fortnight, Ancoloxin packs with Bombay chemists, manufactured in January 1982, still had no warnings against misuse. And the January 1982 issue of MIMS-India (MIMS standing for Monthly Index of Medical Specialities) suggests two tablets of Ancoloxin at night will cure "vomiting of pregnancy".

Yet a third case, this time involving Searle, suggests that it is not so rare for companies to peddle drugs in situations where they should restrain themselves. Searle's anti-diarrhoea drug Lomotil is not prescribed abroad for children under two years of age because it can mask signs of dehydration and cause fatal toxic reactions. Till recently in India, however, there as no such warning, and dosages were prescribed for age 0–1 year. Even now, leaflets in Lomotil packs do not warn against use for infants. Instead, there is a long list of studies to show that the drug is safe for children and infants.

Dr H.M. Lal, Searle's area director for Africa, West Asia and India, puts up a weak defence: "The only reason we put all these infant studies in our product literature was because there was a controversy about the safety of Lomotil, and we wanted to show doctors that it was a safe drug. It was not our intention that they use it for infants."

Misleading Dosage: Dr Raj Anand of the Consumer Guidance Society of India in Bombay is forthright in his condemnation: "This is typical of the way these companies work. They have given a dosage schedule based on the bodyweight of the infant, and another one for children over two years old. Since there is no mention of the hazard to infants, any paediatrician who sees the leaflet will automatically dose infants according to the bodyweight schedule."

Hormone drugs, Ancoloxin, Lomotil: if these were the only cases, they might be taken as exceptions to the rule of generally correct behaviour. But children are fed dangerous anabolic steroids through tonics, while chloroform (known to cause cancer in rats and mice, and toxic to the human liver and kidneys) continues to be included in a wide variety of cough mixtures and tonics: Boehringer-Knoll's Sovental and Geoffrey Manners' Dristan. Chloroform has been withdrawn from such formulations in the U K, Canada and the Philippines.

Wrong Prescription: There are yet other cases: steroidal drugs being included in prescriptions for the common cold, antibiotics being included in headache pills, and anabolic steroids being routinely sold to women even though this is known to cause hair growth and other male characteristics.

Yet another classic case, and one better known than many others, is that of Clioquinol (sold by Ciba-Geigy as Mexaform). Use of this anti-diarrhoea drug caused blindness on epidemic scale in Japan in the early 1970s, with several thousands falling victim. The company was eventually forced to pay out millions in damages after a lawsuit, and had to pay up once again in Sweden after cases of blindness were reported there. But the drug continues to be sold in India and other developing countries—in protest against which Swedish doctors have imposed a ban on all Ciba drugs.

We put infant studies in our product literature to show doctors that Lomotil was a safe drug. It was not our intention that they use it for infants.

—Dr H.M. Lal, *area director, Searle*

Says Mira Shiva: "For most cases of diarrhoea, the drug is quite useless, since 70 per cent of diarrhoea cases are viral, and self-limiting. But Mexaform is given for any and every case of diarrhoea, and nine cases of blindness have in fact been reported from Bombay." Shiva also mentions other casualties known to her: of a child dying in Ludhiana probably because it took Lomotil. And she cites a standard Indian medical text in support of the claim that half the cases of shortage of blood cells are because of Analgin consumption.

No Feedback: But the lack of wider reporting of Indian cases of drug side-effects has been repeatedly used by the drug companies to argue that the drugs do not, in fact, have the alleged side-effects. Gothoskar himself puts across this view: "Bombay and Calcutta must be the two cities with constant diarrhoea problems, and the widest use of drugs like Mexaform. But how many cases of blindness has anyone heard of? And what happens if I ban the drug? Its substitute is four times as expensive." Gothosk uses the limited reports of side- argue that drug administration i effective.

But, as Shiva points out, th reporting of side-effects because no feedback system to start wi have no trace of the patient, ofte no prescription, the patient does what drug he has taken, or the cash memo to prove he bought th

Gothoskar in contrast feels controversy about dangerous d overblown. "Someone in the We up an issue, and our people prom it up here. More people die in In unsterilised needles than from d drugs."

Sawhney of Ranbaxy adds far greater problem consists of vaids and other practitioners of in medicines freely prescribing a drugs, without knowing dosage effects and the conditions o Nevertheless, says Sawhney, "som governments actively encourage thi

THE DRUG controller, mea cautions against viewing dustry in black and white "We should not forget what the d dustry has done for medicare, an rms of bringing in new drugs an cines." And he adds: "You must get that this is a business-oriented like any other."

But the result of a profit ori to the problem of health can lead tirely unwanted consequences: production of essential drugs an production of wasteful non-essenti ducts, for instance. India has the population in the world of TB and patients, constituting a major health problem. But the produc both anti-TB and anti-leprosy drug than a third of the requirement dropping sharply.

According to estimates b Operations Research Group (ORG) les of PAS, a front-line TB drug per cent in one year—apparently d of a cutback by companies who f unprofitable to produce the drug, turn is the result of the Govern pricing policy on drugs. As a resul panies habitually under-utilise the sed capacities for such essential while producing far in excess of capacities in items like vitamins nics, which are far more profitabl uses less than half its capacity for TB drug, but produces three times ensed capacity of Protinex.

Lucrative Tonics: Bhaskara

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points out that the sale of one tonic, orange, is far more than the total sales NH, which is the single largest-selling drug (the respective figures being Rs crore and Rs 2.5 crore). Overall, the stry annually sells Rs 350 crore worth vitamins, tonics, nutritive supplements what have you, many of them in do- s that the body cannot absorb, or in ulations that serve no useful purpose. Incremin is advertised as a growth to- and once carried a campaign asking viewer to guess which of the children up took Incremin (the tallest, of cou- The Government objected that this had no foundation, and the advert- ent was withdrawn, but the product is advertised as a growth tonic. As an erver pointed out, the crucial element in emin is the amino-acid lysine, but a ful of peas has six times more lysine a spoonful of the tonic.

Tall Claims: Says V.C. Sane, former s commissioner of Maharashtra: "We to amend and significantly tighten

We need to amend the Drugs and Magic Remedies Act to curb the tall claims and false statements."

V.C. Sane, *former drugs commissioner, Maharashtra*

Drugs and Magic Remedies Act to the tall claims and false statements e by manufacturers of drugs, nutritive tives and cosmetics." Others suggest, ever, that the problem lies not with provisions of the act but the unwill- ess to make use of them.

At the other end of the scale, vitamin ets are provided with such heavy over- s as to be a positive health hazard. Government has sought to control e dosages, but pricing formalities have ented effective control three years af- the minimum and maximum dosages e first put together. As a result, vi- in C tablets continue to sell in 500 mg ets, when the recommended dosage li- s are between 25 and 150 mg daily for rmal adult.

Says Dr K.G.S. Anand of Ranbaxy oratories: "In the case of some vi- ins, excessive consumption can cause es in the kidney and hardening of the ies." Adds the medical director of a inational drug company: "There are ain specific indications when things calcium, vitamins and tonics are nee-

ANALGESICS

Painful Relief

THE MOST common case of an unsafe or unnecessary drug is provided by the most common drug in the domestic medicine chest: pain-killing analgesics. The World Health Organisation (WHO) states that Aspirin is the cheapest and safest analgesic, and the only really essential one. But there are a vast number of more expensive, often less effective and sometimes hazardous drugs of this type on the market.

One example is phenacetin, widely used in the popular APC formulation and in branded drugs. Two examples are Glaxo's Capramin and Bayer's Refagan. Phenacetin was found in the mid-1970s to cause a serious and sometimes fatal kidney disease, blood disorders and liver damage. Britain withdrew the drug in 1980, but multinational companies which have withdrawn this drug in their home countries continue to market it here and will do so till March-end, when the Government's overdue ban on sales becomes effective.

But there is another side to the story as well: companies marketing phenacetin in India violate international dosage schedules to increase sales. Bayer's Refagan, for instance, suggests doses of 600 to 1,200 milligrams (mg) daily, when the toxic dose is 1,000 mg according to a standard pharmacopoea.

Toxic Analgesics: Amidopyrine and dipyrone (or Analgin) provide similar stories: both are toxic analgesics that can be done away with. The US, Australia and West European countries banned amidopyrine some years ago after it was found that the drug causes a blood disease that can be fatal. In 1977, Ciba-Geigy withdrew the drug from its formulations world-wide. But last month Ciba's Cibalgin Compendium still purveyed this drug to Indian consumers. Amidopyrine is one of the 18 drugs whose production has been banned by the Government from this month.

Analgin, like amidopyrine, can cause a fatal blood disease, and has been banned in Sweden, the UK and Australia, and discarded in the US. In other countries, it has been removed from cough and cold preparations and analgesics. In India, in contrast, Analgin is among the largest-selling analgesics, accounting for Rs 7 crore annual sales, and including such well-known branded drugs as Hoechst's Novalgin and Baralgan. Dr Mira Shiva of the Voluntary Health Association of India explains that the only justified use of Analgin as a pain-killer is in injectable form, for situations when it has to be given.

Moreover, combinations of the basic drug with codeine, caffeine, phenacetin, acetaminophen and other drugs add nothing to Aspirin's effectiveness while adding substantially to price, a fact testified to in Goodman and Gillman's *The Pharmacological Basis of Therapeutics:* "The many mixtures of Aspirin are promoted with claims that they provide more analgesia. None of these claims withstand critical scrutiny. In most clinical trials, relief of pain by an analgesic mixture has not been superior to that of Aspirin alone."

Unreliable: Salicylamide (used in drugs like Bayer's Dolviran and Nicholas' Malidens) is, according to Goodman and Gillman, an unreliable drug whose use is no longer recommended. Codeine is often included in an 8 mg dose, but is effective at only 30 mg or more. And caffeine is obtained in any case from tea and coffee. Why then do drug companies promote these mixtures?

The short answer is more profits. An international study by a WHO committee found that Aspirin costs one-sixth of competing drugs, while being as effective and safer. A team of three doctors from Delhi and Jaipur found that the prices of fancy formulations like Aspro, Anacin and Powerin are almost three times as high as generic (i.e. unbranded) Aspirin, though they offer no extra relief. As for Analgin, the Indian Council of Medical Research states in its *Health for All* that "the cost of Analgin sold over the counter is 30 times the cost of production".

The Government has made some efforts to correct the situation by abolishing brand names for Aspirin and four other drugs commonly used. But the affected companies went to court on the issue, and the verdict last month was that the Government order violated the Trade Marks Act. The general expectation is that the Government will now appeal to the Supreme Court, but the appeal is still awaited. The official comment: "We are studying the judgement."

—CHANDER UDAY SINGH

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BANGLADESH

Showing How

THOSE campaigning in India for a radical policy on unsafe and useless drugs point to the example of Bangladesh, which set the Padma on fire four months ago by banning almost every second drug sold in the country. Of a total of 4,000 medicines available, 237 have been banned with immediate effect because they are harmful, and a further 1,505 drugs considered useless will be withdrawn in nine months.

The ban covers many of the drugs against which Indian activists have been campaigning: combination antibiotics, combination analgesics, anabolic steroids, many cough mixtures and tonics, multi-vitamin preparations, lozenges, controversial anti-diarrhoea drugs and products with high alcohol content.

Announcing the drug policy in Dhaka, Health Minister Major-General Shamsul Haque said it aimed at ensuring drug quality and safety, and at providing essential drugs cheaply and easily to the people.

The policy was formulated on the basis of a report prepared by an expert committee headed by Professor Nurul Islam, director of the Institute of Post-Graduate Medicine and Research and a leading physician who has been campaigning against drug misuse.

Angry Reaction: The drastic action based on the committee's report, which itself drew on the World Health Organisation's (WHO) list of 220 drugs that can cover the bulk of a country's needs, has provoked angry reactions. And with 80 per cent of drug production controlled by eight multinational companies, the new policy has set not only the Padma on fire but the Potomac as well. US companies lobbied openly in Washington for pressure to be brought on Bangladesh to revise the policy, and some of the companies threatened to withdraw all production facilities in the country, including those for essential drugs.

The local pharmaceutical industry association, the Bangladesh Ausadh Shilpa Samity, has come out with its own warnings: that all 169 domestic companies would have to close down because only the eight multinationals would have the strength to survive; that the bannings of local production would encourage smuggling from India; and that the ban would cause a scarcity of large numbers of drugs, leading to additional imports.

Both Haque and Islam dismiss these criticisms. Says Islam: "Nobody will die because of the want of medicines if we stick to only 250 essential drugs, including 100 life-saving medicines." And he points out that medicines like Novalgin, Enterovioform, Mexaform, Phenacetin and Parapirin have long ago been phased out in the western countries, but are still in use in Bangladesh because "they consider our lives cheaper".

Apprehension Allayed: Dr Zafrullah Chowdhury, an influential member of the Islam Committee, is likewise scornful of charges that there will be a crisis of drug availability. "Even with the withdrawal of 1,700 medicines, 2,500 will still be available. So the apprehension of a crisis is absurd."

Haque is also critical of the fact that though the multinational companies have sophisticated technology, they have not used this to manufacture basic raw materials for drug formulations. And there has been criticism that 40 to 60 per cent of these companies' products are low technology items like antacids and vitamins.

Haque (left) and Islam: bold move

But less easy to rebut is the criticism of the speed with which the new policy was framed. The entire exercise of forming an expert committee, preparing the recommendations and the Government's acceptance of them took no more than two weeks. Said the industry association spokesman: "We don't understand why it was done so hastily."

The implicit danger in this haste is that the Government may not be ready with the necessary follow-up action: that testing and licensing arrangements are adequate, that companies can and do produce the essential drugs. On these and other similar questions will depend the success or failure of Bangladesh's bold attempt at a rational drug policy.

—T.N. NINAN with ARSHAD MAHMUD in Dhaka

ded, but certainly the regular con of these things as a daily regime needed. As a doctor, I would ne scribe them unless there were spe ficiencies which called for their use."

Protests Ignored: But for a dissenting voices within the indus drug companies by and large con aggressively push such non-essenti ducts, making the maximum pro them because there is no price con these items, unlike on essential drug

The industry is in fact structu do hardsell on such preparations: th of medical representatives to doct India is estimated at 1:4, an astoni high figure when seen in relati Norway's 1:32 or Britain's 1:18. A official study found that the drug co ies spend 10 times more on mar than they do on research (in the U ratio is only three times as much on keting as on research).

It is this hardsell by the ar medical representatives which ends u suading doctors to prescribe drugs if they took the care to read the liter they would know to be unsafe, irr or useless. And, as both Gothoska company representatives themselves out, some doctors have even been to compromise themselves by takin pensive gifts from companies, incl cars and refrigerators. "I would blam doctors more," says Gothoskar. Agarwal comes down just as hard medical profession: "There is not o sociation of doctors which has ever up the question of safe and unsafe dr

No Urgency: Quizzed on wh Government does not take tougher on many of these counts, Gothosk dicates that in the case of tonics a tamins, since no active damage is done, there is no urgent need for (in contrast to the attitude o Bangladesh Government: (*see box*). says: "We are about to look into so the other drugs where action is n One case we are taking up is the question of steroids."

But the essential lesson remains it is time for a look at the questio unsafe and irrelevant drugs in its to to weed out the unsafe drugs that r to discourage spending of money o necessary formulations and to promo production of essential drugs in sho pply. Yet the conclusion remains in able: from neither the Governmen the industry, nor the doctors does clear commitment emerge to bringi production of drugs in line with pa needs and national priorities.

—T.N. NINAN and CHANDER UDAY

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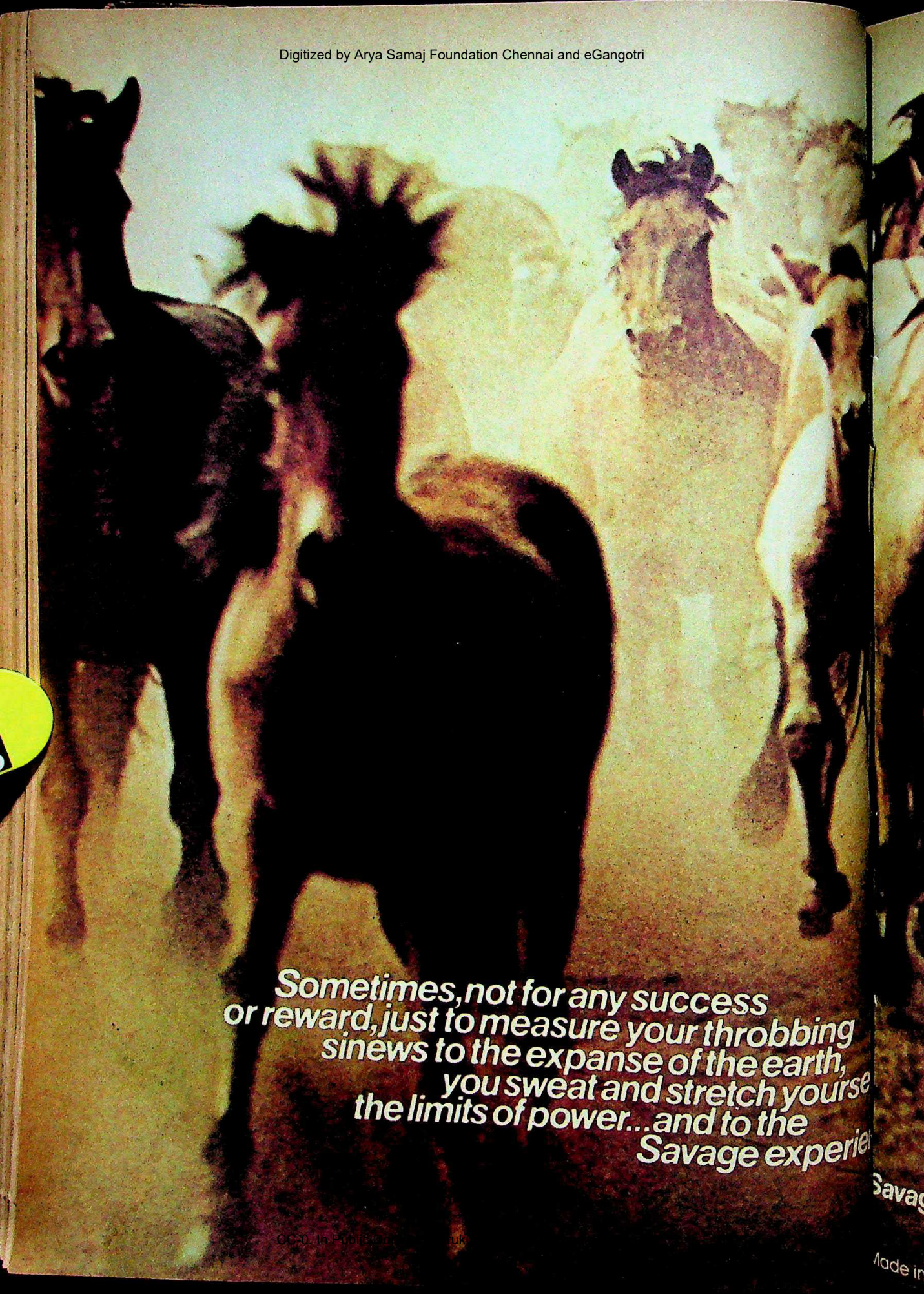

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teeped In Despair

N THE north Bengal town of Siliguri ast month, a conference of plantation orkers reverberated wih thundering ches calling for workers' unity. But, ically enough, a bare 40 km away—workers huddled in dark homes—their m of running a tea garden as a wor- cooperative ground into dust.

Yet, for four years, these workers had the seemingly impossible: restoring abandoned tea garden to health wi- t professional help, recording new le- of production, wiping out accumu- d losses, putting in new investment, even building up a sizeable bank bal- But that was when the former ow- decided to stage a comeback. And gh they have not succeeded, they have eshed the Saongaon Tea and Allied tation Workers' Cooperative Ltd in a s of legal battles, preventing it from ning the garden and spelling ruin for workers.

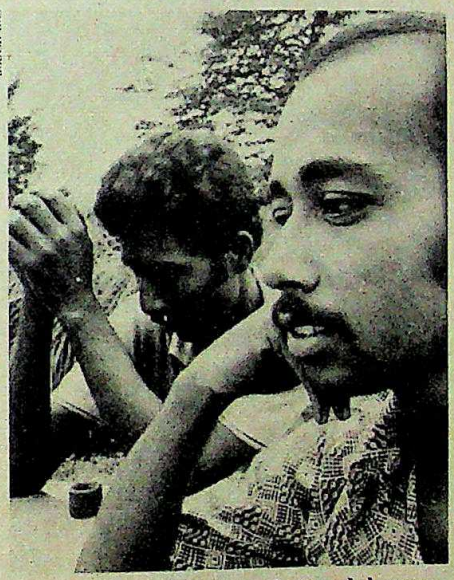
The battle continues in the courts, but signs of defeat are becoming evident. vanath Chatterjee, president of the perative, told INDIA TODAY: "We had hopes for the future, but now every- g seems lost."

The saga of the 1,200-acre Sonali tea te in the tea-growing Dooars area of aiguri district started a decade ago, n its owner B.C. Ghosh sold the gar- to two brothers, V.K. and K.K. mka, traders from Calcutta with little rience of the industry. Like so many al entrants into tea, the Khemkas had arently hoped to quickly squeeze as h as possible out of the garden. ead, they found losses mounting to nd Rs 40 lakh. With wage payments oming irregular and discontent mount- the Khemkas quit in September 1973, after which the company passed a bution handing over the garden, along its liabilities, to the workers.

Suggestions: The Khemkas' departure the workers penniless, and there were gestions to convert the garden into a agricultural operation, growing not but rice and maize. The first to oppose were the tribal workers, who were in majority. Last month they recalled to A TODAY what they had said in 1973: pointed out that if our forefathers left their homes in Chhotanagpur to tea in the Dooars, then it was tea e that we would grow."

But how? There was no money to run garden. And to merely stay alive the workers had to sell their few belongings. Three months passed and, unable to hold out any longer, they went in a procession on a winter's night to Jalpaiguri town, 60 km away, to meet the deputy commissioner.

Precious little emerged. But rather than run away, like the previous owners, the workers decided to face the struggle ahead. A managing committee was formed, and everyone worked without pay till March, when fresh leaves could be sold—at the throwaway price of 50 paise per kg, against the prevailing rate of Rs 1.50. From the revenues, the workers took only 75 paise each a day, the rest being ploughed back into reviving the garden.



BIKASH DAS

Chatterjee and Oraon: shattered dreams

Full wages were not paid for a year, after which the cooperative was given formal shape as the first of its kind in the country. Progress was rapid and heart-warming. Fertiliser had not been applied for three years, and insufficiently before that. Full dosages were now applied, pesticides sprayed regularly, the estate kept well tended, and 10 more acres brought under tea at a cost of Rs 40,000.

Production Increased: In a series of other steps, wages and productivity incentives were stepped up, men's and women's wages brought on par, and the mandatory workload reduced. Production increased, from an average of 850 tonnes and a previous record of 900 tonnes to 1,043 tonnes in 1977. New assets were acquired: a jeep then a tractor, and finally a new godown. After all this, Rs 5 lakh lay to the cooperative's credit in the bank.

But that is when the troubles began. Making a bid to come back in 1976, the Khemka brothers challenged the registration of the cooperative. Two years later, the Calcutta High Court appointed a receiver, who promptly nominated a petrol dealer in the nearby town of Malbazaar, Radheyshyam Agarwal, as his agent. Agarwal now claims he is the owner of the estate by virtue of a sale deed between him and the company.

The cooperative had its moments of glory in the protracted legal battle, which still continues. In September 1978, the high court directed the receiver to hand over possession of the garden to the cooperative. The receiver's and the company's joint appeal against this to the Supreme Court was thrown out, with the court ordering them to hand over possession to the cooperative by May 1979. And in September of that year, the high court upheld the cooperative's registration.

But when the workers tried to retake possession, they faced police action. Those who tried to sell the garden's produce were arrested on charges of theft, while other charges ranged from stealing milk to attempted murder. According to one count, more than 40 workers have about 10 criminal charges against each of them.

Order Issued: Meanwhile, in August 1979, the company and Agarwal were on to a new tack, requesting the Jalpaiguri court to declare void the 1973 resolution by which the garden's ownership had been given to the workers. And in September 1980, the Jalpaiguri sub-judge issued an order injuncting the cooperative from running the garden. The cooperative has appealed against this to the high court, where the matter rests.

But Agarwal now runs the garden, and roughly half the workers are in his employ. Says Chatterjee: "The workers came to us and wanted to know whether they should work for Agarwal. We gave them the permission as there was nothing else we could offer them."

The rest of the workers eke out an existence by working as labourers on local farms, fishing and doing odd jobs. As dusk descends, little children can be seen selling illicit liquor in earthen pots, an apparent bid to make what money is possible. But no one has left the garden. Says Gandur Oraon, who has been at Sonali for decades: "We are simply hoping that the garden will come back to the cooperative once again."

Those who work for Agarwal are hardly happier. The hours are long, the legal requirement of providing rations is not being complied with, and no effective ar-

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ments have been made for medical Management representatives at the o say there is a visiting doctor, but orkers insist that he is never around.

Unanswered Queries: Meanwhile, questions remain unanswered, in- g some posed by the registrar of anies, who has filed several cases st the company. But two of the three ors summoned in this connection by chief metropolitan magistrate of tta have proved untraceable, and the had not been aware that he was a or of the company till a letter came the registrar of companies a few mo-

Unemployed workers: pleas unheard

earlier. Prior to that, he said, he had even heard of the company. Further, signature on the returns filed was not his age and his father's name were rect and his office address had been n as his residential address.

What irks Chatterjee and his col- es most is the strange indifference of state's Left Front Government. ated pleas to ministers have fallen on ears, though the local MLA (now also nister), Parimal Mitra, had been a ant trade unionist among the plantation kers.

Recalls a bewildered Chatterjee: "The er cooperation minister, Bhakti han Mandal, had been here a couple ars ago when police repression agai- us was at its peak. When we told him ut this, the minister advised us to hit k the next time the police came. But he nothing to say when we asked him t will be our fate if we did so."

Enquiries with the Government in utta on the entire subject yielded one k reply: "How can we intervene in a battle?" Which is a valid enough tion. But the end result is that, in a xist-ruled state, the predominantly tri- workers of the Sonali tea estate find one to whom they can turn in their t for a place in the sun.

—SUMANTA SEN

DRY PORTS

Off Quay

VIRTUALLY every inland business centre has been clamouring for one. But if Bangalore's experience is any guide, the enthusiasm for dry ports could quickly evaporate.

Commissioned with great expectations in August last year, the country's first dry port (or internal container depot) has started with a whimper. A feasibility study three years ago had said the depot would handle 5,000 containers in its initial year. Instead, only 75 containers have passed through the depot in its first 12 months.

Officials of both the railways and customs dismiss this lightly as caused by "teething problems"; but these very problems, and the fact that they have not been attended to for over a year, could continue to turn away numerous customers.

Multi-modal Transport: Containerisation has revolutionised freight handling world-wide, and internal container depots are supposed to save industries located inland from having to go to the coastal ports in order to ship goods abroad. This is supposed to be done through the use of multi-modal transport that helps ship goods from an inland manufacturer in one country to an inland consumer in another: the container loaded at a dry port can be shipped by road, rail and sea.

So why has something that has worked everywhere else failed at Bangalore? The short answer is high cost. Shipping goods by container from Bangalore costs more than sending them by ordinary truck to nearby Madras though, ironically enough, containerisation is supposed to economise on both costs and time. The freight charges for a standard 20-tonne container is Rs 1,200. But by the time the railways levy their handling and service charges, the cost piles up to a prohibitive Rs 1,800 per container.

In individual cases, the cost could be still higher. Says Rafiq Mohammed, who runs a furnishing agency: "I had to send out 12 tonnes of furniture to Saudi Arabia, and needed two containers that cost me Rs 1,800 each." In contrast, a 10-tonne truck charges less than Rs 900 for the run from Bangalore to Madras. Explains Mohammed: "We used the container depot only because our customers were touchy about the possible damage during road transport, and they were willing to bear the extra cost."

Denied Benefits: The other major reason for the dry port's failure is that the exporter can't claim payment for his goods or claim any of the export benefits provided by the Government until the goods are shipped out of Madras port. This denies him a major advantage provided by dry ports in other countries, where loading at the dry port is as good as exporting, and both payments and other benefits can be claimed without delay. At Bangalore, however, the banks do not consider the transport document issued by the container depot as "negotiable" and the exporter has to wait for the shipping documents from Madras to claim payment.

Yet a third problem is that combined transport operators do not yet exist in Bangalore. This means that the exporter has to once again oversee the loading of his goods at Madras, which in effect wipes out yet another benefit supposed to be provided by creating a dry port.

For all that, the need for a dry port cannot be denied, since Bangalore contributes over 20 per cent of the traffic from Madras port Asserts C.K. Gopalakrishnan, customs collector: "The concept of containerisation is like jeans in clothing. It is here to stay."

Though agreeing with that assessment, R.A. Nagaraja Gupta, president of the Federation of Karnataka Chambers of Commerce and Industry, warns of the implicit danger in today's situation: "Unless the Government follows a more aggressive policy to lure the vast potential to the container depot, the project will continue to languish."

—CHIDANAND RAJGHATTA

THE MARKETS

Picking Up

IS THE recession over? At least the share markets seem to have decided that it is. Most scrips have suddenly put on fat—some like Chloride India, Indian Oxygen, Blue Star and Mahindra & Mahindra (M&M) by 10 to 20 per cent—which is good going for a market that has been marking time ever since the budget. Whether this bullish activity will spread to other scrips is another question; but by and large the bulls seem to have seen a red rag and dashed out of the ring.

The staid corporate sector has obviously been enlivened by reports of mergers. Indian Aluminium is merging with M&M, the shareholders of the former receiving 4 shares of the latter for 9 of theirs. The merger doesn't make corporate sense as the two groups are not complementary; but they have the same chairman. Also, while M&M has been doing pretty well for the last few years (until the recent credit squeeze hit its tractor business),

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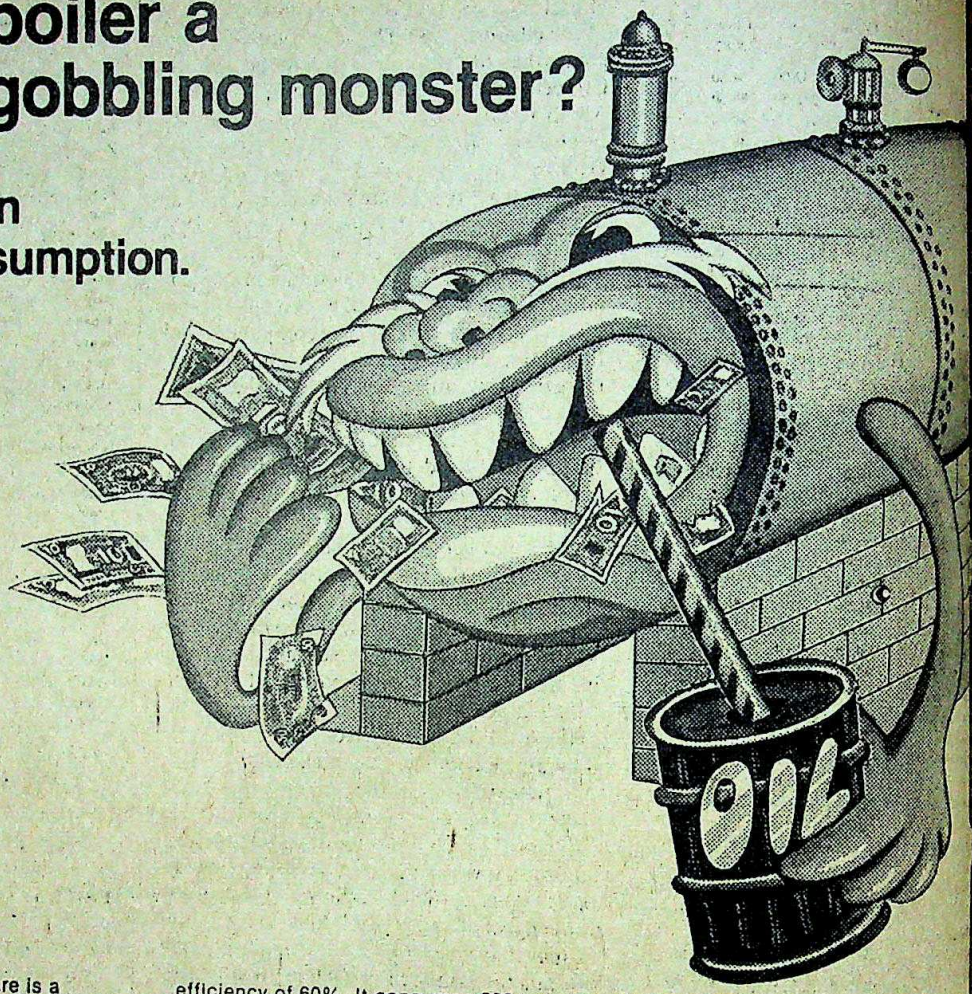
Is your boiler a money gobbling monster?

Cut down on fuel oil consumption.



Fuel oil as you may be aware is a vanishing species. With the constant price hike, it's a drag on foreign exchange and is almost flying out of reach. The only solution to this crisis is economical use of fuel oil. It's the need of the hour.

HOW TO MAKE THE MOST OF WHAT YOU GET

The boiler smoking unburnt fuel leads to a colossal loss of fuel. The old boiler has lower thermal efficiency and consumes more than its output. Install a new efficient boiler with at least 80% thermal efficiency and your fuel cost will reduce drastically.

REPLACE OLD BOILERS WITH NEW FUEL EFFICIENT ONES

You may think this measure of fuel economy would add to your capital expenditure. But this is a misconception.

Let us take for example an old LANCASHIRE boiler having thermal efficiency of 60%. It consumes 336 kg of fuel oil to produce steam of 3730 kg/hr from and at 100°C. At today's landed cost of fuel at Rs. 3.00 per kg, the fuel cost per hour works out to be Rs. 1008/-.

Compared to this let us take a modern fuel economy boiler having 82% thermal efficiency. A 4T boiler would consume 263.4 kgs of fuel oil, which means for equivalent steam generation of a LANCASHIRE boiler it will consume 244.3 kg of oil i.e. Rs. 733/- per hour.

Therefore hourly saving in cost of fuel is Rs. 275/- i.e. Rs. 6600/- per day or Rs.1,98,000/- per month. Compared to this, the cost of a new boiler is just around Rs 6 lakhs. That means your payback period will be much less than a year.

SHORT PAYBACK PERIOD MEANS MORE PROFITS SOONER

As the fuel prices escalate your savings too will increase and your payback period will further reduce. As far as your old boiler is concerned either you can sell or convert it into coal fired and keep it as stand-by.

ACT NOW

The earlier you take action the sooner you will join the crusade for fuel economy. PCRA, IDBI and IOC offer good incentives for those willing to take this progressive step. Who knows, tomorrow 80% thermal efficiency might become essential criteria by regulation for a boiler installation!

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ACTIVE STOCKS

	High 1982	Low 1982	Close 17.9.82	Change on Fortnight
Leyland	59.00	32.00	34.50	nil
ated Cement	393.00	212.50	380.50	15.50
	1,650.00	960.00	1,160.00	(10.00)
Auto	49.60	36.00	40.10	0.30
per	42.00	26.50	29.50	(1.00)
Gears	41.10	26.80	40.90	(0.20)
Jute	68.00	53.00	65.00	3.00
Plast	44.00	30.00	44.00	7.00
Star	80.50	62.00	78.00	10.00
ay Dyeing	0118.69	15.50	15.44	(0.31)
Paints	26.00	20.20	25.95	0.35
e Bond	18.60	11.80	11.90	(0.70)
tta Electric	346.00	201.00	243.50	10.00
Mills	220.00	177.50	197.50	2.50
Tyres	1,020.00	675.00	725.00	5.00
ry Spinning	25.00	16.00	16.00	(2.60)
icals & Fibres	53.00	62.80	3.50	
ide India	168.00	78.00	83.00	4.00
ate	16.20	11.65	13.20	1.00
ent Dyes	44.50	31.31	34.62	(0.57)
Cloth Mills	24.30	18.30	23.80	2.70
p India	21.50	16.50	19.00	0.38
India Hotels	41.00	26.00	31.50	0.50
	49.87	34.25	37.37	0.50
Specialities	51.50	35.75	51.00	5.00
are Nylon	48.75	27.00	27.25	(0.25)
eral Electric	30.50	25.40	29.30	1.30
Keen Williams	37.20	28.00	28.40	0.40
rat Fertilisers	506.00	368.00	432.00	(2.00)
ustan Aluminium	49.20	30.00	31.20	(0.10)
ustan Lever	56.00	47.25	50.75	(0.75)
ustan Motors	32.14	21.82	27.34	2.04
chst Dyes	28.00	23.00	26.50	2.50
n Aluminium	23.60	17.00	19.40	1.70
n Cable	25.00	18.00	21.25	0.45
n Dyestuff	247.50	172.50	217.50	2.00
n Explosives	26.00	18.50	19.20	0.10
n Hotels	107.00	50.00	57.50	(2.50)
n Organic	35.00	26.00	30.00	(0.90)
n Oxygen	36.00	26.20	35.50	4.60
vol-Rand	165.00	87.00	90.00	(74.00)
Exchange	45.00	29.00	33.00	1.75
	36.75	21.00	36.75	2.35
ree Tea	36.00	23.85	24.00	(2.50)
Synthetics	73.20	55.60	59.00	(0.50)
ram	59.70	45.10	59.60	0.90
ic Engineering	150.00	94.00	125.00	nil
ri (Madras)	35.75	20.00	27.75	0.25
n & Toubro	86.00	45.50	56.25	2.75
ra Coats	20.00	14.50	20.00	2.75
dra & Mahindra	61.00	38.00	46.00	2.50
r Industry	272.50	220.00	237.50	(5.00)
and Iron	36.50	22.50	24.75	(0.25)
	29.00	16.50	22.00	nil
ral Organic	210.00	168.00	176.00	nil
	63.00	37.00	39.25	1.50
t Paper	48.50	34.50	39.20	0.70
Electronics	30.30	26.00	29.50	3.20
India	97.00	58.75	66.00	(2.00)
ler Auto	407.00	303.00	394.50	25.50
ary	29.75	21.00	26.50	0.25
mond	58.25	32.50	36.00	2.00
nce	182.50	118.00	181.50	18.00
Wallace	31.00	27.30	31.00	1.20
ram Fibres	52.12	41.37	47.87	(0.88)
ens	66.00	34.00	39.50	0.50
	16.00	12.60	15.70	0.70
nia & Laxman	31.50	19.00	20.00	1.50
Chemicals	59.50	45.50	59.50	6.00
Steel	429.00	310.00	342.50	5.50
o	737.00	367.00	407.00	nil
nsco	70.75	35.75	40.10	1.30
n Carbide	28.10	23.90	25.00	nil
Martin Black	33.50	23.50	23.50	(2.50)
er	291.00	228.00	272.00	5.00
Agro	26.50	18.35	19.60	0.10

Indian Aluminium has been in something of a crunch because of price control.

Collaborations: The ICI group of companies has also announced a merger, with Crescent Dyes, Chemicals and Fibres and Alkali Chemicals merging with Indian Explosives, which will remain afloat as the group's only flag bearer. There are also reports that the group's proposal for a natural gas-based fertiliser plant on the west coast may not come off. There are also reports that ITC, which has produced an excellent report, is likely to take over India Cements. Some Birla companies—in the K.K. Birla group—are thinking of merger. How all this will affect the stock market remains to be seen.

On the other hand, the Maruti-Suzuki tie-up is expected to stir up trouble in the automotive sector, unless companies like Premier Automobiles and Hindustan Motors can get cracking before the Maruti models hit the market. But the tie-up should also give a boost to the motor car ancillary market and companies like Motor Industries which supply them. All in all, the automobile shares will go through a wringer over the next few years, with DCM's Toyota project contributing its mite at the commercial vehicle end.

Set-backs: On the engineering front there is not much activity. Guest Keen Williams plans for diluting its foreign equity below 40 per cent have apparently received a set-back following the poor showing of its convertible debenture issue. It may have been a case of poor marketing but the issue fell flat while most others did pretty well. The company has already declared a bonus issue (1 for 3), and this may also have been an adverse factor, as the ex-bonus price works out at Rs 21 which makes the bonds unattractive.

Although the market has picked up, it is doubtful whether the bullish phase can be sustained over a long period. The kharif crop is said to be below par—may be by as much as 8 million tonnes—and there are reports that the current year may be as bad as 1979–80 when the food crop dipped below 120 million tonnes. The Government has decided to purchase 2.5 million tonnes of wheat which will take its total tally to 4 million tonnes costing more than Rs 500 crore. This might help keep food prices in check, but the run on foreign exchange will have be made up through import cut-backs.

This is always a double-edged weapon, helping some industries like synthetic fibres and adversely affecting others; but the net effect of a clamp down on imports is almost always bearish in the long run. Therefore, short-term prospects—for the next six months or so—may be good.

WORLD VALUE OF RUPEE

Country	Unit	Currency	TT Selling Rates(Rs)	TT Buying Rates(Rs)
Australia	1	As $	9.2286	9.1198
Austria	100	As Sch	54.5282	53.9844
Bahrain	1	Dinar	25.8904	25.6174
Bangladesh	100	Taka	42.9364	42.6241
Canada	1	Can $	7.8760	7.7933
Egypt	1	Egp £	11.3774	11.2946
France	1	Fr Frc	1.3553	1.3418
Hong Kong	1	HK $	1.5104	1.4886
Indonesia	100	Rupiah	1.4605	1.4499
Iran	100	Rial	11.3542	11.2715
Italy	100	Lt Lira	0.6882	0.6821
Japan	100	Jap Yen	3.5622	3.5240
Kenya	1	K Shilling	0.8940	0.8859
Kuwait	1	Dinar	33.3835	33.0165
Malaysia	1	ML $	4.1092	4.0635
Mauritius	1	Rupee	0.8728	0.8665
Nepal	1	Rupee	0.7426	0.7273
Netherlands		D Glds	3.5095	3.4742
Pakistan	1	Rupee	0.7994	0.7936
Singapore	1	Sing $	4.4101	4.3567
Spain	100	Sp Pt	8.5930	8.5014
Sri Lanka	1	Rupee	0.4639	0.4615
Sweden	1	Sw Kr	1.5422	1.5277
Switzerland	1	Sw Frc	4.4550	4.4120
Tanzania	1	T Sh	1.0257	1.0182
Thailand	100	Baht	42.7880	42.5247
UK	1	Pound	16.4948	16.3465
USA	1	US $	9.8100	9.6750
UAE	1	Dihram	2.6330	2.6135
USSR	1	Rouble	13.1762	13.1803
W. Germany	1	DM	3.8337	3.7948

These rates were supplied by The Bank of Tokyo, Ltd., New Delhi and quoted between the banks on October 7, 1982.

ECONOMIC TRENDS

PRICES	Latest	Change on month
ET Commodity Price Index		
October 4, 1982*	248.1	(0.8)
Cereals	239.2	(0.9)
Chemicals	341.2	36.4
Industrial Fibres	175.9	(2.6)
Metals	346.9	(0.5)
Sugar	188.0	(11.7)
Textile Yarns	222.2	(0.4)
Vegetable Oils	285.8	(2.0)
Gold, standard, Oct 4, 1982 (Rs per 10 gm)	1,720.00	40.00
Silver, .999, Oct 4,1982 (Rs per kg)	2,610.00	(50.00)
SHARES		
ET Share Price Index		
October 4, 1982*	236.2	8.1
Cement	2436	41.0
Chemicals	199.6	12.7
Engineering	381.0	18.8
Fertilisers	187.9	2.9
Man-made fibres	413.6	(8.8)
Paper	449.6	(14.9)
Rubber Goods	159.2	5.4
MONEY		(per cent)
Money Supply, September 3, 1982		0.7
Bank Deposits		0.8
Foreign Exchange Assets		1.4

* 1969–70 = 100

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JAGDALPUR

The Family Plot

The 100-year-old Bastar palace: core of the dispute

MORE fascinating than fictitious plots of intrigue amidst decaying riches, is the last ditch battle being fought by the scions of the erstwhile royal family of Bastar over the remains of a once sprawling estate of 36,000 sq km. With family member pitted against family member, the final act will be played out in the courts in the coming months.

At the heart of the dispute lies the property: a 100-year-old palace, with some two dozen halls, which stands in grounds that extend over more than 22 acres. There are also pieces of land in and around Jagdalpur which aggregate 45 acres. In addition, family jewels worth nearly Rs 6 lakh are locked up in the Government treasury pending a decision on the dispute which is already *sub judice*. The stakes are high because prime land in Jagdalpur fetches around Rs 20 per square foot. Calculated on that basis, the value of an acre could be anywhere between Rs 8–9 lakh.

On either side are ranged the widows of the two brothers, both of whom were rulers of Bastar at different times. On the one hand is Ved Vati, wife of Pravir Chandra Bhanja Deo, the elder of the two brothers, who was accepted by the Indian Government as ex-ruler from the time of merger until 1961, when he was deposed on grounds of alleged insanity. On the other, are Hitendra Kumari Devi and Bharat Chandra Bhanja Deo—the widow and eldest son respectively, of Vijay Chandra Bhanja Deo, Pravir's younger brother, who was the ex-ruler from 1961 until his death in 1970.

There are influential advisers on both sides—men with vastly varied backgrounds. Ved Vati's confidant is her brother, Fateh Singh, a former chief executive in a Sahu Jain Company. Hitendra Kumari's adviser is Vidyasagar Tiwari, a local dealer in foodgrains, who is greatly flattered by the new-found title of 'maharaja' bestowed on him by his subordinates.

Official Apprehension: Last fortnight, as the festival of Dussehra approached, the district administration of Bastar (area: 39,060 sq km, population: 18 lakh) was tightening up its law and order arrangements. The festival draws thousands of enthusiastic tribals to the district headquarters of Jagdalpur and there are fears of tension escalating on the streets. If the loca without any stake in the property, involved in the family dispute, it is until not so long ago, it was deeply to its former king, Pravir Chandra his picture still hangs in several tho homes, and the tribals pray to him would to a god.

The recent history of the distr family makes interesting reading. independence, the ruler was M Prafulla Kumari Devi. When she British appointed a regent, since Pr minor. By the time Pravir came of 1946 and before he could taste merger agreement with the Go came about. Left with a privy pu 2,10,000 and accompanying Pravir was never really reconciled of power. It was his constant friction Government which ultimately le death.

His running battle w Government continued until on day in March 1966, a large as armed tribals gathered at the pala bidding. Tension between them an med police contingent erupted in fi

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was among those shot. Several dozen were feared killed and their bodies ed of, and the locals still look it as a tched to get rid of Pravir.

his and his eccentricity—stories of are legion—endeared him to his peo- d as long as he was alive the seven ly seats of his lost kingdom went to soever he chose. With his hold on the mind unimpaired even after his de- n in 1961, he continued living in the and his successor Vijay Chandra never challenge his popularity.

ew Claim: When Vijay Chandra died, Bharat was a minor and the property the hands of the Court of Wards. The e only commenced in 1980 when he of age and moved his claim in the e records, against which Ved Vati tly filed an objection. Currently, the ests in the court of the additional or in Jagdalpur.

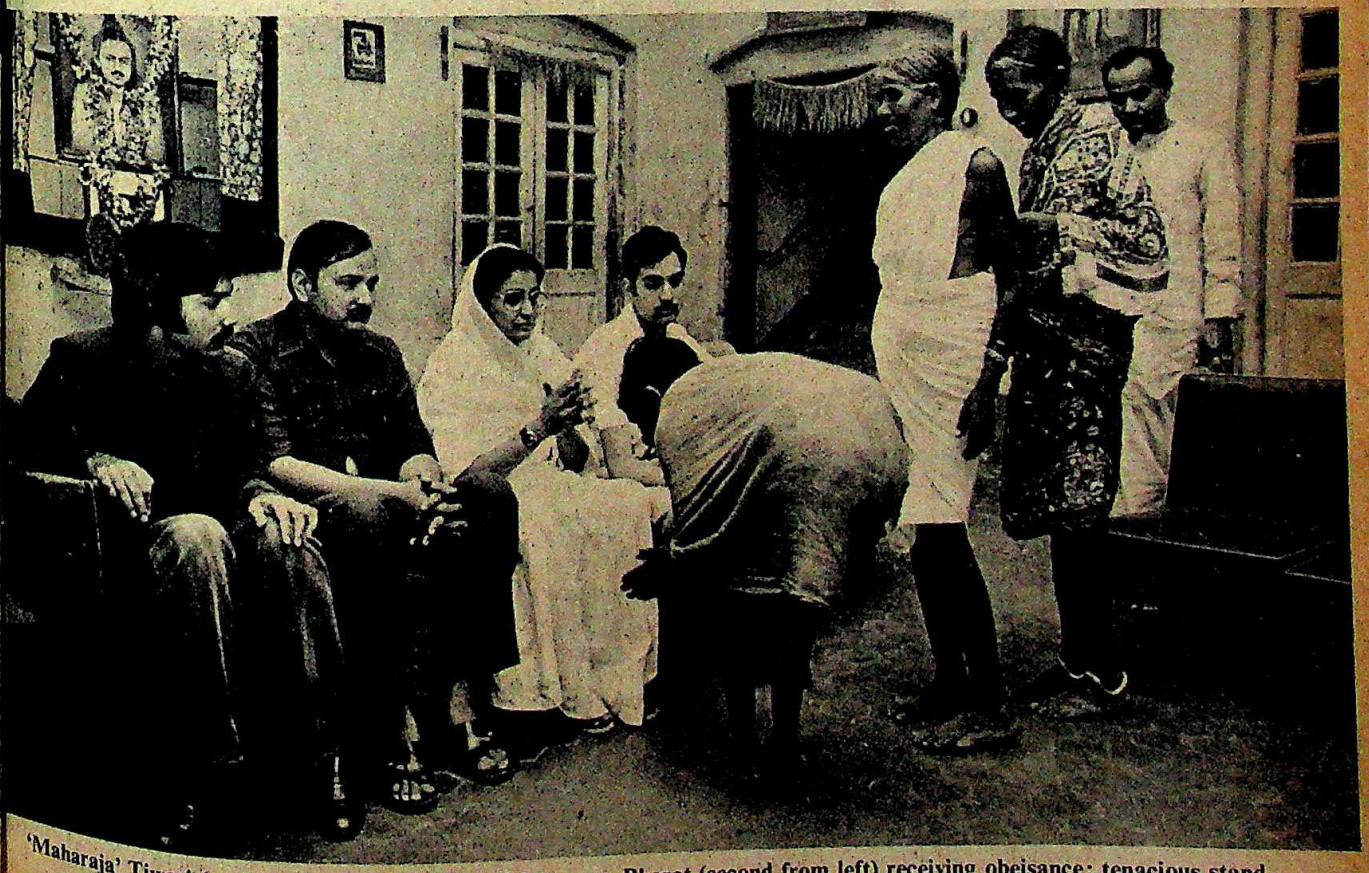
o dispute had occurred until then for easons. For one, Ved Vati, whose ns with Pravir had been strained al- soon after their wedding, was only in Bastar until his death in 1977. er, under an agreement between the laimants, several plots of land were estimates of the sale proceeds vary Rs 10 lakh to Rs 30 lakh—and the y obtained was divided equally. However, Tiwari now alleges that in one particular sale, Hitendra Kumari's family was deprived of its legitimate share of money.

The current tension arose in mid-August this year when a grand plan inspired by Tiwari involving the use of the palace grounds got under way. This entailed the construction of a 200-room hotel, a potato cold storage plant, and a cinema hall. Tiwari, whose eyes glow as he discusses these prospects, says that this would in all require an investment of Rs 1.5 crore—an amount that could be raised by selling a portion of the palace grounds. In retaliation, Ved Vati immediately moved the court for a stay on any sale, construction, or alteration of the premises and Tiwari's plans have come unstuck for the time being. Her move was also influenced by Tiwari's self-awarded perks in the bargain. Five thousand square feet of space in the palace area have been sold to his shop for a mere Rs 10,000.

'MAHARAJA' Tiwari is by any standards an unusual man. Says a Jagdalpur resident: "Not a leaf in the palace can rustle without his saying so." He travels the short distance from the palace to his shop in a dazzling red Ambassador. In his shop he sits on cushions, in front of a red wall that carries pictures of gods and goddesses. Sacks of grain stand everywhere and flies busily hum as Tiwari chews his betel leaf. An articulate man, he makes no bones about his stakes in the royal holdings. Says he: "I am taking up cudgels on their behalf and I am going to ask for my rightful share. I can take whatever I like."

Tiwari, who is also a supplier to the palace, has come a long way. At one time, Bharat 28, used to oppose Tiwari's near-total influence over his mother, the bespectacled Hitendra Kumari, 43, but after suffering one mental breakdown, even he has fallen in line. When Tiwari speaks to a member of the family it comes close to sounding like a command.

The disputed palace is itself symbolic of



'Maharaja' Tiwari (top) and Hitendra Kumari with her son Bharat (second from left) receiving obeisance: tenacious stand

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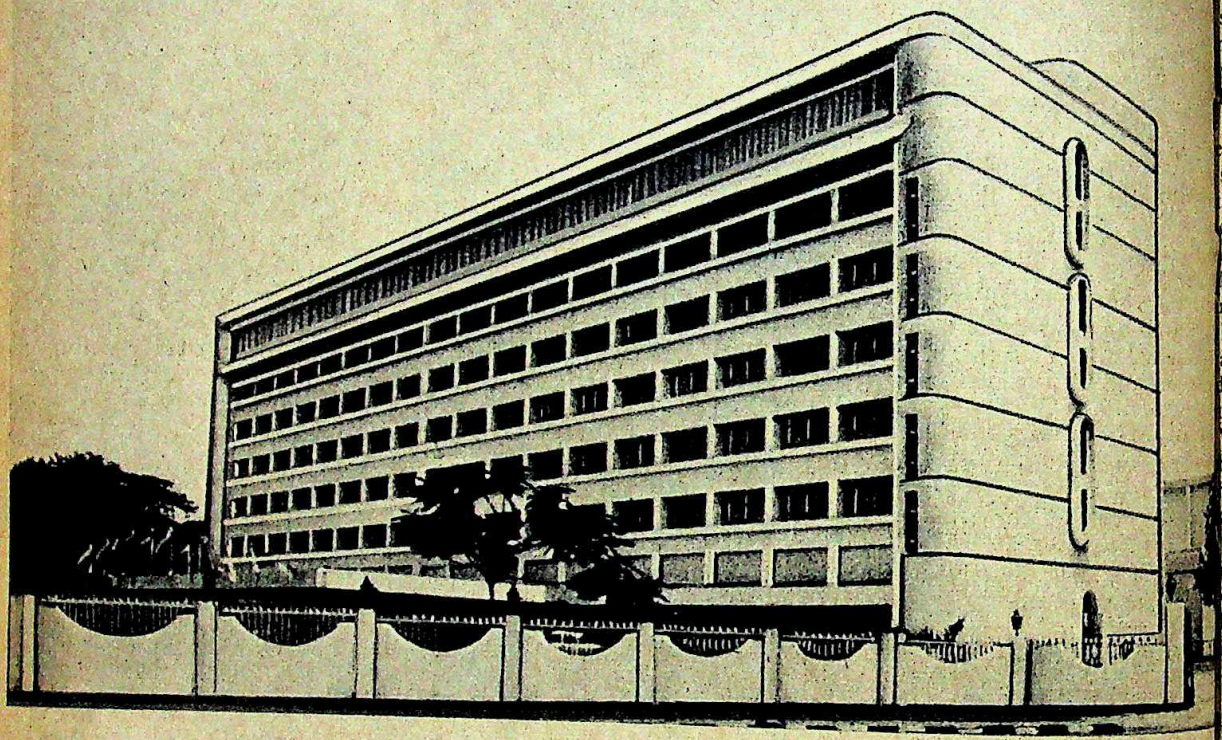
Unquestionably...



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t that has set in, and stains left by the have never been cleaned. Right in front palace is a low cattle shed in which 60 oes munch contentedly, drinking wa- om an ancient bathing tub, and they their droppings all over the palace Inside, things are hardly better. In the hall downstairs, the dark green walls been stained black. Cobwebs hang the lights overhead, and the mounted of a wild buffalo looks indifferently at sofas. In the midst of all this hang nded portraits of Pravir and Vijay and s come to pay their homage off and on.

Unperturbed: Hitendra Kumari, a si- woman, does not seem perturbed by sentment caused by Tiwari's influence. she: "People will always talk. Who can them? Earlier I had tried out two of my ons to assist me, but both of them tried at me. If I depended on 10 secretaries e would gossip about that as well." ri, who is close to Vidya Charan la, claims to have met Prime Minister a Gandhi recently in connection with dispute and in order to get the stay ed.

Ved Vati, 50, lives with her brother h Singh in a modest house allotted to her e administration. Frequently ill, she es in a white cotton sari and is graceful simple kind of way. Says she: "I never any demands until I saw that the erty was being misused."

If today the administration is alert, it is se of a new political angle that has in. It is being alleged that the Communist Party of India (CPI), which is rapidly making inroads in Bastar, is trying to make political capital of the situation. Says a district official: "Ved Vati knows that legally her position is weak. She is getting after the CPI to demand that since the tribals are attached to the palace, it should not be sold or altered but should be acquired instead by the Government. If she can't get it she wants the Government to get it." While Ved Vati denies any links with the CPI she affirms that she will do all she can to see that the palace is acquired.

New Allegations: The fight is rapidly deteriorating into a mud-slinging match with new charges issuing from Tiwari. He furnishes copies of what purport to be wedding cards. According to these, Pravir was in fact first married not to Ved Vati but to Subhadradevi, a woman who lived for several years in the palace during Pravir's time. He produces more photostats to show that Pravir willed his property to Subhadradevi, who in turn before her death in 1969, willed it to Bharat.

Fateh Singh: discreet support

Since Ved Vati's marriage would be invalidated in the light of these facts, the issue Tiwari feels, is clinched. Retorts Fateh Singh sarcastically: "Did a bird drop this evidence into Tiwari's lap suddenly? Why doesn't he take the evidence to court instead of to the press?"

If there is one issue on which both the ex-queens concur, it is in their desire to make every effort to ensure that there is no trouble on Dussehra. The administration is afraid that the divided loyalties of the tribals could cause trouble. Says a local official: "The pity of it all is that both are ill-advised. If only they could sit together and settle the matter, no one would lose." Since the stakes are high, the matter is certain to go in appeal to the high court—if not to the Supreme Court—and that will take years if not decades to resolve. Meanwhile, the land under dispute is steadily being encroached upon and the victor is likely to be stuck with acre upon acre of slums and shanties which they will be unable to shift. Indeed the price of the wrangling may turn out to be a heavy one—irrespective of who wins.

—SREEKANT KHANDEKAR in Jagdalpur

Ved Vati standing before a portrait of Pravir Chandra Bhanja Deo: revered memory

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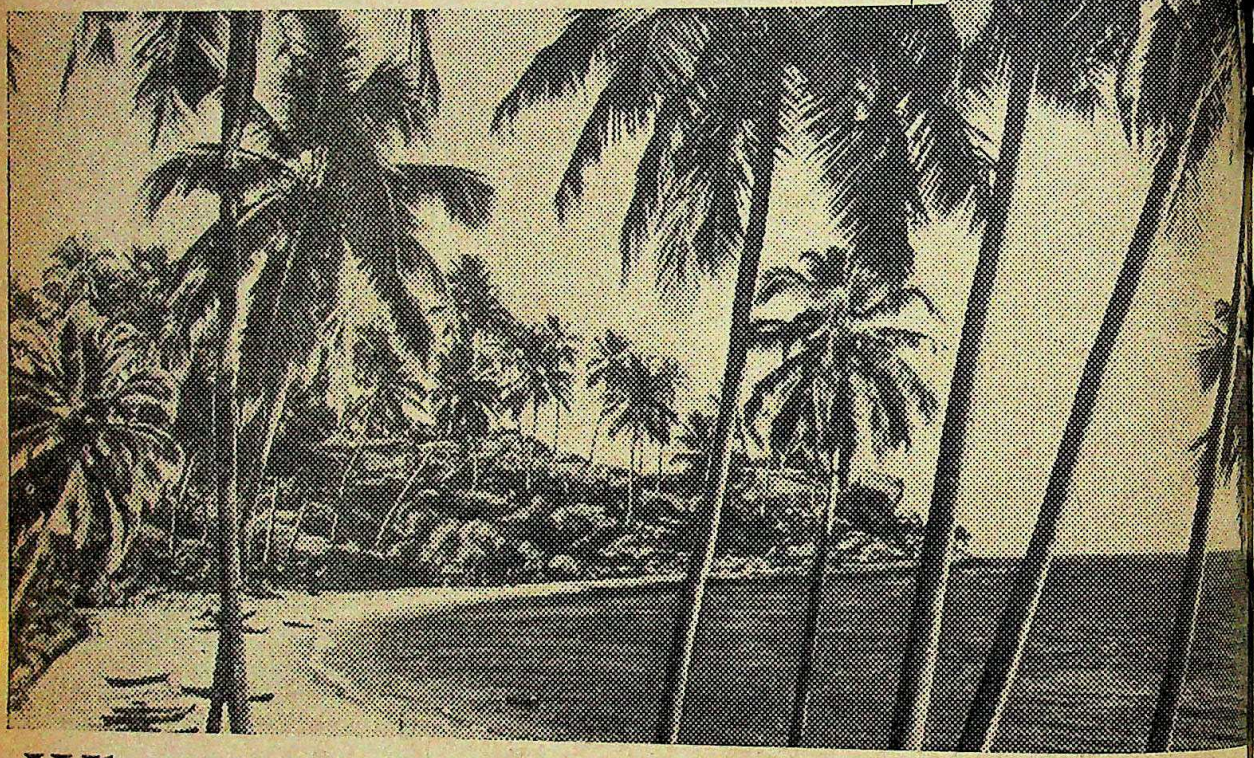

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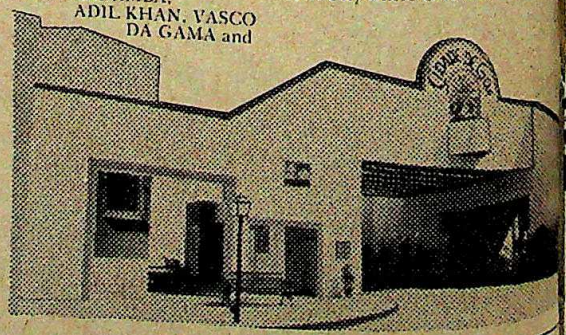

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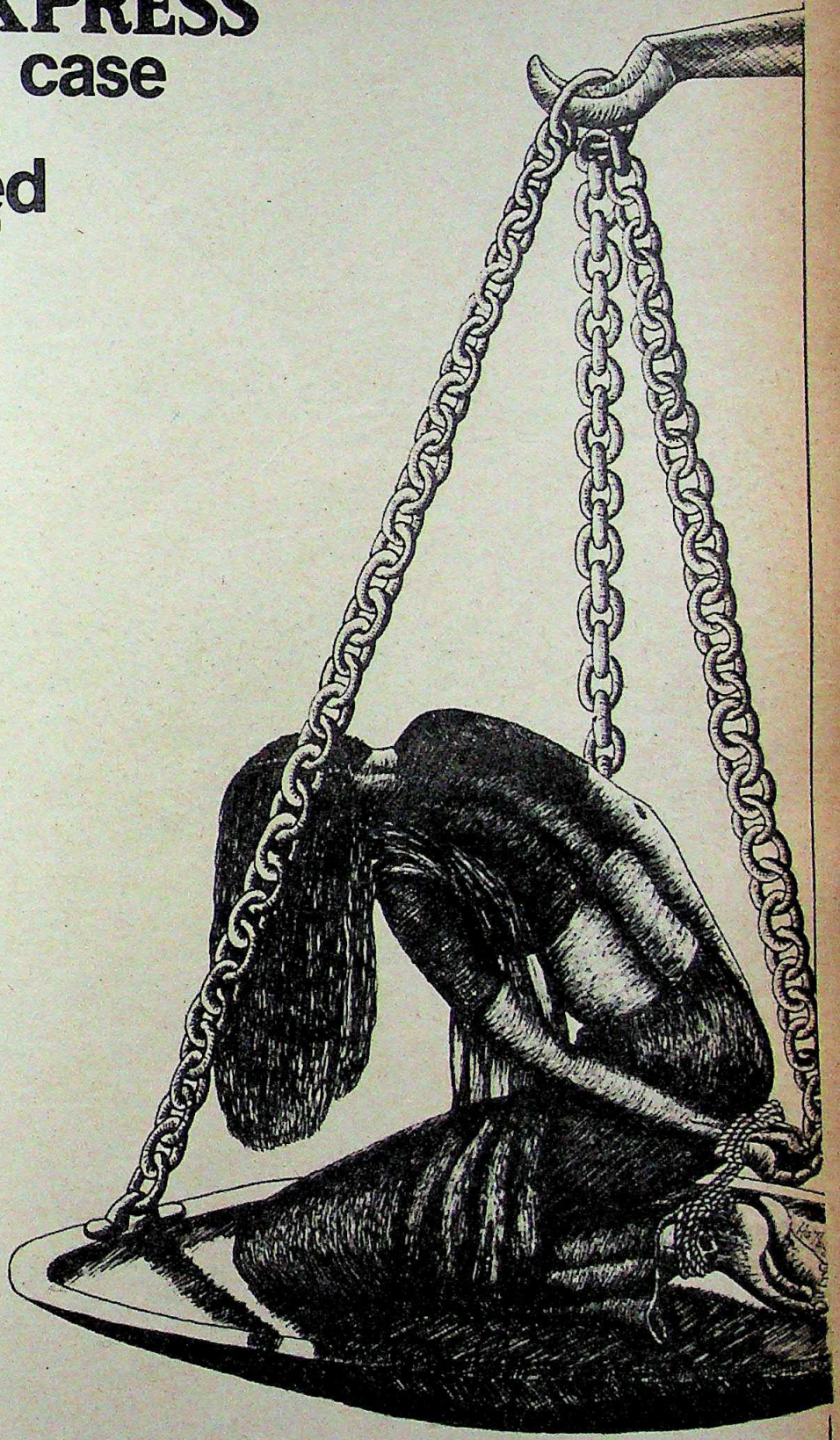

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OCTOPUSSY

Baring With Bond

"The target of my books lies somewhere between the solar plexus and the upper thigh."

—Ian Fleming, creator of James Bond

LAST week in Udaipur was a profusion of bared thighs, a clamour of cleavage, a shimmer of bare backs and a cascade of long flying hair. As Fleming's legendary secret agent jetted into India on Her Majesty's Service some crazy capers were in the offing. On one blue-skied morning, 10 beautiful women in various stages of undress were to be seen rowing a fabulous red-and-gold barge of Lake Pichola to the Island called Jagmandir transformed to resemble an Arabian Nights harem.

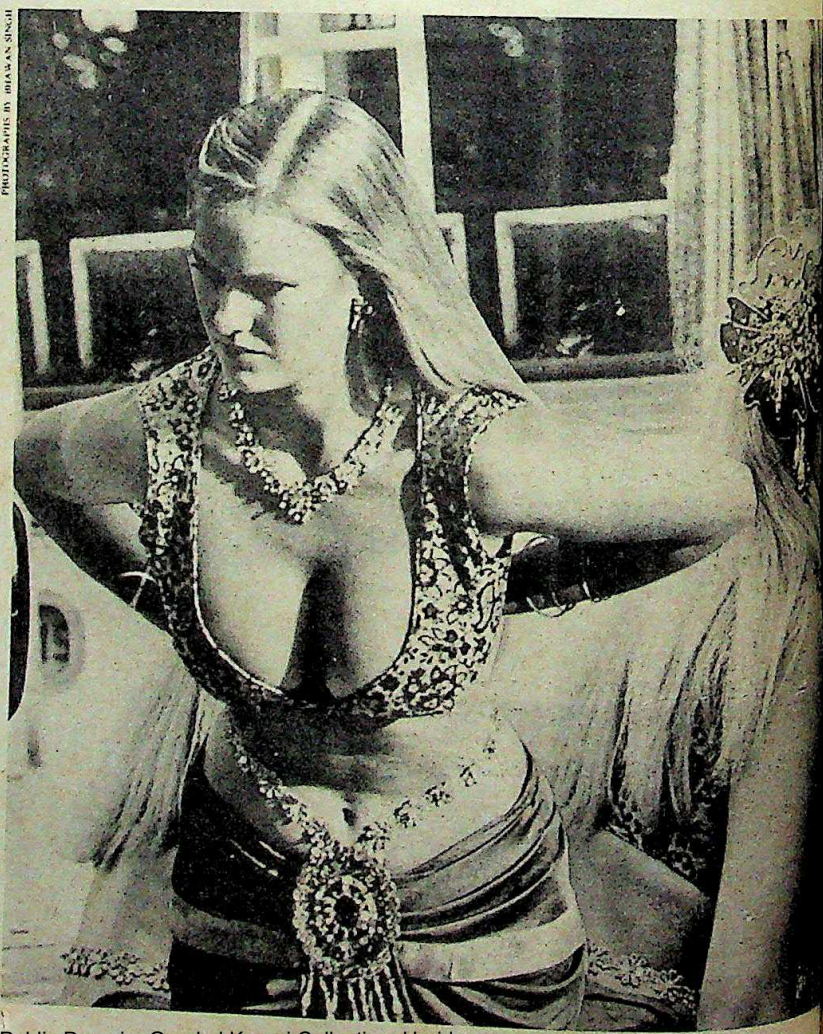
On another morning, sari-clad beauties lolled around the lily pool of the Lake Palace Hotel converted into a floating palace for the day. Great plaster *apsaras* rose out of its aquamarine waters, turquoise chiffon curtains billowed in surrounding corridors and fake bougainvillaea bloomed over the cupolas, as more strode around in tight-fitting scarlet diving suits, black turbans and black-and-gold holsters slung dangerously at their hips.

Star Cast: "We're the baddies," said Swedish blonde Mary Stavin, a former Miss World, as she got set to row the barge, mere scraps of brocade covering her spilling proportions. "We're just glorified extras, of course," remarked the striking Shyamolie Varma, the Lakme model from Bombay, "those bits of cheesecake that hang around when Bond moves into action." Seventeen Indian models and an equal number of English ones, Los Angeles starlets and circus stuntwomen, Indian actor Kabir Bedi and tennis star Vijay Amritraj, French star Louis Jourdan and the indispensable Roger Moore, were crammed in Udaipur hotels as part of the 200-member cast and crew shooting the latest James Bond thriller *Octopussy*. The latest in Bond escapades is a way out combination of classic 007 ingredients: in his attempts to intercept an international jewellery heist—containing the most priceless of Tsarist treasures—the spy discovers the real motive of the Russians is to explode a nuclear device. And even as he races against time to defuse the bomb, strange characters cross his path: an Afghan princeling called Kamal Khan, a beautiful Amazon who runs her business empire out of an Indian palace, a mad Russian general called Orlov, and a whole circus of beautiful women acrobats and guards who surround the exotic but devious heroine.

Who is Octopussy? Is it the name of some dangerous weapon? Is it a lethal band of underworld creatures about to take over the world? Or is it a deep-sea creature rising to help James Bond vanquish the forces of evil?

"Not at all," says spectacular-looking Swedish-born American actress Maud Adams, "I'm Octopussy. I'm called that because in another Fleming adventure a marine biologist called Major Smith has a pet octopus he calls Octopussy. I'm Smith's daughter and have been nicknamed Octopussy. And in this movie I play a beautiful businesswoman hoots with the villain, who runs ness out of India and surrounds with an army of beautiful women.

Exciting Roles: Adams says cited with the part: "Apart from that a woman is playing the title the strongest Bond role for a wom see Octopussy is a very updated the sensuous Bond villainess. It for a sexy woman using her brain all the other villains. Jourdan, the rated star of *Gigi* who plays Prince Khan, the Afghan crook who has the fabulous Faberge eggs the Bond is after, is now a silver-h and thinks "this a great fun picture in". Still, those who perpetually him as one of the great romantic the 1950s, may not see the joke thing that is absolutely forbidden



PHOTOGRAPHS BY BHAWAN SINGH

Models prepare to go before the camera

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movie," says the sun-tanned "is to play the villain straight, it a parody."

ing him make villainy attractive n star Kabir Bedi, who plays the ce's henchman Gobinda, out to during a tiger hunt in India. For lywood-based actor, being in a riller is more than a thrill: "It's a ul break and it's wonderful that king," says he, excitedly enumerat- possibilities such exposure may him. It is Indian tennis star Vijay —actually playing a tennis coach Vijay—who redeems the rampant by helping Bond in distress.

fact, being in a Bond movie, th- he long, enormously profitable and inventive series that have been for the screen, has become some- an honour for actors, technicians, en countries offering locations. ne billion people—a quarter of the population—have seen Bond mo- d this is the 13th adventure to be

ough it is the last of the Fleming

The lily pool at the Lake Palace Hotel transformed into a floating palace

Foreign and Indian models in their "Octopussy" costumes (above and below)

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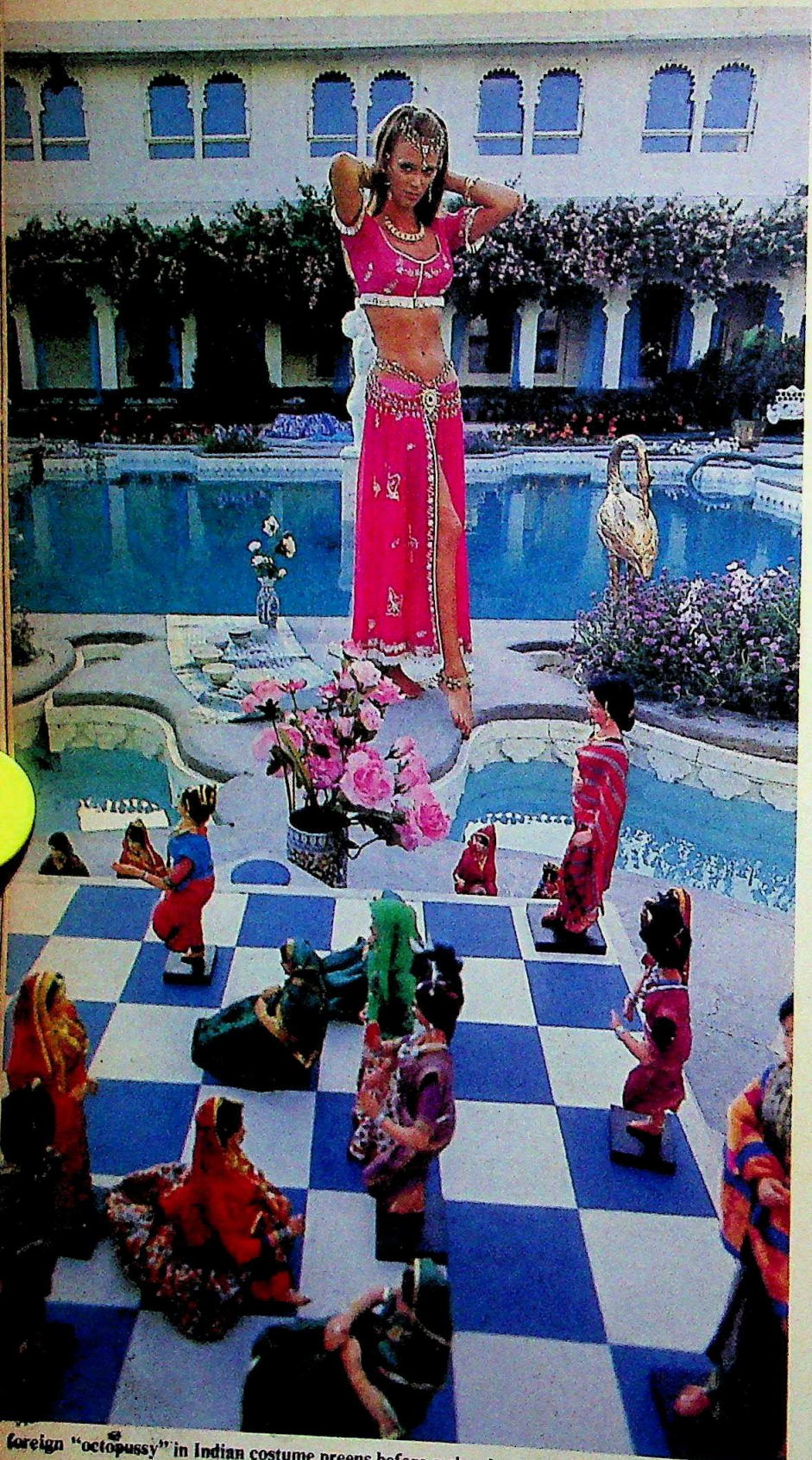

Foreign "octopussy" in Indian costume preens before a chessboard of dolls in the Lake Palace Hotel

stories—in fact *Octopussy*'s scr
up from three Fleming sho
available, Eon Productions,
James Bond on the screen
arrangement with the estate of
Fleming to originate new Bo
tures. And that isn't just a ma
cocting a new story: it mean
outrageous new gadgets. glam
cations, sexy new stars. devious
innovative special effects.

In *Octopussy*, for examp
aerial fantasy is achieved with
a 12 feet Bede Jet called Acros
top speed of about 500 km
Bond expertly uses to make his es
missile-firing enemy pursuers. A

ROGER MOORE

'I Am Not A Missionary

*"IT'S NOT an easy li
Roger Moore, alias James B
Fleming's indestructible sec
with a licence to kill. Crossing
and lighting up a long, slim
collapses into a sofa at the Lake
Hotel in Udaipur. The heat,
ssures of filming, even the
long-legged beauties around h
to add to his tensions. Dre
white cotton shirt and tenn
sporting open sandals and a
bag, the 55-year-old star, wh
was a London policeman, is an
ingly well-preserved man but re
un-Bondish in real life. Unlik
domitable 007 whose lust for
cations, outrageous gadgets a
tuous women never wanes, M
ergies sometimes do. On lo
Octopussy, Moore took time
plain what it takes to play B
exclusive interview with Con*
SUNIL SETHI. *Excerpts:*

Q. ***It must be a bit exh
keep playing James Bond over
again...?***

A. Yes, of course, especial
have to work in idyllic locati
most normal people go for va
mean, here I am running up
Udaipur in a dinner jacket
nut case! I was doing the s
some time ago in Egypt: you
completely foolish. Natural
view of the places and the peo
to become somewhat jaundiced

Q. ***In what way is play***

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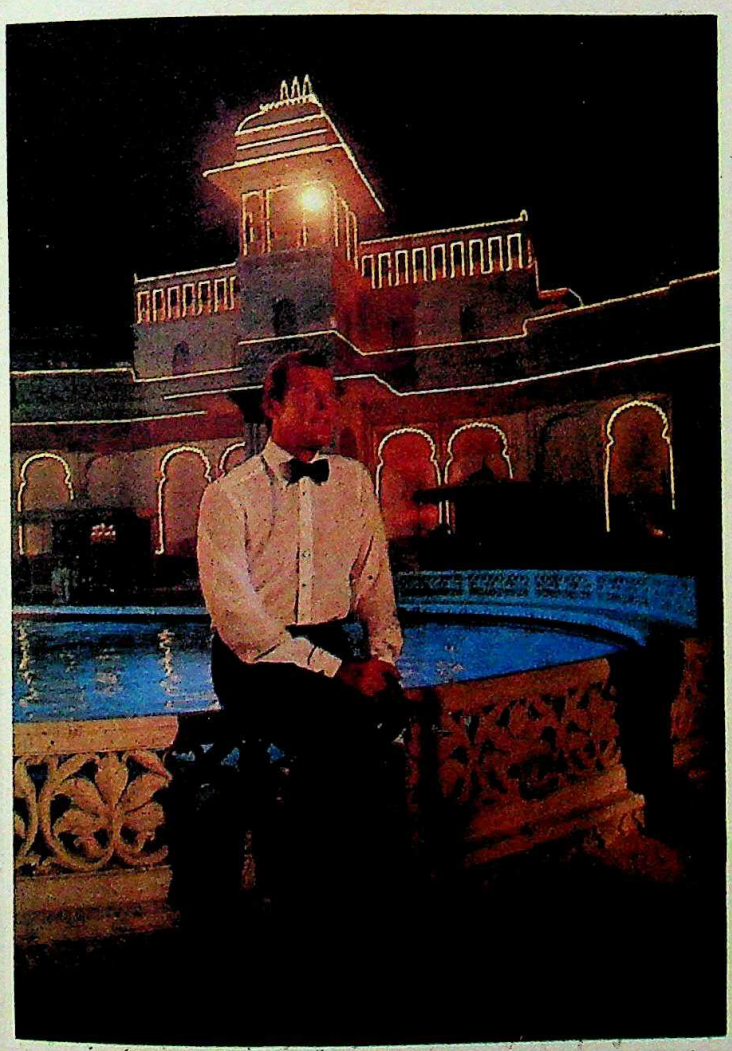
l flavour to the Indian sequences m, the producers have added on rickshaw chase in Udaipur, with e dilapidated machines especially England to be speeded up for reets.

a in fact, doesn't feature in the Fleming story. Explains Michael on, the film's executive producer: nted to use India for *Moonraker* and came out on a long recce to locations. But it didn't somehow . Part of the appeal d thriller lies in intron new place to our e audience, so locare an essential in-

gredient, though we look at them differently. This time, India seemed a perfect choice, so we wove it into the story."

Although the three-week shooting schedule in India will only yield perhaps 20 minutes to a half hour in the film the production estimates spending nearly a quarter of its budget of over $25 million (Rs 22.5 crore) in India. Beside its idyllic setting of lakes and palaces, Udaipur was chosen because of its practicality for filming. Said Manager Gerry Levy: "No filming location was more than 10 minutes distance from the production base at the hotel. When I was on *Gandhi*, our biggest problem was transporting everything from the base to locations, not one of which was less than an hour and a half away."

Even so, setting up the show in Udaipur was an arduous business. Everyone from the Maharana—who opened the doors of his magnificent new hotel, the Shiv Niwas Palace, ahead of time to house the stars—to the municipal authorities, who chipped in by providing police and security support, had to be called upon. Executive Producer Wilson who called the cooperation



Moore at the Lake Palace Hotel: entertainment pays

d harder than working other movie?

A. Well, for one, the ting schedule is ch longer, five to six nths as opposed to ormal one of about ee months. Then, 're required for 99.9 cent of shooting time, it's inevitable that the ssures build up.

Q. *You're the third to play James Bond screen; do you think ers will follow?*

A. Yes, because Bond part that has no basic racter. There are no ails about his persona- . Bond's personality physical make-up is ably very different to e, but it's a question nterpreting him in your n way. You just come and do the part as it ears to you.

Q. *What do you is the difference in playing Bond and the Sean Connery played ?*

A. I'm a lighter type of actor than an. It's like Gielgud and Olivier playHamlet—they would both do it diffently, and who is to decide which is ter, because Shakespeare isn't und. Nor is Ian Fleming. But I've d to give Bond a lighter humour, a ch of irony, while Sean, being ttish, was more dour.

Q. *Still, are there any particular aracteristics, like a gesture, that've given Bond?*

A. No, a spy is meant to be an anonymous character and I try not to invent tricks.

Q. *Do you think James Bond can live forever?*

A. As long as audiences want escapism in the form of a far-out spy extravaganza, yes, he can. He's survived two decades on the screen. I don't see why he shouldn't survive another.

Q. *Is it true that when you play Bond you make up the dialogue as you go along?*

A. Well, yes, the last thing we get down on a Bond film is the dialogue, which is very sketchy, so I'm to be seen scribbling my *ad lib* till the moment of the shot. What I feel should be said in a scene sort of comes out automatically before the camera. And it is true that you'd be hard-pressed to find a page of the script that actually fits what we shoot.

Q. *So, you're a kind of impromptu script writer for Bond movies?*

A. You could call me that if you like.

Q. *Does your double life get schizophrenic, that is to say do the twin stars, Roger Moore and James Bond, overlap on and off the screen?*

A. No, I sort of slip into the role and out of it. Yet I'm interpreting a character, admittedly close to my skin after all these years, not actually acting it. If the acting shows, something is wrong, wouldn't you say?

Q. *Do you also play Bond because of the tremendous profit it makes for you?*

A. Two things I prefer never to discuss: one is my private life and the other is money I make. Ian Fleming created Bond to create entertainment for others but also a bank balance for himself. And I also play Bond for both reasons. I'm a commercial actor, after all, not a missionary.

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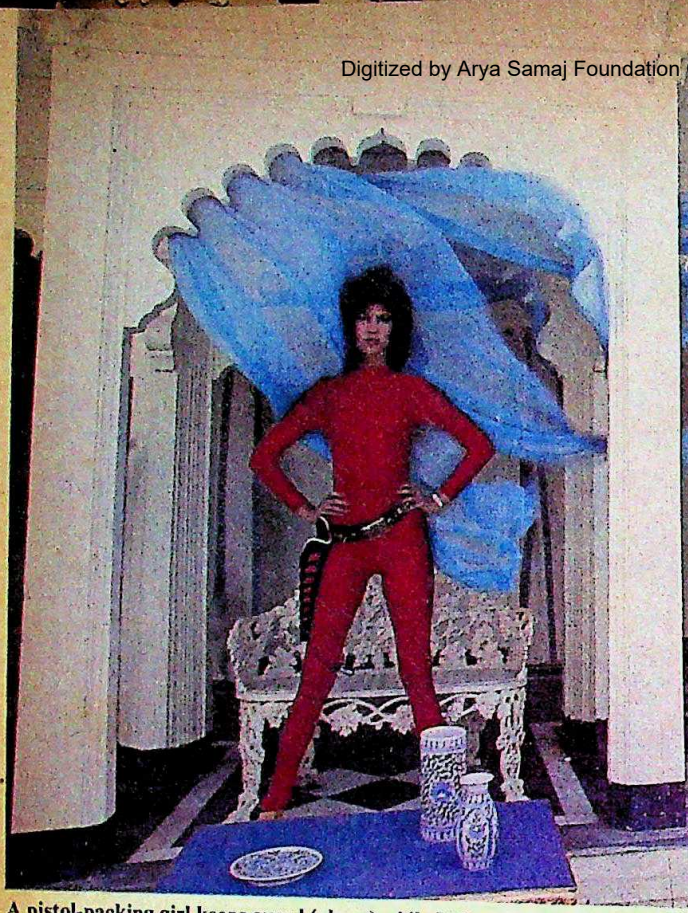
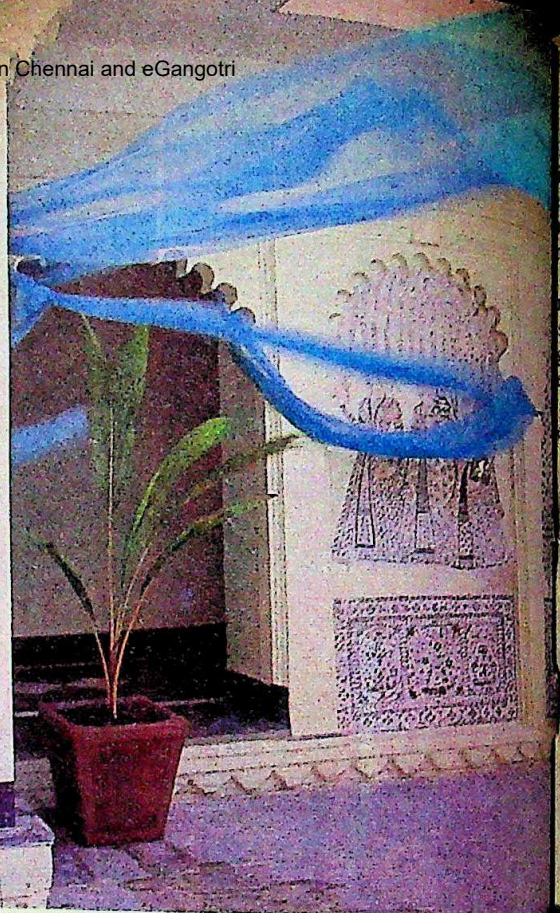
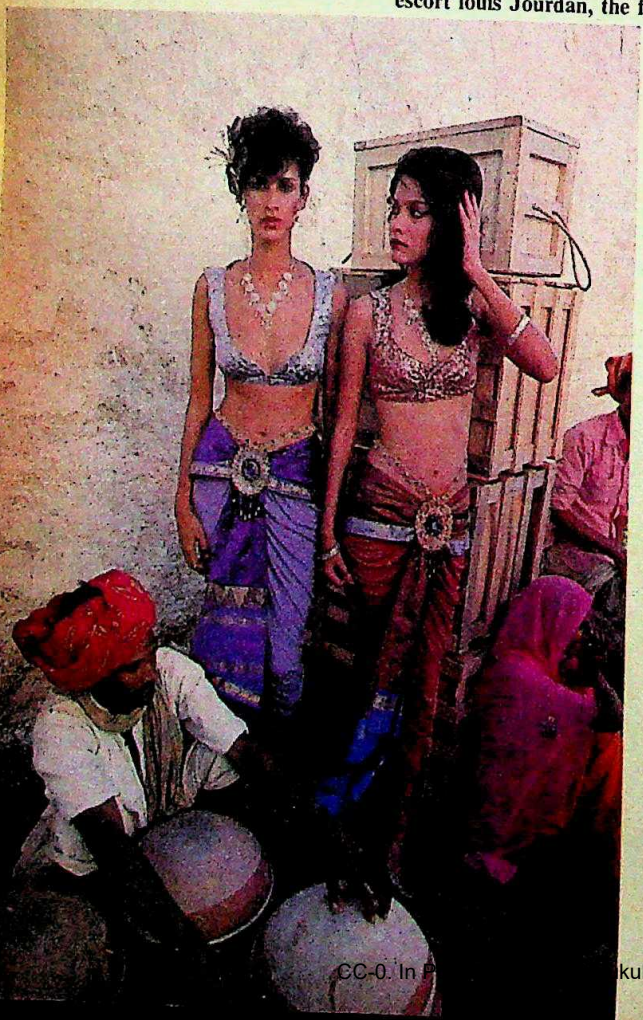
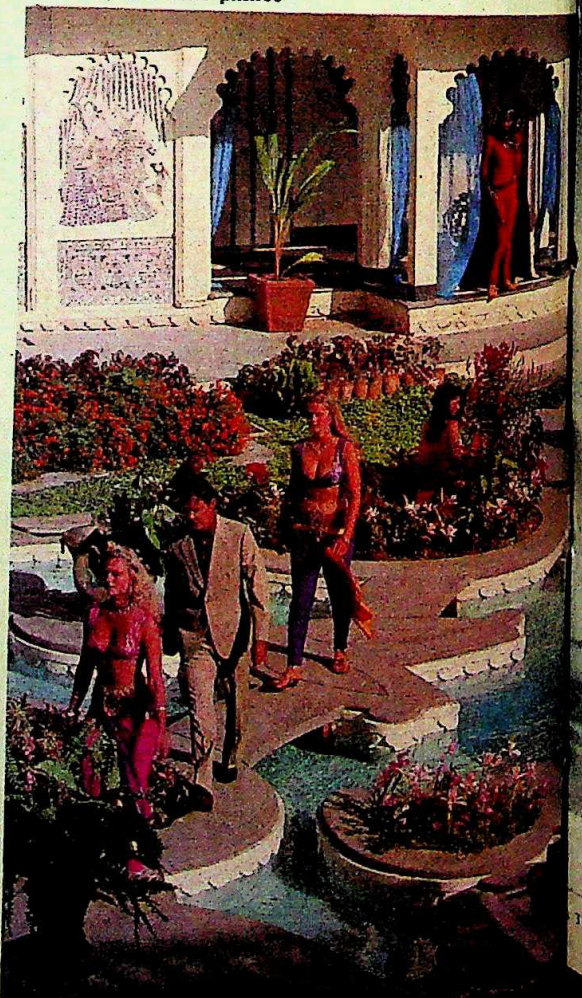




A pistol-packing girl keeps guard (above) while Indian models Shyamolie Varma and Audrey Casmiro pose (below left) and other "oc
escort louis Jourdan, the film's villain, into their palace





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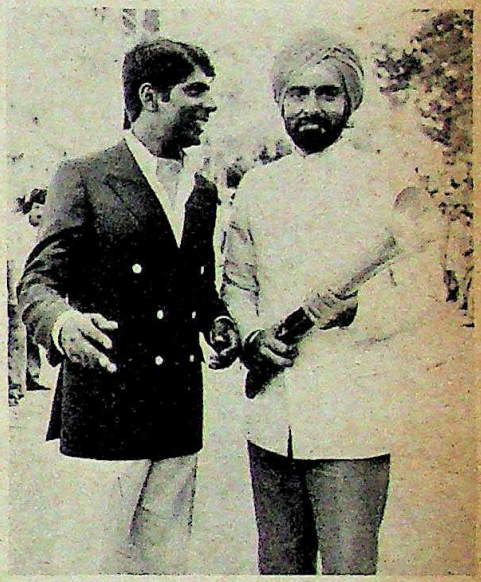
ent" admitted that India could n foreign film units as a major "in- export" by selling its extraordinary l locations.

n fact, three weeks of Bond's pre- in Udaipur seemed to change the my of the town: hotel rooms were sible to find, shopkeepers were doing business and police patrols were on duty to keep hordes of sightseers spilling into the sets. Says the er- ruler of the city, Bhagwati Singh: "Film units are one of the best tourist promotions. In Udaipur we have been fortunate since last year to have the maximum number." Both *Gandhi* and *The Jewel In the Crown* were shot in Udaipur in parts; now it is *Octopussy* with *The Far Pavilions* to follow early next year.

Glittering Fantasy: Yet the flavour Bond brings to a location is of a cinematic madness unique in the world of movies: most tedious aspects of the actual production seem overshadowed by the glittering fantasy that its making radiates. Take the costumes: outlandishly devised, to show off the fabulous female figures. Says *Octopussy*'s costume designer, Emma Porteous, who happens to be a distinguished-looking matron with salt-and-pepper hair: "I can't tell you what fun it's been, everywhere there is cleavage and legs to show off, and Indian fabrics are just wonderful."

Porteous, who did most of her shopping in Southall, even ordering Indian costume jewellery through shops there, had a wonderful time with the brocade bikinis but got a little stuck over the saris. Since both the heroines, Maud Adams and Kristina Wayborn, wear saris in the film, there were problems at first but once they got the hang of it they seemed to enjoy themselves.

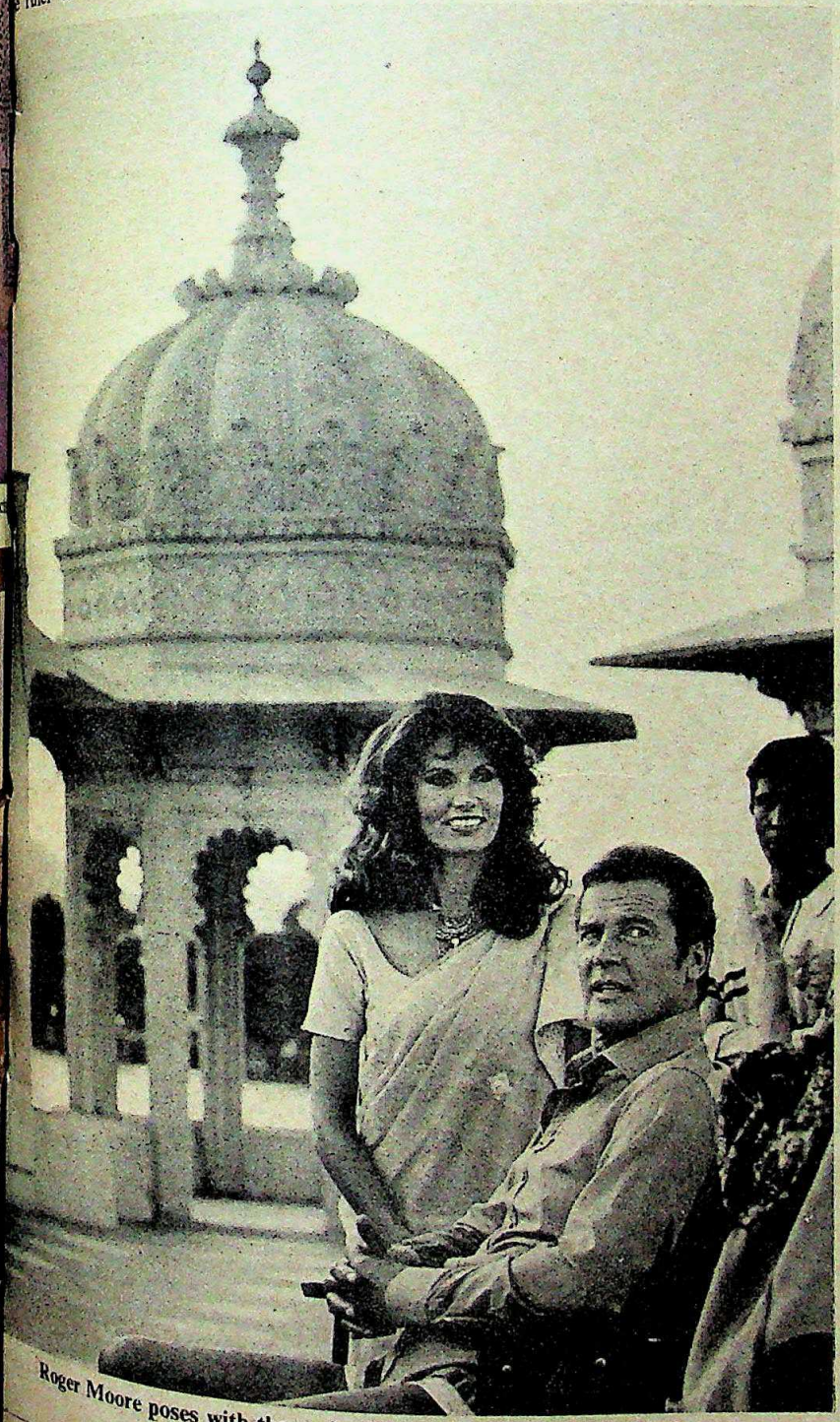


Tennis star Amritraj with Kabir Bedi

Even Roger Moore—third in the line of celluloid Bonds—who is starring in his sixth adventure and is said to be charging $2.5 million (Rs 2.25 crore) for the role, enjoys the effort, despite the discomfort of an Indian climate. "No," he quips, asked if he arrived armed with Lomotils to help him survive the Indian location, "I couldn't endanger the Indian mosquitoes.... I'm just learning to live with the heat and the antibodies."

Bond, on screen and in print, in fact has become the truly indestructible hero of our times, the greatest escape from taxing realities of the world. And there is no reason why the myth—or the movie series—should ever go down. As Wilson puts it: "We're like an internationally elected body. Every two years, if we get enough votes at the world box-office, we stand for an election again. Usually, we win."

—SUNIL SETHI in Udaipur



Roger Moore poses with the main "Octopussy" actress Maud Adams

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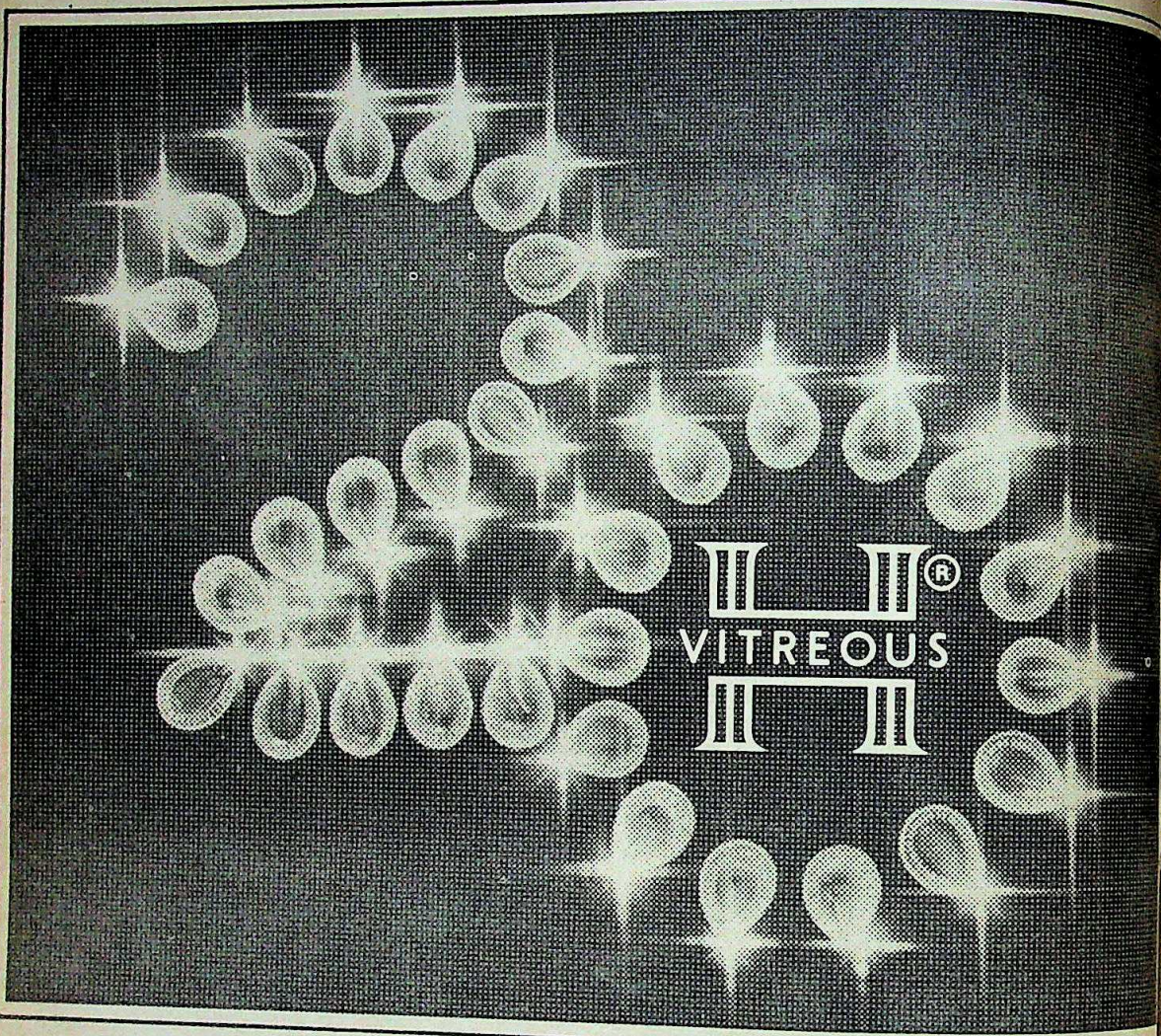

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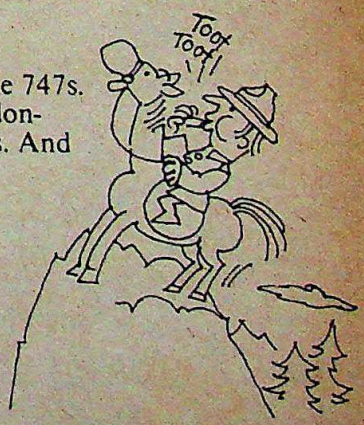

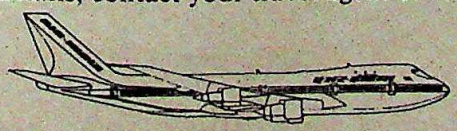

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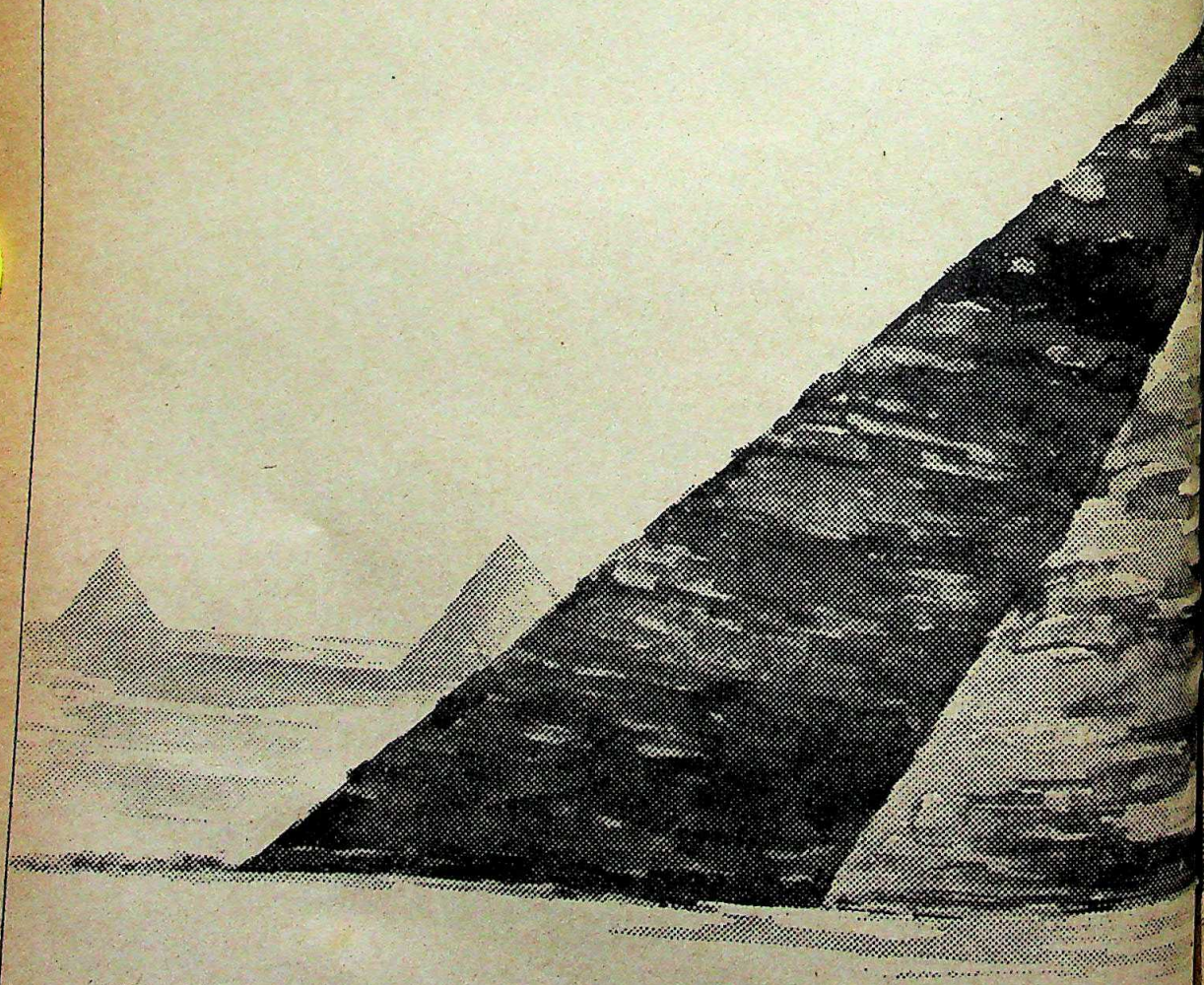

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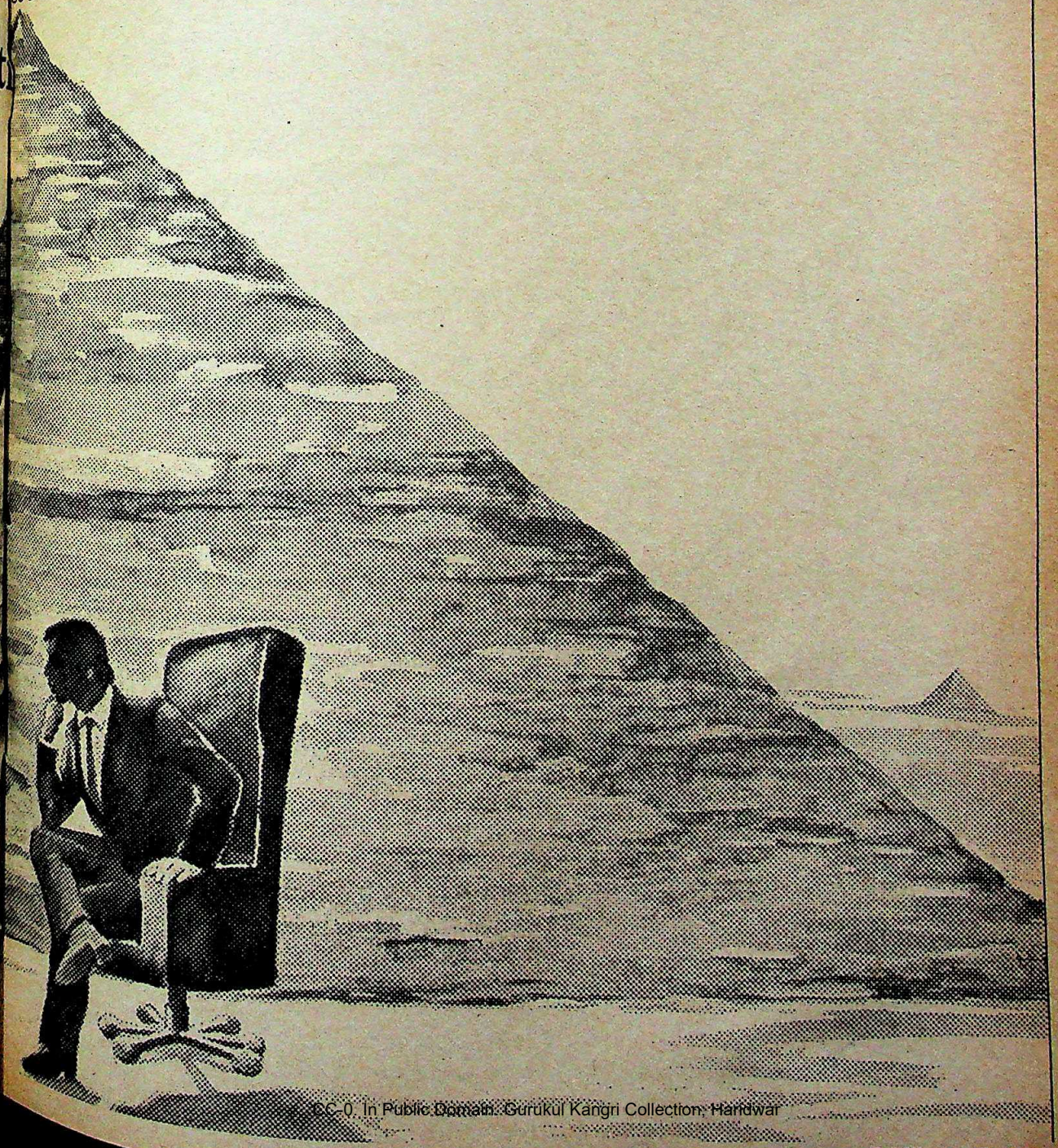

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Melodrama Milestone

SHAKTI

Producers: Mushir-Riaz
Director: Ramesh Sippy
Starring: Dilip Kumar, Amitabh Bachchan, Raakhee, Smita Patil, Amrish Puri and Kulbhushan Kharbanda

FEW MOVIES in the Indian film world have been copied so often. First made more than three decades ago as Ashok Kumar's *Sangram*, the story of a father and son fighting each other from opposite sides of the law has been refilmed in at least three different languages since—each time with a bigger budget, on a more grandiose scale, and using a more glittering star cast. While numerous Bombay script-writers fought over the plot in the early '70s, they were pre-empted more than 10 years ago by their Madras rivals, who produced the gold medal Tamil winner *Thangapathakkam*. Last fortnight the battleground had shifted Bombay-ward once more with the release of *Shakti*.

Bachchan (left) and Dilip Kumar: impeccable acting

It is not often that Bombay's film world produces a film which is technically excellent—and only rarely is it a multi-crore all-star cast extravaganza without the overbearing pretensions of art cinema. But Mushir-Riaz's *Shakti* is just this: a superbly told story of a somewhat super-human family, it is a tightly plotted, nail-chewingly gripping drama, of a family which is driven to destruction by the failure of a father and son to come to terms with each other as human beings.

Shakti's direction is strong and effective, its script direct and unwavering, and the film does not stray into any gimmick which would detract from the superb acting of its players. Without any *Sholay*-style punchlines to thrill its audiences, lacking even the conventional gags and comedy sequences of most commercial films, and starkly bare of box-office oriented digressions into the sub-themes of undying friendship, patriotism or romance, *Shakti* is nevertheless a melodramatic milestone.

Superb Performances: Histrionically, it is a pitting against each other of giants. Long dormant superstar Dilip Kumar comes vibrantly to life in a show-stealing performance as police officer Ashwini Kumar torn between love for his son Vijay and an overpowering sense of duty; back to his "angry young man" routine, Amitabh Bachchan plays the much-misunderstood son to perfection; his mother Sheetal, played by Raakhee, is a fascinating study of a happy housewife who gradually disintegrates into an emotional and physical wreck because she is torn apart in the conflict between her husband and son; and arch-villain Amrish Puri's "J.K.", is superb though his role affords little opportunites for fancy acting.

As a child Vijay is traumatised because, after he is kidnapped by J.K. and his band of thugs, his police officer father, bound by his professional integrity, refuses to give in to demands of the kidnappers to save his son. Nevertheless, Vijay escapes, helped by one of the crooks but never forgives his father.

Not realising that his father did not in fact betray him, Vijay gradually drifts apart from the inspector, finally leaves home and takes up with the kind-hearted crook—Kulbhushan Kharbanda—who once saved him.

But the weak link in Sippy's otherwise strong treatment of the subject is the lack of a clear-cut definition of "good" and "bad". Both Vijay and his dedicatedly upright father are developed as movingly human characters, and the audience's sympathies are kept perpetually divided.

Sippy's handling of the emotional melodrama, however, succeeds in transcending its tension-packed plot, so that he manages to explore the more true-to-life problems of a complicated case of the "generation gap". Unlike its predecessors, *Shakti* has no clear blacks and whites, making the job of directing it all the more difficult. More than anything else, it is Dilip Kumar's superlative acting as an overwhelmingly zealous police[illegible] concerned father which keeps [illegible] involved in the film. As a re[illegible] that might have turned into be[illegible] melodrama becomes a surpri[illegible] tale of the communication gulf [illegible]

Barring a few minor lapse[illegible] so well-made that it overcome[illegible] handicap of being the last in a [illegible] similar films. Impeccable casting [illegible] ing direction, powerful acting [illegible] mpses of excitingly original ca[illegible] by Anwar do the rest.

—CHANDER U[illegible]

Back To L[illegible]

BARA

Director: M.S. Sathyu. Screenplay [illegible] Zaidi and Javed Siddiqui. Starring [illegible] Simha, Shivaram, Anant Na[illegible] Narayan Rao, B.G. Kumbar an[illegible] Madhu

AFTER being moribund for [illegible] four years, the once fecund [illegible] da cinema, which had spa[illegible] the Indian 'new wave' in the '70s [illegible] again stirring to life with M.S. [illegible] latest creation—*Bara* (famine). Pro[illegible] contemporary and entertaining, th[illegible] poses politicians manipulating a d[illegible] further their political objectives.

The absorbing screenplay by [illegible] Zaidi and Javed Siddiqui is base[illegible] original story by the acclaimed [illegible] novelist U.R. Ananthamurthy (w[illegible] vel *Samskara*, picturised by Pa[illegible] Reddy, triggered off the Kanna[illegible] wave' in 1971). The story is itself [illegible] reconstruction, it is said, of an a[illegible] cident in one of the drought-pr[illegible] tricts of north Karnataka in the [illegible] However the film itself is far from [illegible] entary in its approach, concentr[illegible] stead on personalities, motives [illegible] gues. For the sake of an authen[illegible] Sathyu has located the film's eve[illegible] chief town of the arid Bidar dis[illegible] dress, mannerisms and language [illegible] cal characters, such as the wily [illegible] fixer, Bhimoji, are very much true [illegible]

The plot narrates the tra[illegible] conscientious and somewhat call[illegible] deputy commissioner (DC) of Bid[illegible] Chandra. His pleas to have th[illegible] declared as famine affected and [illegible] eligible for emergency financial [illegible] deaf ears in the state capital. He [illegible] is in progress between the hom[illegible] (whose constituency the district [illegible] chief minister (CM). The latter [illegible] screen only as a rather menacing [illegible] hand with huge rings on a finger [illegible]

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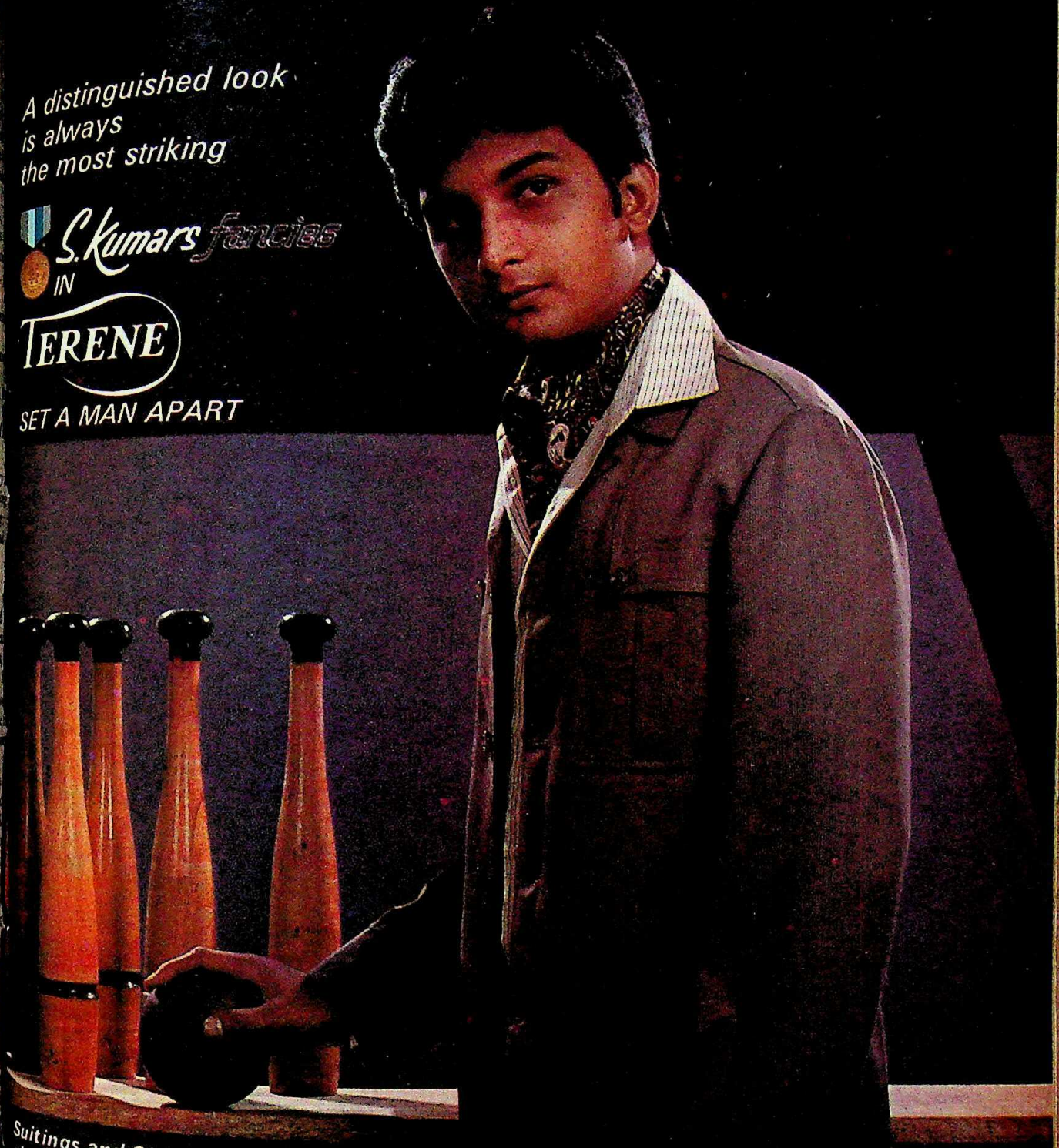

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a cigar) is out to discredit his political opponent by ensuring that the people get no succour from the Government.

Mounting Tension: In desperation, the DC resorts to unsanctioned expenditure and digging boreholes, one of which yields water with the help of a half-crazed traditional water diviner, in one of the most graphic scenes in the film. Despite this, the pressure of events continues to mount. The CM's wily agent, Bhimoji, engineers a 'people's movement' to force the grain dealers of the town, who are the home minister's supporters, to disgorge their hoarded stocks at Re 1 per kilo. But the intended move of the police superintendent (SP), from the home minister's camp, to arrest Bhimoji is not sanctioned.

Meanwhile, ordered by the CM to escalate tension, Bhimoji engineers a communal riot. There follows the usual murder, arson, loot and rape culminating in the inevitable police firing. This is perhaps for the first time in post-Independence

Nag and Simha in *Bara:* authentic milieu

Indian cinema that a communal riot is shown in such startlingly candid sequences. Ultimately follows a pyrrhic victory for the idealistic DC, with the resignation of the home minister and the victorious CM's promise of relief measures.

As is usual with Sathyu's films, the characterisation here is sharp, particularly in the case of Bhimoji (C.R. Simha), home minister Rudrappa (Shivaram), SP Nagarajan (M.V. Narayan Rao) and grain merchant Gangadharswami (B.G. Kumbar). Anant Nag is a bit too sanguine as the sincere DC while Lavlin Madhu as his wife Rekha lacks animation even when she argues with him to stick on rather than resign. Again, true to his reputation, Sathyu takes great care to keep the minor characters authentic and substantial.

A major flaw in the film is that it takes too much time to establish its circumstances in the beginning. There is also too much importance given to the DC's father-in-law. In contrast, one of the best features of *Bara* is that unlike the usual slow, pretentious and thematically dated 'new wave' Kannada films, it is straightforward and absorbing to watch.

—N. NARAYAN

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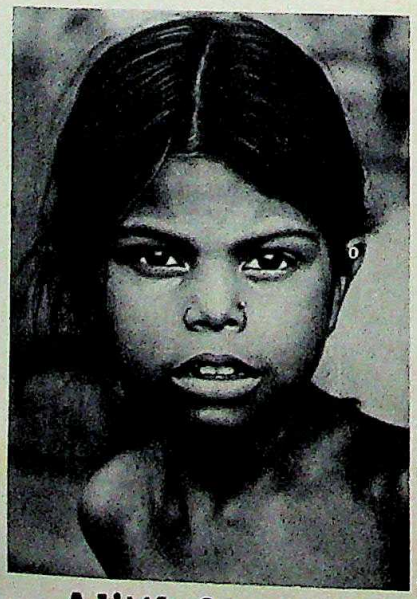

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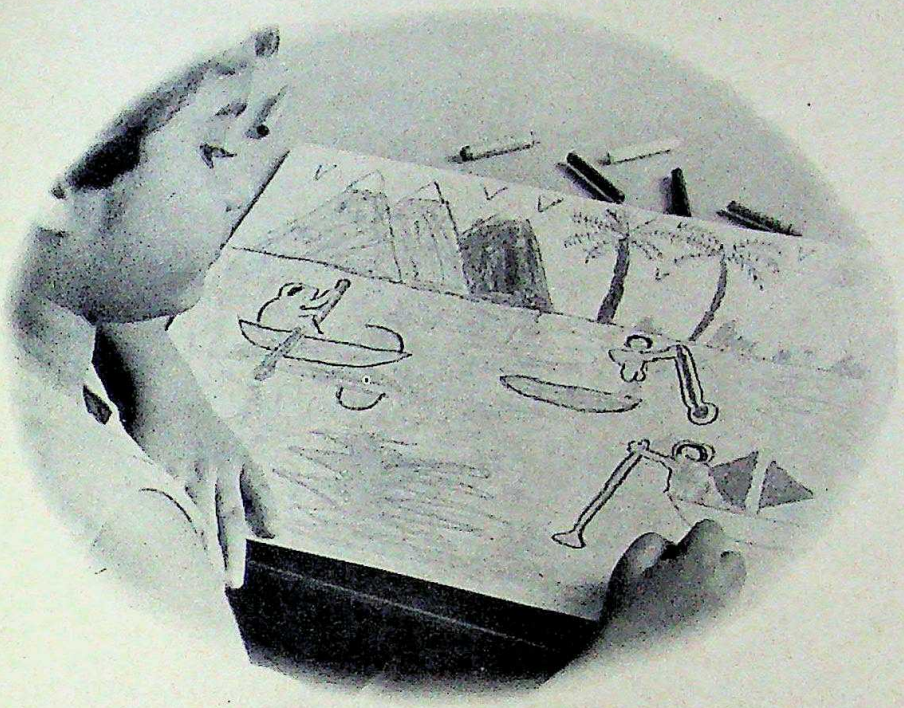
How often does your child dream on paper?



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Black Is Bountiful

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by KAMAL NAYAN KABRA
Chanakya
Price: Rs 80; Pages: 189

TAX PLANNING FOR SECRET INCOME (BLACK MONEY)
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Swati
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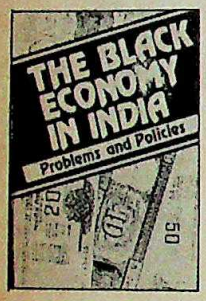


EVERYTHING you wanted to know about black money but were afraid to ask. Afraid? The only people who are losing sleep over the mounting hoards of black money are apparently the economists who, no matter how hard they try, just cannot get the hang of it. They do not know how much black money there is—estimates vary from 10 per cent of gross national product to 45 per cent—how it is created and why the Government is unable to control it. But they keep trying.

The first book is a disappointment. It does not tell us anything we didn't know before. And since the author has not taken the trouble to go out and talk to people who are actively involved in the parallel economy, his conclusions are not only wrong, they are perverse. He seems to think that the only way to control black money is to have more controls, without realising that this would be the surest way of spawning more black money.

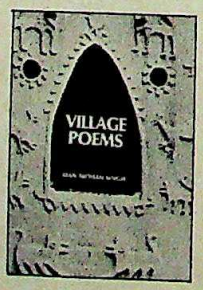
The second book is a delight. Parekh is a chartered accountant who knows what he is talking about and has no hang-ups about 'moral' and other aspects of the black money business. Money after all is money and since nearly everybody has it—from politicians to prostitutes—he takes a hard-headed look at the business and proceeds to instruct his readers with such useful chapter headings as "conversion of black money into white—illegal methods" and, if you have an oversize conscience, "conversion of black money into white—legal methods". The author has listed so many methods of converting black money into white that there may not be much black money left if everybody gets down to it. The author has therefore also suggested ways of turning white into black, just in case.

Not all schemes are fool-proof. Lata Mangeshkar bought a flat at Peddar Road, Bombay, for Rs 45,000. The income tax officer (ITO) was sceptical and found entries pertaining to a sum of Rs 95,000, apparently borrowed by her on hundi loans, from as many as 10 different persons said to be financiers of hundi loans. The ITO issued summonses to all of them but they were returned with the remarks 'not claimed'. Lata Mangeshkar could not prove that the loan transactions were real and the persons involved were not benami. The Bombay High Court confirmed that the transactions were fictitious and her claim fell through. The moral of the story? If our film people showed more artistry in their film work than in filing their income tax returns, we would have (1) better films and (2) less black money. But you can't have it both ways.

—DIPA JAYWANT

Terse Verse

VILLAGE POEMS
by MAN MOHAN SINGH
Arnold-Heinemann
Price: Rs 25; Pages: 57



'BACK to the village' is a well-worn slogan in India and Man Mohan Singh has hearkened to this slogan through free verse. But Singh is no ordinary poet: he belongs to the Indian Administrative Service, is an amateur ornithologist and already enjoys quite a reputation as a poet. So the administrator's eye for the commonplace and the down-to-earth, the bird-watcher's eye for detail and a human being's thirst for his roots all combine to produce this terse, sparsely crafted documentary.

Singh's feeling for his village in Punjab is almost primeval: "My village/ was the seventh child/of time's mating/ with a monsoon torrent," he begins and goes on to describe, in what D[illegible] in an admiring preface calls "[illegible]se", the stages of developm[illegible] moves in quick, sure steps th[illegible] dreds of years: from the first [illegible] community, to the taming of n[illegible] nature into fields and harve[illegible] coming of the dacoits. In betw[illegible] tells of the mad dog on who[illegible] scores of other dogs were [illegible] —"The dogs that lived to see th[illegible] prayers congealed in their eye[illegible] the exciting time when stud bul[illegible] gory battle—"The bulls autogra[illegible] anger/on the village paths."

In the end, of course, the perpetual trauma of Partition when Singh's village, like so m[illegible] in unfortunate Punjab, bathed in [illegible] seven short lines, the poet dist[illegible] sorrow of that time: "Freedom [illegible] ravan./People bundled things [illegible] retrieved/from charred houses, [illegible] out on carts/as their hopes cr[illegible] the unoiled wheels."

Universal Images: Singh h[illegible] with the most common images [illegible] life to produce a laconic history [illegible] lages in Punjab. In that way, [illegible] exudes a symbolism that goe[illegible] names and places: it is almost u[illegible] its evocation of a way of life, an [illegible] existence that is far removed [illegible] polished desks and the air-co[illegible] and the fawning peons of [illegible] bread-and-butter.

However, despite his feelin[illegible] village and the control he de[illegible] over his medium, there are times [illegible] *lage Poems* appears to be too s[illegible] polished. Missing are the individ[illegible] the names, the caste hates and [illegible] the petty injustices and joys f[illegible] to village life in India. Inevita[illegible] chand and Saratchandra come [illegible] does Prafulla Mohanti's *My V[illegible] Life* which, in deceptively strai[illegible] narrative, lays bare the heart [illegible] heartbreak of an Orissa village.

This is not to say that Sin[illegible] succeeded in his "terse and ell[illegible] But *Village Poems* can seem [illegible] terse and little too elliptic. P[illegible] verse form itself detracts from [illegible] ned power of the lines on a 'Vil[illegible] ty': "It was the sweat on her fo[illegible] saved her clothes from burning [illegible] have set/a heap of grass aflam[illegible] passion oozed/from her almond [illegible] burnt in a million lamps/on th[illegible] her skin." It is lines like these th[illegible] reader into the realisation th[illegible] another of those fortunate p[illegible] have searched for, and found, th[illegible]

—JAGANNA[illegible]

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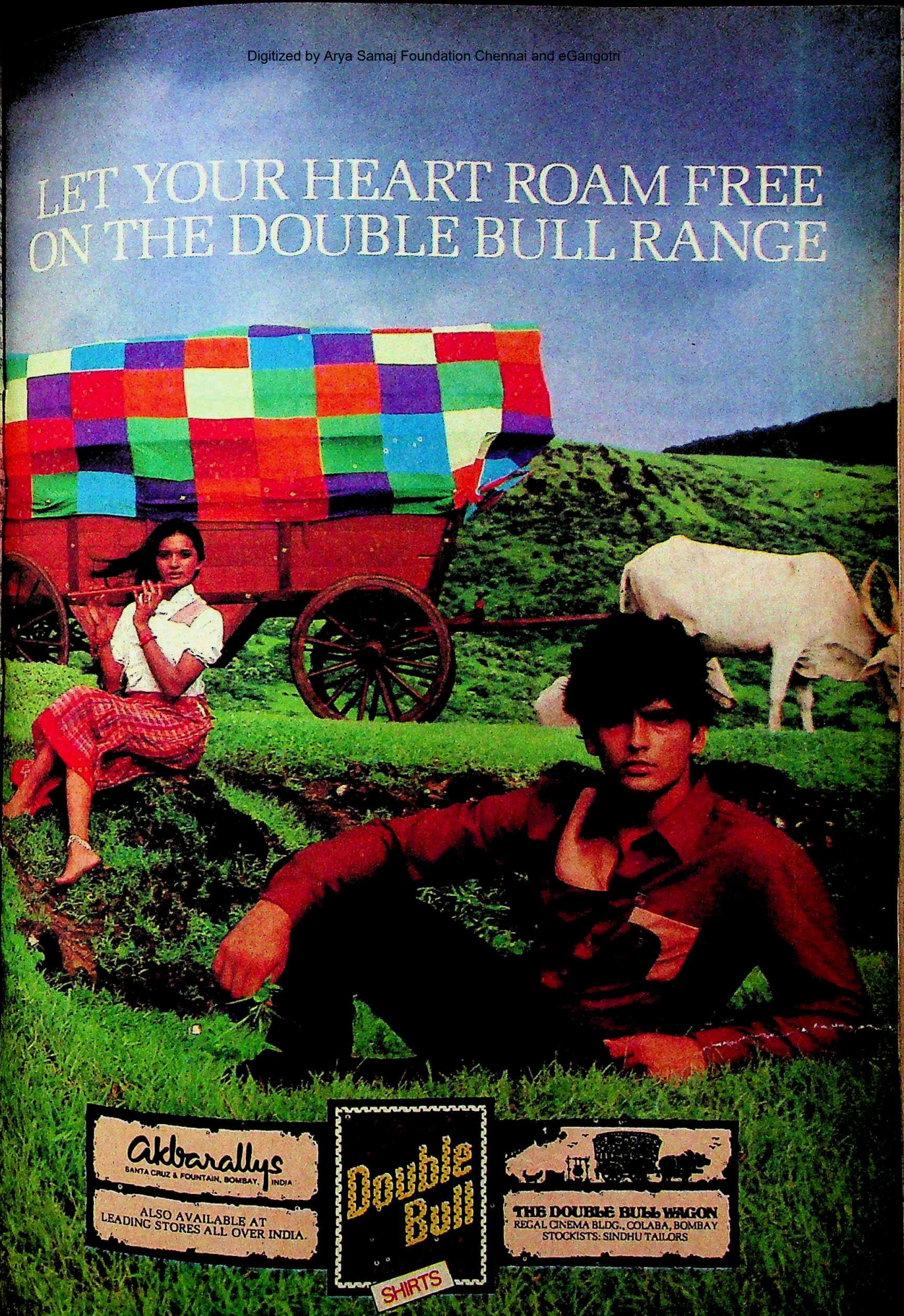

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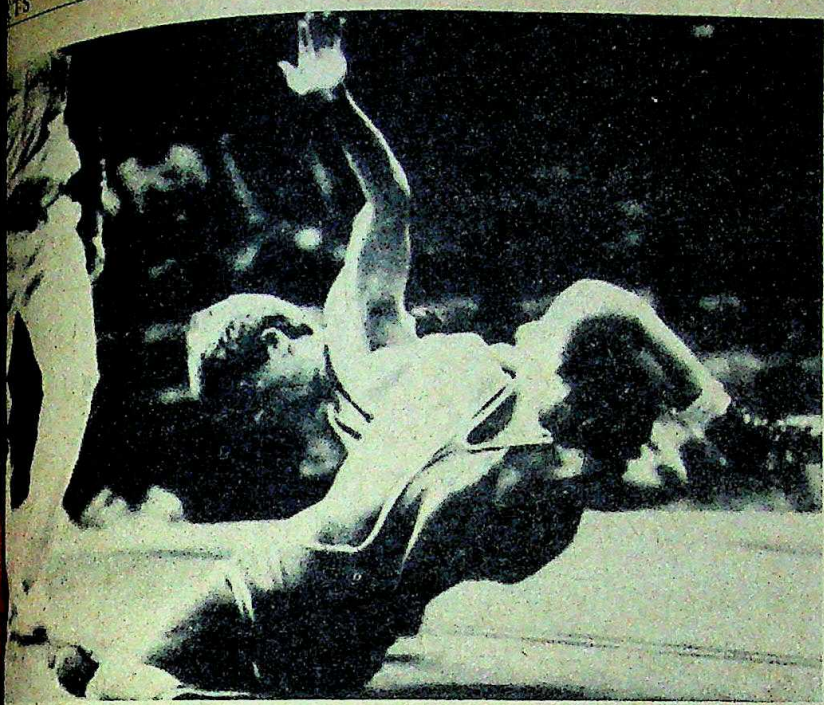

Mahabir Singh (nearest to camera) floors Graeme Hawkins of New Zealand: fighting display of talent

ONWEALTH GAMES

ndia's Golden Day

EN MEDALS in a day. After scrounging for silvers and bronzes for a week at the XII Common- Games in Brisbane, Australia, last at the Indian contingent struck on October 8, with four of its wrest- tupping their way to the top, four settling for second place and a lone in taking a bronze. The limelight especially brightly on the fifth gold: badminton player Syed Modi, defeated Nick Yates of England in a ng 75-minute encounter to ensure e crown that Prakash Padukone to India four years ago from Ed- Canada, remained in the country. e tinkling haul of medals on Fri- ia moved up to a respectable sixth the medals table from a dismal ition.

was Modi who began India's gold with his win over Yates, who was second in the tournament. The mo- nassuming player has lived for years mighty Padukone's shadow, so that jor international championship will ng way to establishing him as a re- ble player in his own right. Modi mitted that he was nervous at the ng of the match and this showed e lost the first game 7–15. Then the nce started flowing back and Modi the encounter by winning the game 15–6. Yates could do little thereafter to stem the Modi tide, which took the third game, and with it the match, at 15–5.

Wrestling Success: India's medals drive revved up after this when, one by one, the wrestlers started coming good. Rajinder Singh in the 74 kg class, Jagminder Singh (68 kg), Mahabir Singh (52 kg) and Ram Chander Sarang (48 kg) were golden boys. A rung below them were Rajinder Singh (100 kg plus), Satpal Singh (100 kg), Kartar Singh (90 kg) and Ashok Kumar (57 kg), who won silver medals. Jai Prakash Mangar in the light-heavyweight class was the bronze medallist. Satpal Singh could have brought India a gold, but he was fighting almost one-handed—the index finger of his left hand was broken—and considering the circumstances it was a brave performance.

However, there was one bout where the Indians were clearly not happy with the result. In the 57 kg tussle, Brian Aspen of England very narrowly outpointed —6–4—the defending champion Ashok Kumar. Two of the three officials for the match were Canadians and Indian coach K.N. Singh felt that this should have been avoided as the Canadians were battling with India all the way for the wrestling honours. Added Singh: "We were not happy with the scoring of this bout. But overall we are very pleased with our performance."

The string of medals on October 8, even though they were largely restricted to one sport was a welcome shot in the arm for the Indians after a disappointing week in which the swimmers and the much-vaunted athletes were often worse placed than the also-rans. Three weight-lifters and a pair of shooters had brought four silvers, while another pair of shooters and a boxer had brought in two bronzes. The first Indian to climb onto the victory stand was iron man Gurunandan Kombiah who totalled 200 kg in the 52 kg class for the silver; he was followed by Bijay Kumar Satpathy in the 52 to 56 kg class with a total of 227.5 kg and M.T. Selvan in the 60 kg class with 245 kg.

Fighting Performances: Meanwhile, the shooters were doing their bit. A silver arrived through Mohinder Lal and Ashok Kumar Pandit in the centre-fire team event—combined total: 1,138 points. In the rapid-fire team event, Sharad Chauhan and R.K. Vij grabbed the bronze with a tally of 1,151 points. The only boxer to do anything was the durable T. Machaiah who fought his way to a bronze. Another Indian boxer to impress was Birender Singh Thapa, but unfortunately he was eliminated early on. And India lost the chance for another medal in badminton: in the women's doubles, Ami Ghia and Kanwal Thakur Singh played off for the third and fourth places but had to be content with the fourth.

Predictably, Australia, England and Canada dominated the Games. Topping the excitement was a world record in swimming and a unique dead-heat in athletics. In the 200 m individual medley Canadian Alex Bouwman broke his own 14-month-old record by 0.53 seconds when he clocked in at 2 minutes 2.25 seconds. In the 200 m sprint, Allan Wells of Scotland and Mike McFarlane of England crossed the line together: after scratching their heads for nearly half-an-hour over the video tape record, the judges awarded golds to both.

For India, the lessons were clear: Indian sportsmen have a tough battle on their hands at the ninth Asiad in November. The athletes and the swimmers, who have not exactly covered themselves in glory in Brisbane, will face much stiffer competition when Japan, China and the two Koreas will all be in the ring. Hopefully, the broad but overworked shoulders of the Indian matmen will not have to carry the burden in November, as they did so gracefully in Brisbane.

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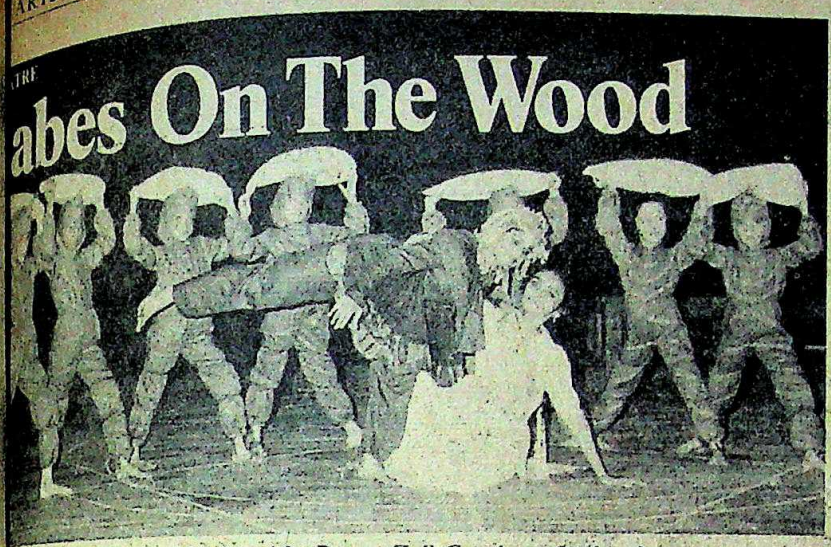

'Durga' surrounded by 'ants' in *Durga Zali Gauri*: professional success

E THEME is simple and uncluttered, the message put across in the ...ively direct manner of school-...heatre. But the play is made up of a ...ely complex intermingling of thea-... expressions and dance forms, all ...together to give the grandly-produ-...ance-opera a choreographed finish ...l on the Marathi stage. At least ...different styles of classical and folk ...ced together in *Durga Zali Gauri* ...the story of a spoiled royal infanta ...gradually won over by the ethos of ...ork.

...as third month of intermittent sho-... in Bombay, the Marathi opera last ...ut was still drawing crowds in the ...an theatre circuit. But *Gauri*'s at-...n was not so much the somewhat ...ic theme or its presentation—it was ...ormers. Ranging in age from five ...ears, the cast was comprised entire-...members of Chandrashala, a chil-...theatre group which has become in-...ly popular in the three years since ...ption. Amazingly professional in ...erformances, *Gauri*'s cast of 75 ...children pirouetted through their ...with all the gay abandon of dancers ...ice as old.

...ple Tale: *Gauri*'s story revolves ...Durga, the spoilt only child of a ...and queen. Pampered by the luxuries ...childhood, Durga grows up to be a ...emanding and bad tempered, teena-... helplessly conceding to Durga's de-... at first, the king finally tires of her ...ur and banishes her from the king-... She leaves on a boat which, hit sud-...y a storm, capsizes. Rescued by a ...peasant couple, Durga is renamed ...In the final scene the once-unbea-...rat is reunited with her grieving pa-...brings the peasant couple to live with her, and lives happily ever after.

Simplistic enough. But the theme has deeper undercurrents, explains playwright Madhav Sakhardande. Previously involved in the freedom struggle, the teacher-playwright explains that the inspiration behind *Gauri* is the work of Maharashtrian social worker, Baba Amte. Deeply moved by the dedication of Amte, Sakhardande insists that this is what gave him his theme: that manual work is essential for the survival of society.

But the real strength behind the show

ARUN RAJDATT

Parvati Kumar (right) with colleagues during rehearsal: creative genius

lies in the creative genius of Guru Parvati Kumar, 61, a disciple of Chandrasekhar Pillai who has gained expertise in dance forms as diverse as Bharatnatyam, Kathakali, Kathak and a variety of folk forms. Using a flowing transition from Bharatnatyam to Bhavai to Bhangra in *Gauri*, the guru takes his cast of children through an exposition which includes the blossoming and wilting of flowers, and treacherous river currents.

In the title role: 16-year-old Sandhya Purecha, who has studied under Parvati Kumar for 12 years performs her exacting part with inspiring passion and confidence. Although the play calls for editing to get rid of certain repetitive portions, the total effect of the musical extravaganza—which cost Rs 60,000 to produce—is spectacular. The costumes are painstakingly made, the lighting effective, and a two-hour musical score by the Shank-Neel brothers well-made.

Successful Spin-off: The opera's success underscores the growing professionalism and expertise of Chandrashala. Possibly the first children's theatre group of its kind, the group was first conceived in 1979 by Marathi stage actress and director Sulabha Deshpande and started as a spin-off of the already successful Aavishkar Theatre Group, which had highly successful productions like *Shantata Court Chaloo Aahe* and *Tughlaq* under its belt.

To achieve its aims, Chandrashala has used a broad variety of media and a multitude of performing arts. Beginning with a screening of 10 children's films borrowed from the Children's Film Society, and working their way through workshops in dance, theatre, painting, music and song, the group has offered children a choice of seven different workshops ranging from 15 days to one year; 35 children are admitted free to each workshop.

Varied Fare: In 1980, Chandrashala made serious efforts to train destitute children in puppetry under the guidance of well-known puppeteer Madhu Master. However, this programme suffered a set back when the government-run Bal Kalyan Nagari backed out after six months of training and replaced the puppet workshop with classes for the handicapped in textile design. Other Chandrashala workshops include a one-year dance-drama course by Parvati Kumar, Chitrakathi painting classes conducted by a folk artist, and sessions in traditional folk dance and classical music. More than 250 children have already been extensively trained, and current enrolment includes 600 children from 10 schools in Dadar.

Astonishingly disciplined and enthusiastic, the children form a coöperative team ever ready to improve the play. Performing with the confidence born of the knowledge of their skills, the team of children go through the motions perfectly. And so a remarkable show is born.

—KETAKI SHETH

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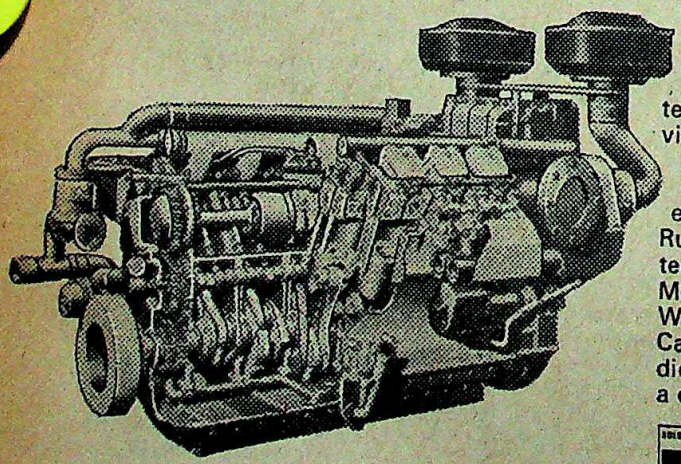

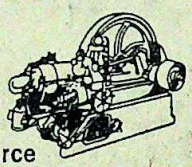

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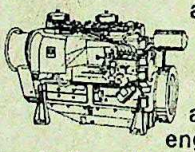

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THEATRE

ral Spectacular

WAS a theatrical coup rarely witsed. An exuberant, frolicking group villagers who danced right into the of European audiences. When theawart Habib Tanvir's Naya Theatre broad, on a first ever trip of an folk theatre group, the reception member cast received realised their 's dreams—of making his theatre a and communicative force. Tanvir, distinguished-looking theatre direcd catapulted his unique group of erformers to international fame.

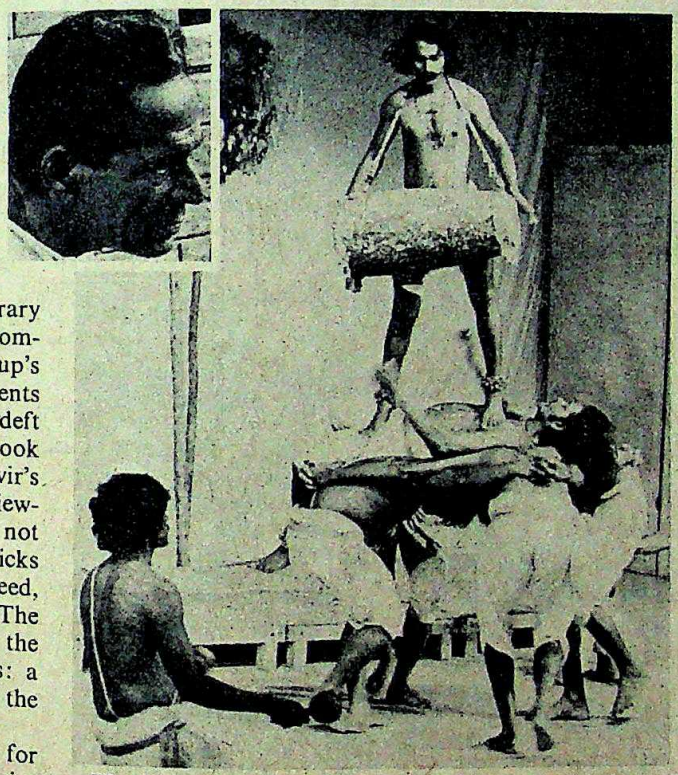
st fortnight, Tanvir k to his base in New fter an extensive tour in and other parts of with the prestigious First Award, which his received at the Edin-Festival, and a string of es from leading British critics.

hile on his pathfinding India, western contemporary 's guru Peter Brook was comtaken up with the group's l talent and his comments volumes for Tanvir's deft g of the group. Said Brook *Times*, London: "Tanvir's comes from the village viewit's comic and it does not big social problems. It sticks -to-day questions of greed, sy and exploitation.... The position is closer to the n of Satyajit Ray's films: a t political line based on the acts of injustice."

was Brook's enthusiasm for unique theatre that intheatre organisers to have in England. Collecting his er troupe, and polishing his ece of a play *Charandas Chor*, began his *yatra* to Europe with a ance for the Festival of India tothe end of August.

eaking Convention: Tanvir followthe Festival show by one at the rgh Festival, known in the past to conservative, conventional theatre ances. And it was an experience up will remember for a long time e. The Fringe Festival, as it is by the local people, is always a e of activity and demands 20-hour s from the theatre performers . Never before in the history of the fringe has the *Scotsman* newspaper awarded its much coveted Fringe First Prize in the middle of the first week, but the Naya Theatre apparently broke that convention delighting audiences with their totally accessible spectacle. Later they performed in various parts of England, West Germany, Amsterdam and Paris.

For Tanvir, a graduate of the prestigious Royal Academy of Dramatic Arts' (RADA), in London, the Bristol Old Vic Theatre School and the British Drama League, the success has followed after nearly 20 years of striving for recognition in his own country. He began his theatrical career way back in 1954, by founding Delhi's first professional theatre company calling it the Hindustani Theatre. And in 1959 he founded Naya Theatre, the group with which he has worked ever since.



The Naya group in performance and (inset) Tanvir: a unique theatrical blend

After returning from studies in England Tanvir went to his home in Madhya Pradesh, travelling in small districts and villages watching rural folk performances. His trip to Britain had strongly reinforced Indian traditional values in him and he began to see a viability of promoting folk theatre on an experimental, contemporary level. He began by working with tribal folk artists in Madhya Pradesh and later picked a band of villagers, who were neither formally trained nor literate. Yet it was this unique predicament that attracted Tanvir. Said he: "I noticed that these people had a perfect understanding of theatre. They possessed an abandon, a gusto, yet an inbuilt discipline, a tremendous sense and feeling for music and dance, an incredible knowledge about their folklores and traditions. They might be uneducated in the urban sense but very educated at another level."

Initial Years: After working with the tribals for some time, Tanvir selected about six folk artists from the remote tribes and villages of Chhattisgarh. He brought them to Delhi where they held simple, agit prop performances. Their audiences were small in the beginning and their story-lines sketchy and with little dialogue but they communicated effectively through song and dance. Because the performers could not read or write, dialogue was improvised and themes and gestures restricted to a simplistic level.

But, Tanvir soon realised that his theatre had to reach more audiences and communicate immediate, social and political problems. He explained: "If I wanted my theatre to penetrate to urban areas, the only alternative was to infuse contemporary themes and to a certain degree methods and techniques into the folk form."

Tanvir started working on *Charandas Chor* as early back as 1975. Improvising as they went along Charan is a stock figure of fun, a lovable rogue taken from the folklore of Madhya Pradesh. The story follows a simple line: the thief promises a guru that he will shun all comfortable living, consign himself to the straight and narrow path and above all not to tell lies. But, after many encounters and temptations, he somehow manages to keep to the guru's vows only to emerge a loser. The story is enlivened with song and dance in the pure Indian folk tradition.

And it is this remarkable display of dance-drama that Peter Brook got enamoured of. "They represent an absolute extreme of purity: a peasant company directed by a highly sophisticated man." And to amplify Brook's reaction to Naya Theatre the London *Guardian*'s drama critic concluded: "Habib Tanvir is the ideal person to bridge the gap between East and West." The result of Tanvir's European tour certainly proved that beyond a doubt. —ANITA KAUL

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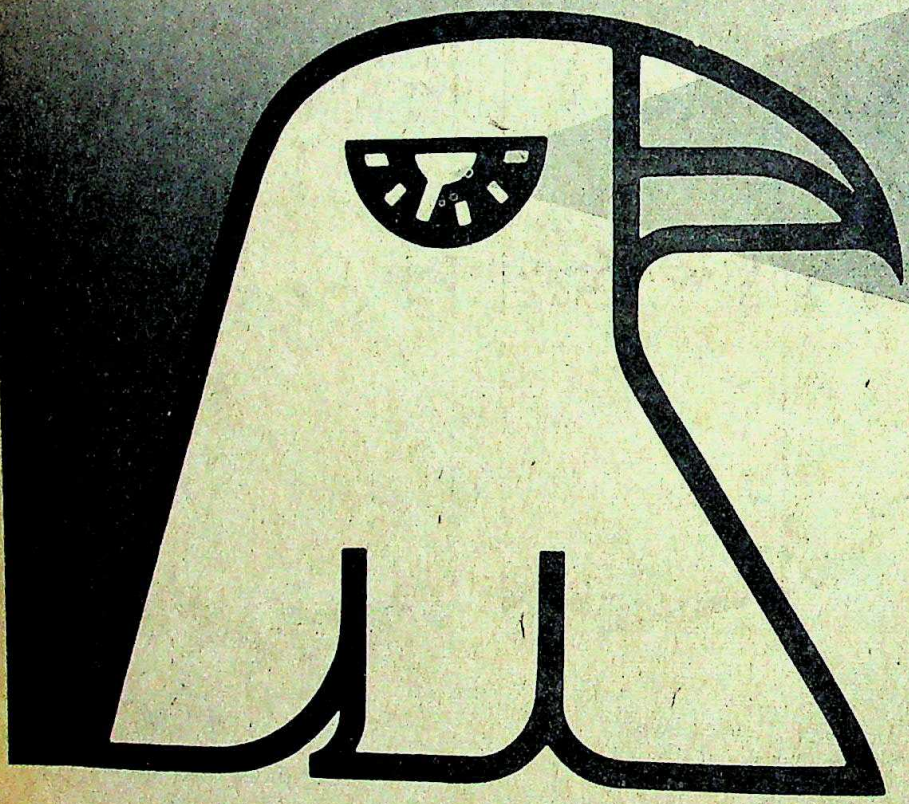

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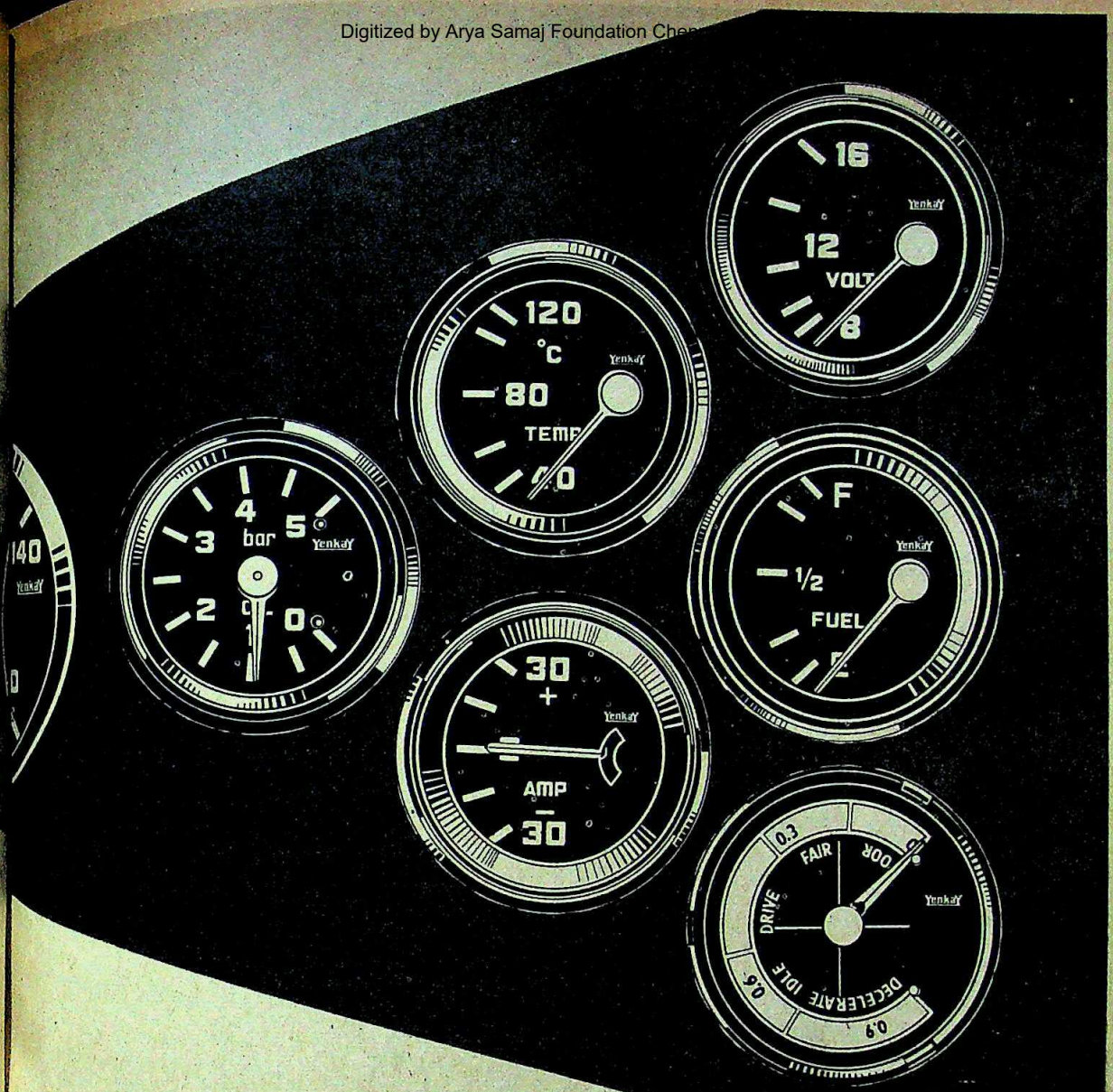

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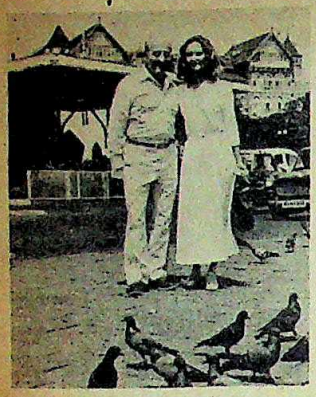
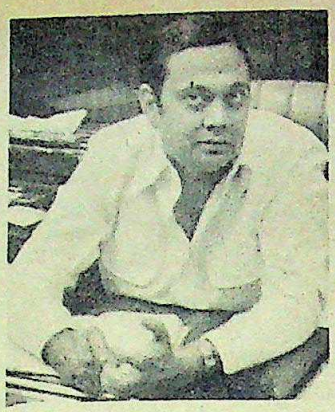


The Sardis: high life

■ If he maintained a guest register, it would probably read like a Who's Who of prominent as well as glamorous people. He's rubbed shoulders with Elizabeth Taylor, Johnny Carson, Maureen Stapleton and Paul Newman and personalities like Harry Truman, Lyndon Johnson and Henry Kissinger have visited his world-famous restaurant on New York's Broadway 44th Street. And the irrepressible owner of the restaurant Sardi's, **Vincent Sardi Jr**, 67, was in Bombay, last fortnight partly to discuss possibilities of opening a restaurant in the city and partly on a honeymoon with third wife June, a graphic designer from New York. Legendary for its premier night parties, the Broadway cast hangs around at Sardi's waiting eagerly for the first copies of the *New York Times* (NYT), carrying reviews. The tradition of waiting for the still wet copies of the NYT started in 1948 and has become a ritual without which no opening night on Broadway is complete. In Bombay Sardi was introduced to Pearl Padamsee, prominent theatre actress of whom he commented later: "I can see that she is a great actress,"—a seasoned critic on a brief encounter. And what was the restauranteur doing in the evening: living it up at Studio 29 of course!

■ She is the ultimate in chic ethnicity. Dusky, petite with a Twiggy figure wrapped in strings of chunky jewellery. At a glowing 22, **Arundhati Roy**, an architect, has landed "by sheer fluke" an assignment with the Italian edition of the reputed fashion magazine *Vogue*. The magazine is about to print a special spread on Rajasthani jewellery and will feature Roy in striking poses laden with the ethnic glitter. Pouted Roy, who is currently in the thick of pre-shooting work for *Massey Saab*, a feature film sponsored by the Film Finance Corporation, in which she is playing the lead role: "I hate to be put into an academic slot. I do enjoy the other work I am doing and the *Vogue* assignment will fetch me a lot of money." Roy was spotted by an Italian freelance journalist in Delhi who promptly recommended her to *Vogue*. The expert fashion tasters liked what they saw and as promptly signed her on for their spread. And for Roy the chance will not just mean a lot of lolly but welcome exposure.



Alam: too much *masala*

■ It had all the ingredients of a Bombay *masala* film. The hero kidnapped by villains, who were hired to do the job by the hero's rival; the hero's ensuing struggle to get out of their claws and finally the villains land up in the cell—their mission thwarted. This is exactly what happened to **Mushir Alam**, the co-producer of blockbuster king **Ramesh Sippy's** film *Shakti*.

Last fortnight, when the culprits were brought to book, the plot fell into pl[illegible] kidnappers were all[illegible] by a long-time filmla[illegible] Ahmed Sayed Khan[illegible] ducer of *Tajurba*, [illegible] a ransom of Rs [illegible] Midway the villains [illegible] tension drama realis[illegible] sum was unrealistic [illegible] and were asked to ge[illegible] as they could lay them [illegible] Finally they could [illegible] 2.15 lakh and released [illegible] tim after a rough tre[illegible]

■ Alam, on release [illegible] bullish captors, rush[illegible] Crime Branch and [illegible] them with enlighten[illegible] Their nose led them [illegible] pidated area where [illegible] known thugs: A[illegible] Nawab, Shah Jad[illegible] Alam Zeb and Jafa[illegible] police records as lon[illegible] dubious pedigree, w[illegible] ed in. The conclusi[illegible] saga: Sayed Khan [illegible] wanted a little bit of [illegible] aid for his next cinem[illegible] ture and this seemed [illegible] way to get it.

Roy: ethnic exposure

SIGN POS[illegible]

■ **Appointed:** Ra[illegible] Agarwal, as the [illegible] general of the [illegible] Chamber of Com[illegible] socham). An emin[illegible] mist, he has worked [illegible] since 1947.

■ **Died:** C.D. D[illegible] 86, former Union [illegible] minister during [illegible] Nehru's time and [illegible] the Reserve Bank [illegible] British Raj. He w[illegible] by the British and [illegible] cipient of several [illegible] cluding the Mag[illegible] distinguished govern[illegible] vice and the Padma [illegible] in 1975 in recognit[illegible] contribution to nat[illegible] His public career s[illegible] back in 1918 when [illegible] the Indian Civil Se[illegible] held diverse posit[illegible] distinction, includ[illegible] member of the Plann[illegible] mission, chairman [illegible] University Grants Co[illegible] and the director of [illegible] Trust of India.

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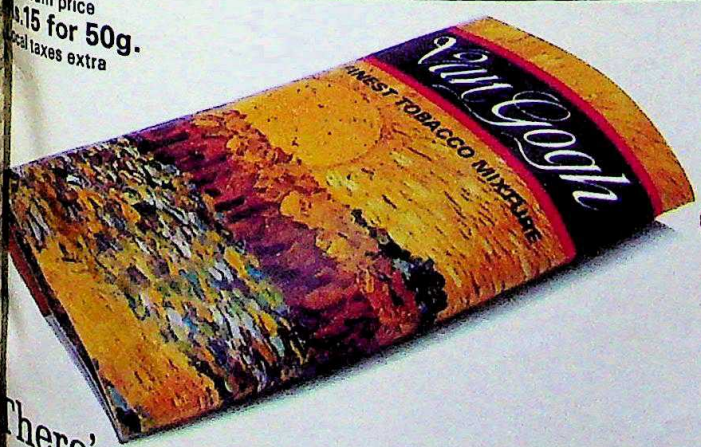

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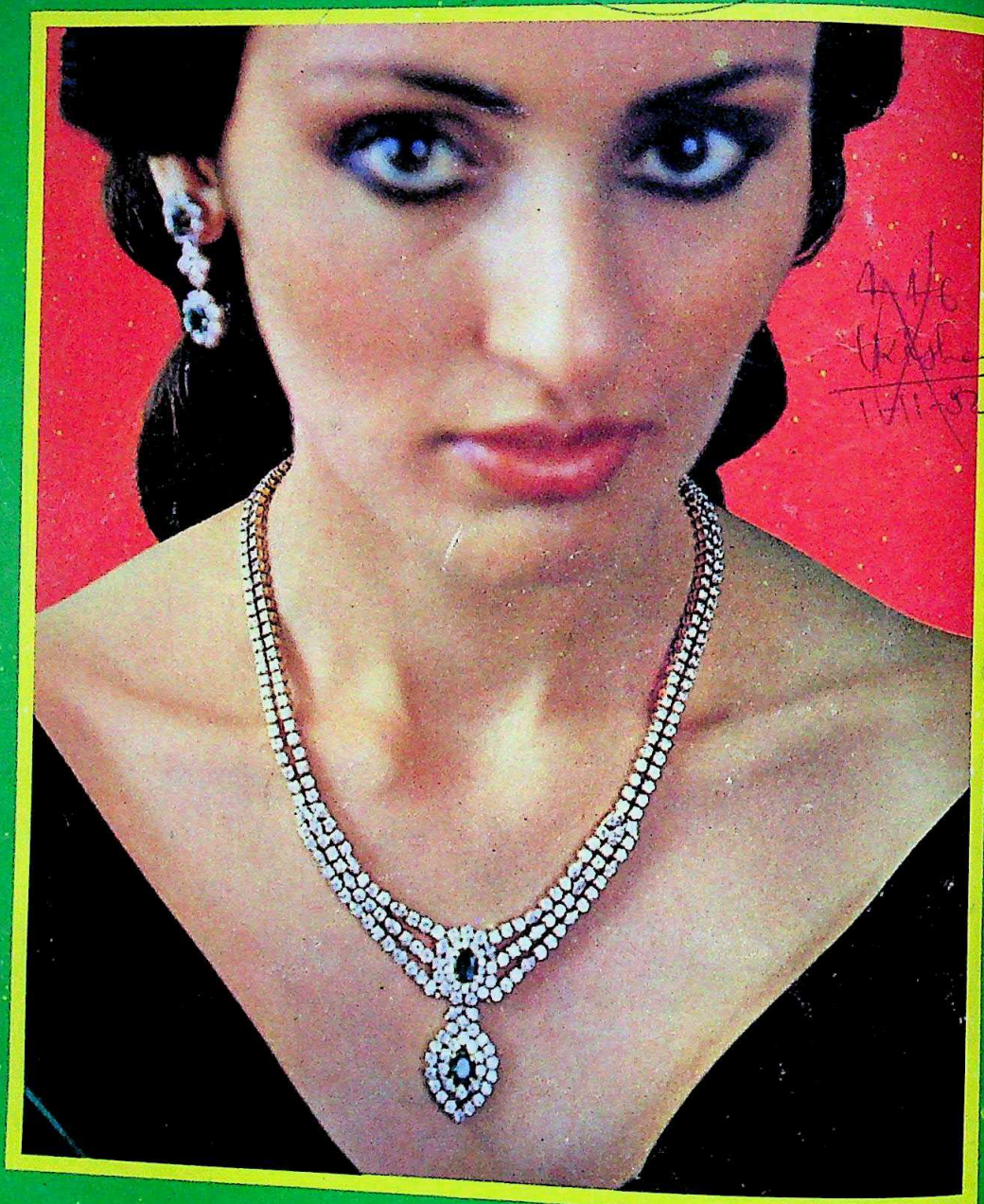

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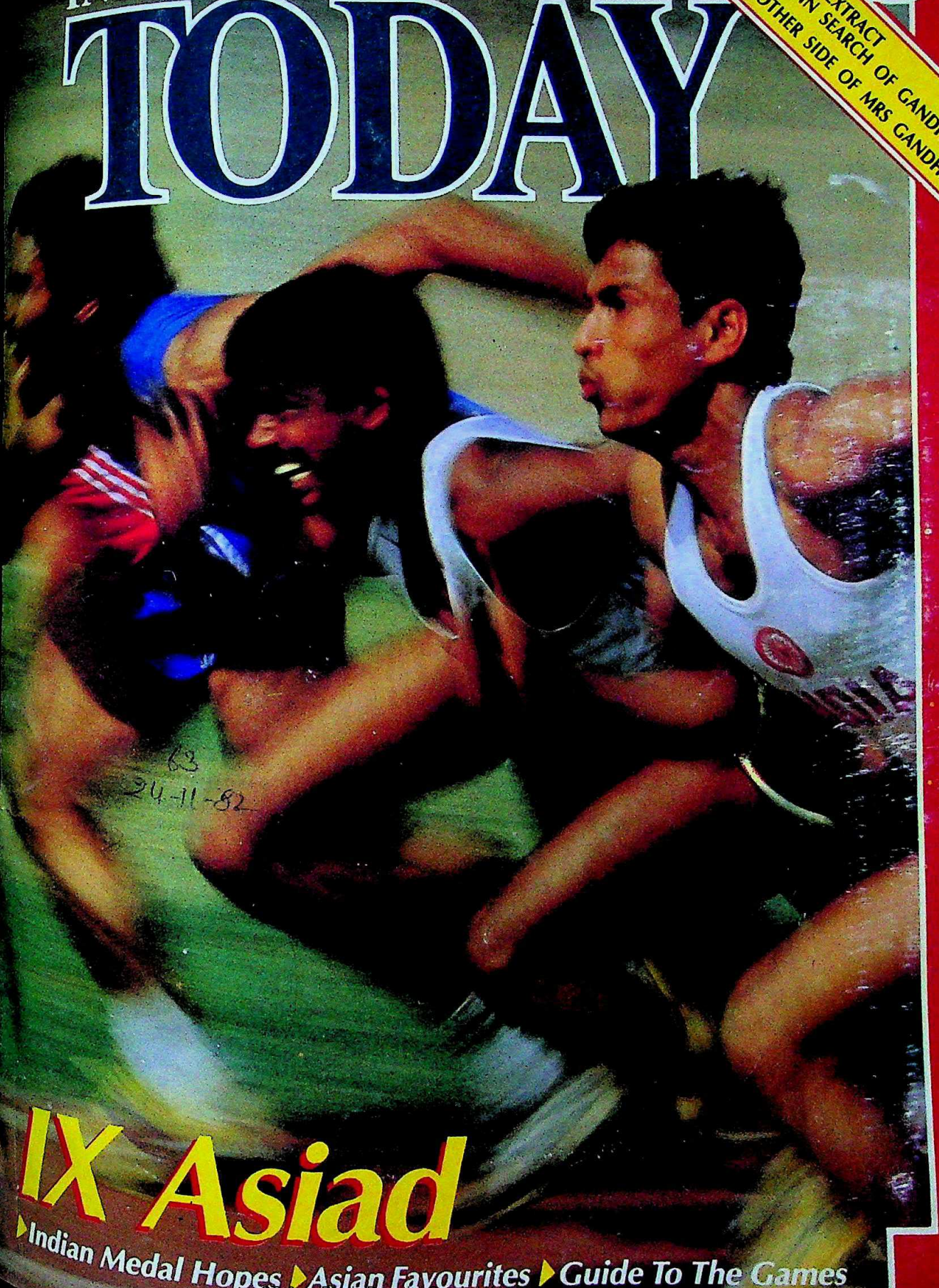

IX Asiad

▸Indian Medal Hopes ▸Asian Favourites ▸Guide To The Games

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TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 30, 1982

WITH all the hue and cry finally over and the dust settling on one of the most ambitious projects ever undertaken in this country, the IX Asiad is finally a reality. There is no denying the immense effort that has gone into preparing for the Games, both for those who will take part and those who have been responsible for getting the Games facilities ready on time. In a similar fashion, it has also been a time for preparation, albeit on a far lesser scale, for the media. With 4,000 Indian and visiting journalists and cameramen on the scene, the 15-day sports extravaganza promises to be the media event of the year.

At INDIA TODAY, *which has written frequently on the preparations for the Games, including a cover story earlier this year (June 30), preparations started with basic research into past Games results, the programme for IX Asiad and a careful scrutiny of India's and other countries' medal hopes. Joining Senior Writer* DILIP BOBB *were Hyderabad Correspondent* AMARNATH K. MENON *and Bhopal Correspondent* SREEKANT KHANDEKAR, *all three sports buffs, who sought assistance from veteran Olympian and sports writer Ranjit Bhatia. Shuttling between Patiala and Delhi, Picture Editor* RAGHU RAI *and photographers* BHAWAN SINGH *and* PRAMOD PUSHKARNA *snapped the training for the Games as well as the Trial Games held in September. Photo Researcher* ANJALI PURI *called upon her extensive contacts in the photographers' fraternity to ensure that the widest possible picture selection was available on tap. She also hounded the various Asian embassies for information and photographs of their top stars coming for the Games. The same six-member team of cameramen and writers will over the next fortnight be keeping track of the most spectacular sporting event yet to be seen in this country.*

ORDINARILY, INDIA TODAY *runs few question and answer interviews, normally no more than an interview of the fortnight. This is because news stories, even if they are based exclusively on an interview, permit the writer to put perspective into whatever is being said. Few are the subjects who by the clarity of their argument, the spontaneity of their response or the embrace of their knowledge compel attention to their every word. In this issue, however,* INDIA TODAY *interviews two heads of government and one visiting cricketer, people who in their own way have something off beat, authoritative or controversial to say. Prime Minister Indira Gandhi talks about a subject she hardly ever touches: herself as a woman, mother and human being. In another interview, French President Francois Mitterrand, who is scheduled to visit India this fortnight, responded to questions put to him in Paris in his first interview with the Indian media. And, Pakistan cricket captain Imran Khan, visiting Delhi on a short holiday last fortnight, spoke about the forthcoming Indian tour of Pakistan which starts later this month.*

Arun Puri

63
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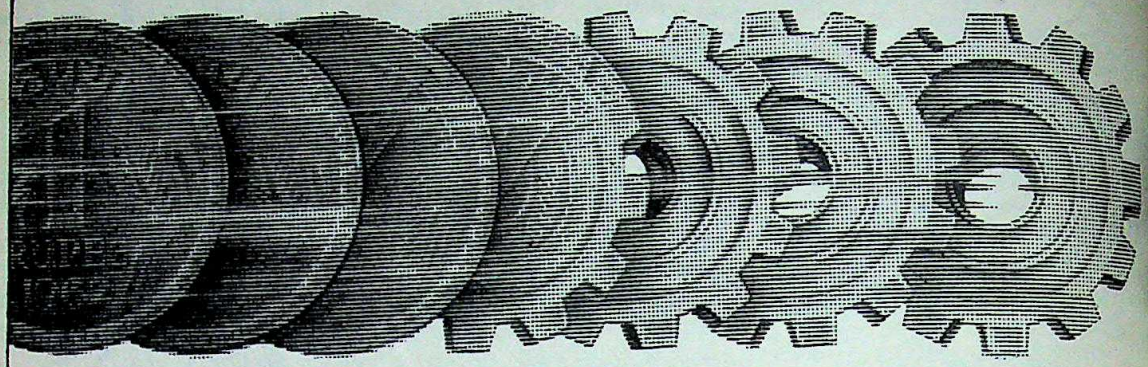

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NING CRISIS

article "Bracing For A ..." (November 15) was a bold ...d analysis of the Punjab crisis. It ...own that those who the gods ...estroy they first drive mad—no ...s process has already started with ...ders of that state.

Rajagopal Pillai

...unrest in Punjab is progressing in ...ay that a showdown is inevitable. ...the problem lies in the fact that ...jabis by their national progress ...perity are alienated from the rest ...which has followed the disas- ...policy of socialism.

Mihir Bain

NG STORY

...as deeply moved to read of the ...of the family that came to see if the ...Ahmed was their long-lost father ...Baroda Couple," November 15). ...will the people in authority learn ...their thoughtless actions can only ...deep anguish. Even 35 years after ...the wounds have not healed for ...ople.

Ved Prakash

UMAN FACTOR

...e most writing on the North-east ...has been bound by narrow pre- ...this article ("The Human ..." October 31) has steered clear of ...pettiness and gone straight to the ...the problem: the agony and crue- ...as evident in this region. The ar- ...come 30 years too late—but it is ...too late to have some effect.

P. Pimono

law and order problem is much ...the North-east than it is in the ...the "encounters"—Uttar Pradesh ...ar. The Centre and the media ...concentrate on that region more. ...the allegations made about the Indian Army they are more fit for the pages of a tabloid. There is no cause to belittle one of the most cohesive and well disciplined fighting forces in the world.

Aizawl *Sazad Ameer*

■ The cover story reminded me of my experience in Delhi University. My enquiries about admission were hurriedly turned down by the officer in charge and I was told to go to the place where applications from foreign nationals are processed. Even in the capital of India I am treated like a stranger.

New Delhi *Elty Ngaihte*

■ It is wrong to say that the people in the rest of the country do not care about the North-east. Seldom have I read an article that has moved me so deeply.

Cuttack *Rizwana Aktar*

■ The cover story was a mighty step in the right direction. So far the media has aided the Government in maintaining the illusion of remoteness of this area. And the Government has, as governments will, provided a military solution to the tragedy of this region. Preoccupied with the Asiad, INSAT and various other pies in the sky, it has no time to look North-east.

Hyderabad *Ram Karan*

■ An economic map of the North-east will show that this area has not been developed to provide adequate number of jobs to the population. When the chances of earning a livelihood are bleak the population is bound to raise their voices in protest—and this protest cannot be heard in New Delhi as it is being drowned in gunfire. The only way to solve the North-east problem is by opening new economic avenues there.

Delhi *Pant Bezaar*

PRAMOD PUSHKARNA

■ It is regrettable that a one-sided article like this one was considered fit for publication. In the interest of impartial reporting INDIA TODAY should have waited for the Supreme Court judgement and reserved a few tears for the widows and orphans of the murdered army personnel. But perhaps, according to your myopic view, they have no human rights. The article meticulously avoided a mention of the hundreds of brave jawans who have been treacherously and brutally done to death in the prime of their youth. The arbitrary prominence given to the charges without bothering to give the other side cannot but arouse public contempt.

Dimapur *Asha Khanna*

■ The photographs of the hate-filled eyes staring out of the taut faces of the people makes it clear that the army has alienated a large section of our population.

Patna *Sanjay Jain*

■ If this story had appeared in the foreign press I might have been able to dismiss as propaganda against India—but the fact that it has appeared as the result of an Indian journalist's laborious research and so I cannot doubt the veracity, and I hung my head in shame.

Delhi *B. Nand*

SCARS ON NATURE

"The Ravages Of Man" (October 31) has aptly focussed attention on the destruction of the environment of this country. Such type of analyses should be done on the regional level because this problem needs to be pin-pointed more precisely.

Bombay *Dr Naresh Bedi*

■ Reading this article revived the anguish I experienced while trekking in the Himalayas. We walked a distance of 100 km around Darjeeling. All along the way, the ecological integrity of the region has been dangerously violated. Lush mountains bore deep scars where senseless deforestation had caused avalanches into the valleys below. This was particularly evident near roads that the Government had built without bothering to afforest the hillside above them. A month later, I travelled through the German Alps and what a splendid contrast—or should I say a dismal one?

Stony Brook, USA *Samir Kumar Dutt*

■ The illustrations that accompanied the article, particularly the one of a desolate ravine in the shape of India, were excellent and added meaning to the text.

Dattapukur *B.L. Saha*

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SAD COMMENTARIES

"A Crisis Of Faith" (October 31) was a sad commentary on the state of secular India. The Meerut riots expose the impotence, and the incompetence of the politicians, bureaucrats and the religious leaders.

New Delhi *Raj Gopal S. Verma*

■ The Meerut riots emphasise the need for a secular administration to take action without political considerations. We must learn to act justly instead of compromising to suit the vote-hungry politician.

Bombay *B. Mukherjee*

■ I was amused to read that I, "probably nervous of the implications, has not done the job". It is surprising that this was published without the author checking this with either me or any other authoritative source. The magisterial enquiry report was ready ahead of schedule and a press note summarising it was sent to the information office on August 19. However, efforts for a negotiated settlement were still being made on August 20 and I was advised by higher authorities to wait as the settlement was in sight and this should be included in the report. The settlement was made that evening and after it was conveyed to me, the enquiry report was submitted without delay. I have faced several tricky situations in my long service career and there has never been any question of any nervousness or anybody bailing me out.

Meerut *O.P. Dube,* Sub-divisional magistrate

■ Safeguarding secularism is as much the responsibility of the minority communities as it is of the majority one. Hindus being in the majority are expected to have a broad outlook. On the other hand all the minority communities in the country have turned increasingly fundamentalist and militant. And the fact that the Hindus have been tolerant is misinterpreted as weakness.

Dombivli *R.R. Shanbag*

■ The Meerut riots were the prime example of the media and the administration getting together to ruin the reputation of the Muslims. All sorts of false and malicious information was spread about the community and what followed was nothing but carnage.

Meerut *Masood Akhtar*

HARSH REMEDIES

"The Bitter Pills" (October 31) focussed attention sharply on the need to create public opinion on the of the multinationals who with the ban on dangerous West and then dump these Third World countries. It is cried halt to such practices.

Indore *A*

■ In my opinion the doctor to blame for the prolific drugs. They are too quick wide-spectrum drugs for curi paratively minor ailments. D country just do not weigh th disease against the risk of the

Gauhati

UNFAIR REPRESENTATI

The article "Dispelling (October 31) makes it evident thor knows as little about Ca about India. All the conclusion based on a survey carried Ottawa-Hull area.

This is hardly a fair re of Canadian society. This are up largely of white-collar federal government offices be seen as a cross-section of ation. Therefore the findings cannot, dispel any myths about nity in Canada.

Vancouver, Canada *Frances*

VARIED REACTION

The item in 'Trade Winds Hot-Seat", September 30) re Bajaj M-50 motorcycle contain ment that this vehicle has c spread disappointment—this Most of the M-50s have been Pune area where the customer been very favourable. In other cluding Delhi, the reaction ap varied. It is premature to judge mance and quality of the vehic such isolated reactions.

While it is true that about the 11.5 lakh persons who b orders for this vehicle have as cellation of their bookings, th ted and natural. The initial re overwhelming, leading to a ve livery period. We had in fa many more cancellations after were informed of their priority

My visit to Kawasaki H tries in Japan was to negotiate collaboration agreement for of 80 cc motor cycles. There tion of changing the Bajaj M cycle engine.

Pune *M*
Managi
Baj

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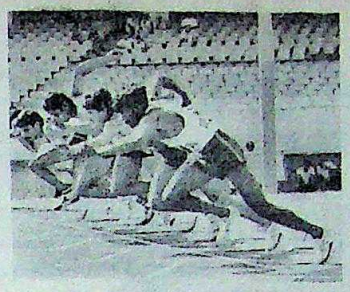
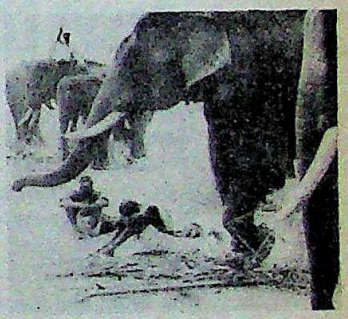


COVER STORY: As the country's top sports people prepare for the Asiad, there is increasing curiosity about India's likely performance in the event. An assessment of India's medal hopes in the 21 disciplines, each of which will see greater competition than ever before. A study too of the two Asian sports superpowers, Japan and China. Also, a guide to the Games and the facilities provided. **Page 54**

CURRENT EVENTS: With talks between the Centre and the agitating Akali leaders deadlocked, the country seems to be heading towards a crucial confrontation. With the wounds of Amritsar still raw, the Akalis have threatened to bring their agitation to Delhi—just when the Ninth Asiad begins on November 19. **Page 17**

INTERVIEW OF THE FORTNIGHT: To the 700 million people that she governs, and to the outside world Mrs Indira Gandhi remains an enigma. There are varied opinions about her, ranging from being a shrewd politician, a tough lady and much more. There is another side to her character—as a housewife, a mother and a woman. An exclusive interview with Mrs Gandhi. **Page 80**

PHOTO FEATURE: In an unusual journey, last fortnight, 34 well-bred elephants along with 80 standard-bearers, six veterinarians and 21 policemen, were put on a train in Trichur in Kerala, bound for Delhi. The 13 open wagons housing the elephants in close proximity left Trichur on November 1 and arrived on November 8. The pachyderms were going to participate in the opening ceremony of the Asian Games. A report on their journey with captivating photographs. **Page 112**



DIPLOMACY: Last fortnight's all-too-brief meeting between General Zia-ul-Haq and Mrs Gandhi—the first organised summit between the two countries since Simla in 1972—not just shattered ice but also ironed out the wrinkles that have warped relations between the two countries. Talks covered wide-ranging subjects including the no-war pact, American arms supply to Pakistan and non-alignment. A detailed report on prospects for Indo-Pakistan ties. **Page 90**

BOOKS: After 20 years of a crusade to complete his US $22 million epic British director Sir Richard Attenborough will see his dream come true at the end of this month, when the film *Gandhi* is released world-wide. The massive effort of meeting the right people, raising finance and casting the film is detailed in Attenborough's new book *In Search Of Gandhi*. Exclusive excerpts with colour stills. **Page 142**

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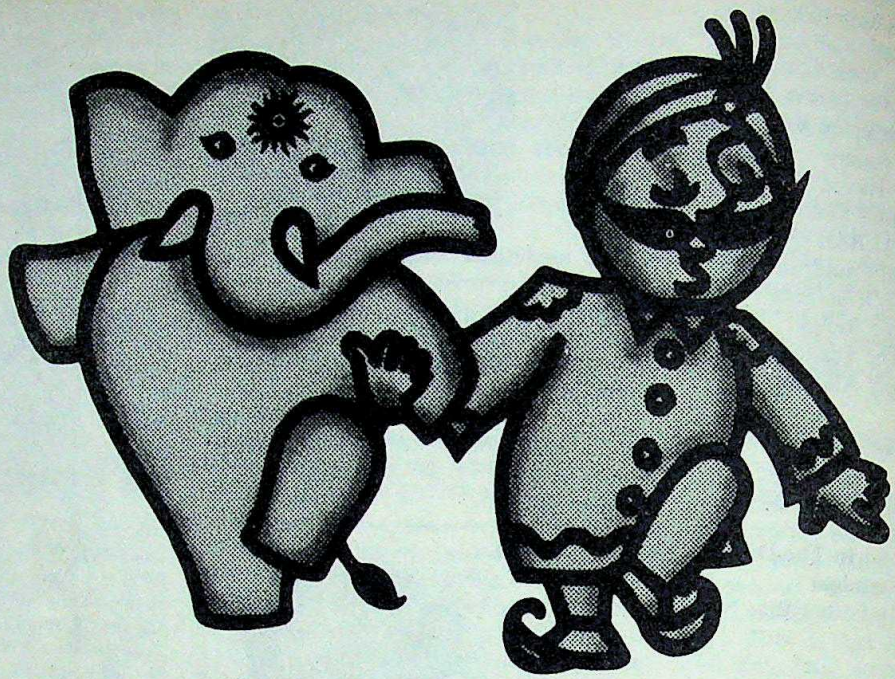

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BATTLEFIELD

A COURT battle coming to a climax in the Allahabad High Court will evoke interest not only because of the issues concerned, but because of the personalities involved. At issue is the acquisition last year of some 80 acres of land near Ghaziabad by the Uttar Pradesh Industrial Development Corporation (UPIDC) under the emergency provisions of the Land Acquisition Act. The land was a plot allotted to the Delhi Cloth Mills (DCM) group for its Rs 150-crore joint venture with Japan's Toyota for medium-sized commercial vehicles.

A routine transaction in other circumstances, this take-over has been challenged in court by owner A.P. Sarin who, through the marriage of his son, is related to the prime minister's special assistant, R.K. Dhawan. The scions of the family that manages the conglomerate on the other side are no less well connected. Sarin has moved the court to say he is in possession of the land. The UPIDC has told the court that the land in question, part of a larger industrial estate, is in DCM's possession. Sarin continues to farm part of the land; DCM has put a barbed wire fence around its allotted plot.

A HORNET'S NEST

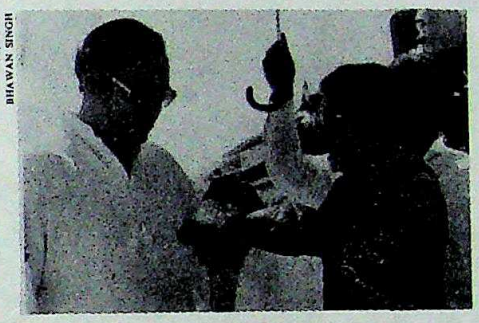
CONGRESS(I) high command's decision to hold sational elections of the West Bengal Pradesh ress Committee(I) (WBPCC-I) may spark off a fresh ly factionalism in the state unit of the party. This is m what happened at the Calcutta Airport hotel last here Rajiv Gandhi was stopping briefly on his way to pporters of one group known to have close links with lway Minister A.B.A. Ghani Khan Chowdhury cupied the lobbies and even WBPCC(I) leaders could to Rajiv's room for some time. Hotel employees got later.

However, made it clear to everybody concerned that sational elections would have to be held. His assertion warnings that elections might provide more excuses ion in the ranks. But he was stated to have suggested essary the state leadership could ask for a little more holding the elections.

Venkataraman: explanations

OPTIMISM

ENCE Minister R. Venkataraman's statement in tement that India's Main Battle Tank (MBT) would be the road by 1983 seems a bit optimistic considering the a recent secret circular on load-carrying vehicles for nt out to defence production units. The operative part nce the progress on indigenous development was slow, ded that vehicles should be obtained ex-trade and from rces for trials...it has been decided to import four vehicles, three 2.5-tonne vehicles and 12 7.5-tonne trials." Work on the vehicles has been going on since t the same time that the MBT project started. If they been able to produce a half-tonne vehicle the optimism seems rather misplaced.



BHAWAN SINGH

Rajiv and Mrs Gandhi: succession?

CHANGE OF COURTIERS

IT IS more or less certain that Mrs Gandhi will give up the presidentship of Congress(I) in favour of her son Rajiv at the coming party elections scheduled to be held in January or February next year. If that happens, Rajiv Gandhi will be inducted into the party's formal hierarchy and will have to work with those elected to party positions rather than the clutch of friends and advisers who are currently helping him in his office at 2A Motilal Nehru Marg. According to party insiders, he is already thinking of changes at the levels of advisers close to him. Among those whose work may be affected is Makhan Lal Fotedar, the controversial political secretary to Mrs Gandhi in her capacity as party president. Siddhartha Reddy, who has been looking after the Amethi parliamentary constituency, Vijay Dhar and Arun Singh may have to be inducted into the party.

SEATING PLAN

THE RULING party recently conducted its own version of a Gallup poll in Andhra Pradesh to assess its chances in the forthcoming Assembly election. In each of the 294 constituencies, about 100 potential voters were interviewed. It was discovered that 140 of the seats are 'safe' for the Congress(I) and that Telugu Desam, the party founded by the state's leading film star Nandamuri Taraka Rama Rao last March, is "very secure" in 30 constituencies. A keen tussle is expected between the Congress(I) and Telugu Desam in 80 constituencies and the remaining 44 seats are likely to be claimed by veteran opposition leaders belonging to the CPI, the CPI-M, the BJP, and the Lok Dal.

However, what is disturbing the ruling party leaders is that the random sampling has also revealed that in 80 out of the 140 safe constituencies, the present incumbents will have to be replaced by "better candidates" to ensure victory. This is going to prove a big problem at the time of distributing party tickets.

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What's the score at the Asia

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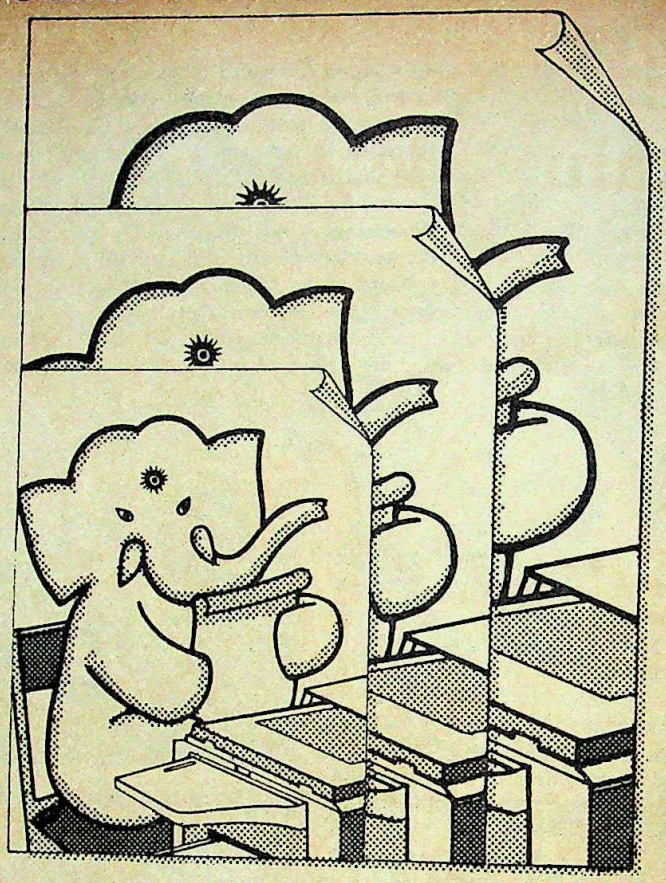

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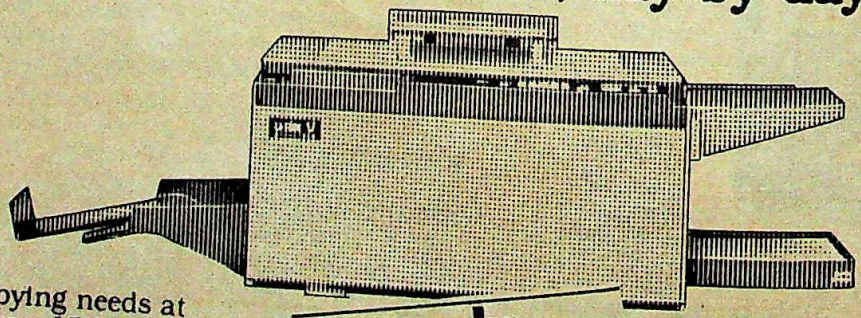

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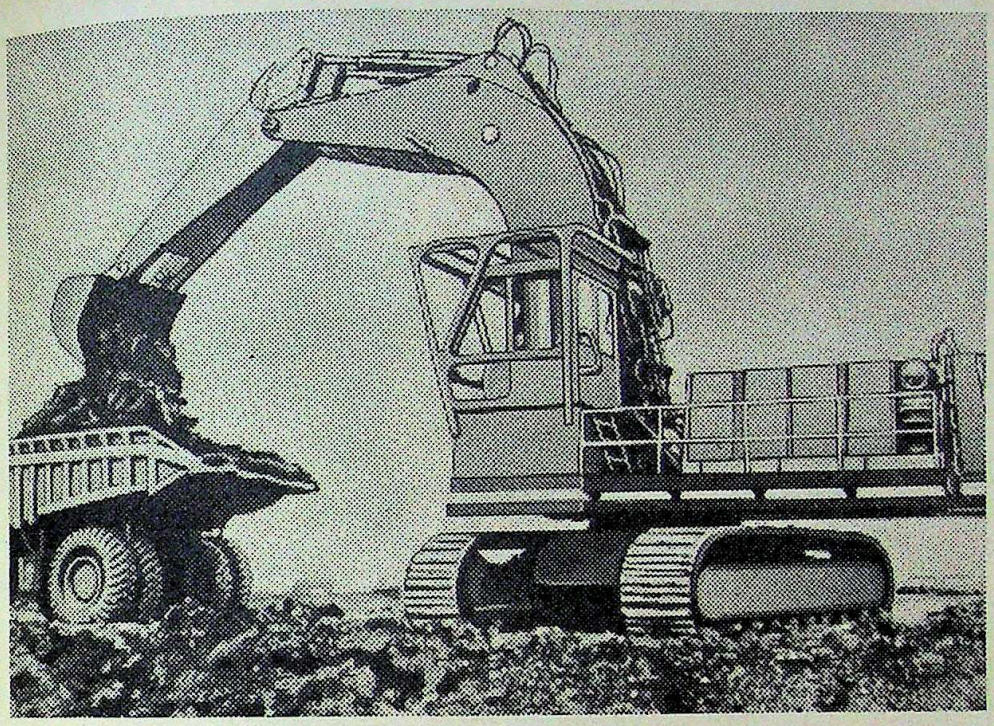

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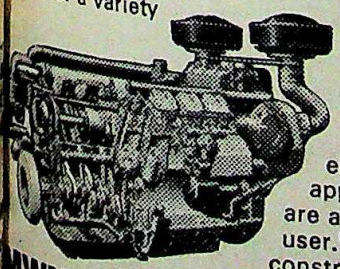

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» If the Indians are not happy with the no-war term, they can call the pact by any name they like.

—*General Zia-ul-Haq to newsmen in Bangkok*

» Antulay was not the one who created corruption. He was being protected by that lady (Mrs Gandhi), protected by the system. This perspective was totally lost. Even a man like Arun Shourie lost it.

—*Vijay Tendulkar in the* Sunday Observer

» Nothing hurts the ego of the male malefactor than to have his buttocks exposed to public gaze and a few stripes of the lash administered to them. It will knock all the machismo, the bravado and the daredevilry out of him for the rest of his life.

—*Khushwant Singh in* The Hindustan Times

» Freedom of the press is a pious concept and its sanctity should be safeguarded at all costs from the clutches of industrial barons who want to industrialise it for their own vested interests.

—*Arif Mohammad Khan, deputy minister of I&B, to the press in Kanpur*

» Mrs Gandhi has seen to it that there are only pygmies left in the Congress. And those allowed to make hostile gestures, she has made sure, do not have poisoned arrows.

—*Kuldip Nayar* in Current

» The Provincial Armed Constabulary is a force of dacoits. The force must be finished. It is a force of murderers and anyone who helps it is also a murderer.

—*Shahi Imam of Jama Masjid, Syed Abdullah Bukhari in* Onlooker

R.K. LAXMAN IN THE TIMES OF INDIA

» There is no denying that Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale is a kind of religious aberration and represents the forces of obscurantism. He would not mind India being balkanised if it meets his demand for a separate home for Sikhs.

—*B.M. Sinha in* The Illustrated Weekly of India

» She (Mrs Gandhi) is very insecure—both as a person and as a politician. I cannot understand why she feels so insecure...she was not an unloved child.

—*Mrs Gandhi's cousin Nayantara Sahgal in* Surya India

» If you abuse God you go to heaven—if you abuse Venkataraman you get a Magsaysay award.

—*R. Venkataraman in the Lok Sabha*

» I am making films, you idiot, not distributing *laddoos* that you accuse me of having given three to one son and none to the other.

—*Raj Kapoor in* Cine Blitz

» I am an ultra-modern girl...I have a good body that I sell for name, fame and money. Others dare not show their flabby middles.

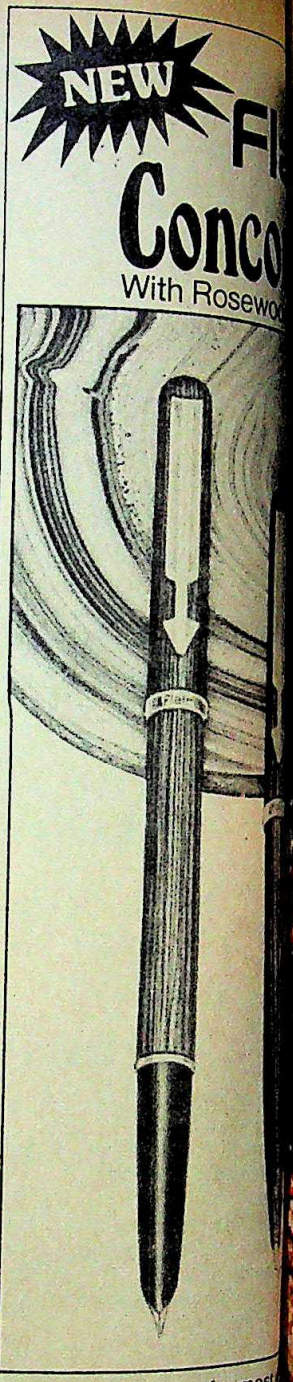
—*Kalpana Iyer in the* Sun

» To sabotage somebody's career is a very costly process. It's cheaper to shoot him dead!

—*Kamalahasan in* Stardust

» Why are you all caring so much for that Appu. If you give this poor Appu (pointing to himself) that much importance and publicity, I am ready to dance, prance and do acrobatics, including standing on my head.

—*Buta Singh, to the press in Jaipur*



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PPING OUT

If any more proof is ed that law and order cringing in a corner in r, it can be found in nda district where, until recently, Y.G. Sinha displaying a very com- dable flair for private prise by running a e station of his own. rding to the police—the McCoys, that is—Sinha

had converted a big hall in a small town in a remote part of the district into a 'police station', complete with handcuffs and filing cabinets. Sinha himself strode about in an impressive uniform, and was assisted by one 'assistant sub-inspector', two 'havildars', four 'constables' and three 'women constables'.

The 'police station' had been operative for the last few weeks and had built up a very remunerative practice by way of toll charges from shopkeepers and truck and bus owners of the area. The reputation of Bihar policemen being what it is, no one thought to complain. However, Sinha's game was up when the real lawmen arrived on a tour. They quickly hauled everybody in—peeved, perhaps, at the competition.

AINED!

The scuffle, the screams the getaway—an ordin- chain-snatching expe- ce, suffered by an ordi- y housewife on an ordi- y suburban train, travel- between Kalyan and ura, near Bombay. The man, her face white with , could do little as a g man ripped her *man- tra* and a gold chain off from her neck.

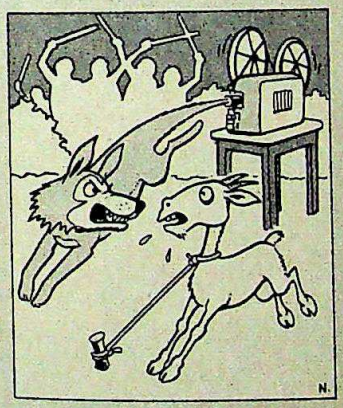
But before he jumped to safety, he could not resist dangling his prize in front of his victim, with a sneer on his face. And that was his undoing. For, as soon as the woman got off the train, she went home straight to her husband, a senior state intelligence officer. He promptly escorted her to police headquarters, where obliging policemen brought stacks of

pictures: the 'rogues gallery'.

The woman soon recognised the chain-snatcher's face—all because he had spent a few seconds jeering and had allowed her to 'photograph' him mentally. Armed with the description, detectives paid a quick visit to the underworld, in particular the suspect's haunts. Within hours, Ayub Shaikh, he who had held the clain aloft in triumph, was in jail.

YING WOLF

Wildlife Week was obser- last month, and for the dents of village Maha- pur, Sultanpur district, ar Pradesh, it ended in a her wild outing. On the day of the week, in the ing, the Nehru Yuvak dra was to project a film wildlife. As it was unlike- that the villagers would



see a film without Amitabh Bachchan in it, a few youths came up with an idea.

For some days now, a prowling wolf had been spreading terror in the fields. The young men stole a goat from a nearby village and concealed it in the fields close to where the projector was set up. Then one of them howled and cried. The villagers thought that the wolf was at it again, and rushed to the spot with sticks. They saw a wolf—on the screen—and proceeded to bash up the animal.

In no time at all, the screen was in pieces, the 'wolf' was 'dead'. However, their audience assured, the youth set up a new screen in a jiffy, and everyone sat down to watch the wolf again.

F THE RAIL

"All aboard for Jullun- t! All aboard for Jullun- r!" This welcoming cry heard at the New Delhi way Station last month, d it came from the larynx a bus driver. He was a y bus driver, and because was swaying on his feet e a pendulum, nobody red get into his bus.

All right, then, muttered I will go alone. So he ved up his bus, drove it refully through the little-

used State Entry Road, and eased it with exaggerated care over the rails. Engaging gears with a flourish, he started off for Jullundur, 344 km away.

However, the town was still 343 km and a few hundred metres away when the driver realised that, what with the uneven track, the signals and the fact that he was seeing four rails instead of two, his *gaddi* wasn't going to make it. A huge, cheering crowd watched him clamber down, wave defiantly and disappear. Two hours later, the track to Jullundur was finally freed by a crane which lifted the *gaddi* and swung it away. The bus driver probably got to Jullundur making more orthodox use of the track.

—Compiled by JAGANNATH DUBASHI

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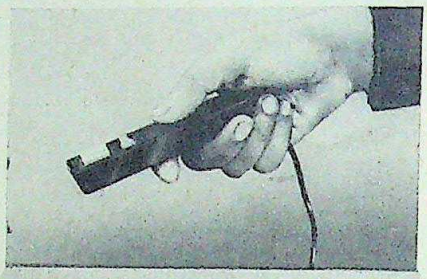

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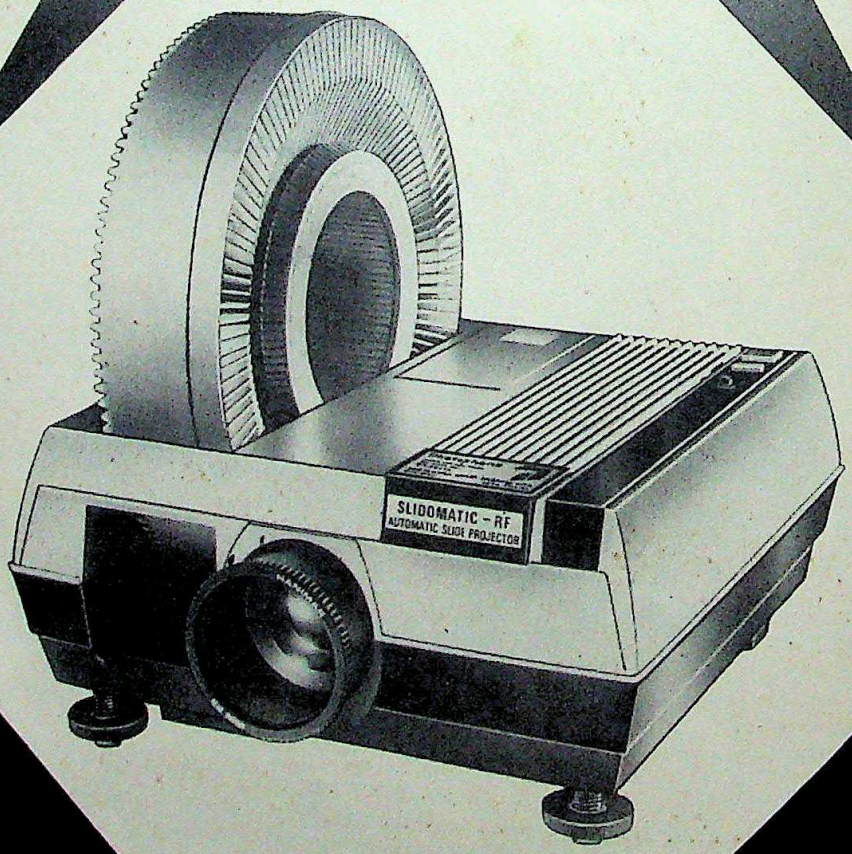

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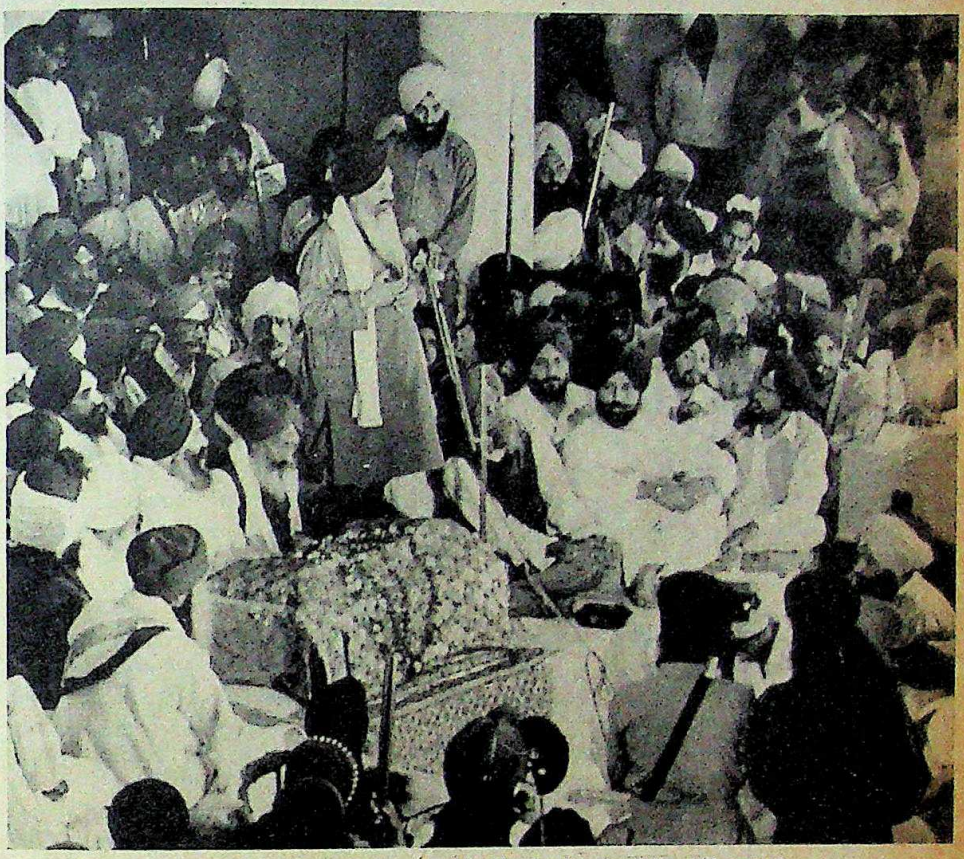
n The Horns Of A Dilemma

FROM the streets to the jails, from the jails to the negotiating table, and—when the talking stopped—back to the streets. Last fortnight, after parleys between the leaders Akali agitation and former de- inister Swaran Singh, an emis- the prime minister, fell to pieces, ear that a crucial confrontation was king. This time, however, the *jathas* r face the police only on the narrow Amritsar or in Punjab villages but gracious streets of New Delhi on er 19, when the IX Asiad gets ay. As Sant Harchand Singh l 'dictator' of the morcha, declared 0 followers in Amritsar on er 4, the Akalis were taking the war Centre's camp.

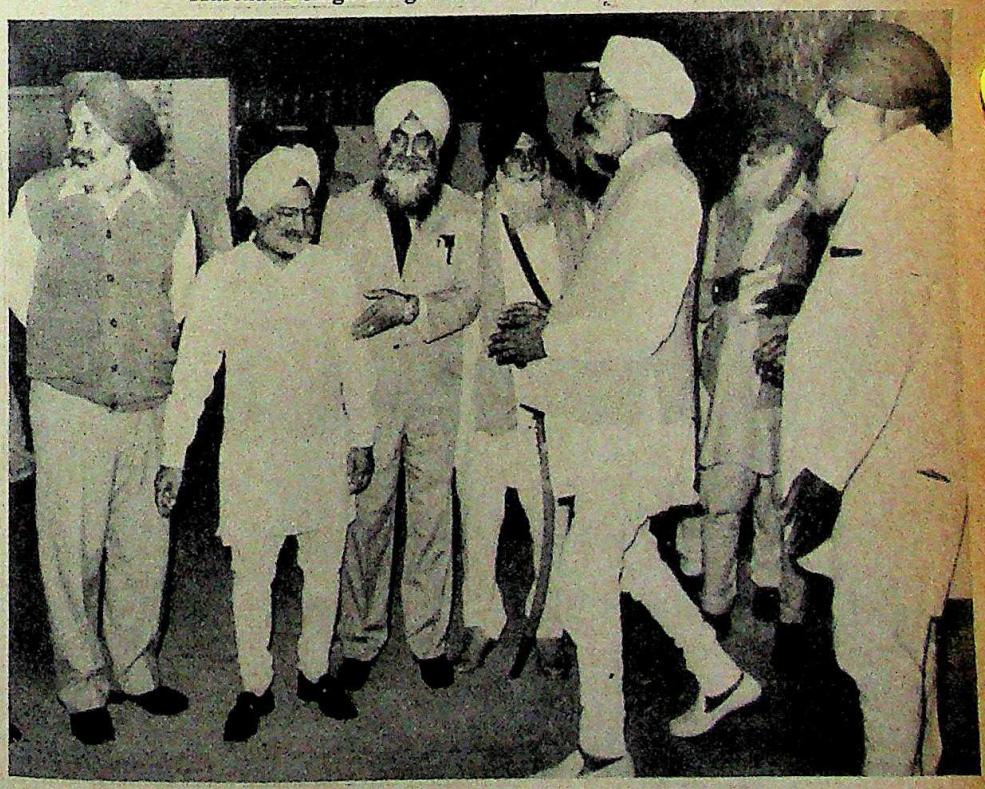
ther the Central Government nor nt Akalis can draw any pleasure e prospect of that second spectacle r Delhi's roads in the second half of r. The Government was hesitating soft words and blows in dealing agitation. The moderates in the mp were wondering how long they ep the agitation within limits by Khalistan extremists on a leash. Asiad organisers had pushed all the ttons within reach to try and ensure *jathas* did not get in the way of the

ant Mood: The moderate Akalis, were one of the first to feel sorry failure of the parleys, because at a congregation at the Manjhi Sahib Golden Temple precincts, the ex- obviously had the ear of the restive egislator Sukhjinder Singh, once a dvocate of Khalistan, misjudged d when he challenged the gathering ands if it really wanted Khalistan: a forest of palms. He asked taunt- hey were prepared to die for it: "Khalistan zindabad!" rent the air hands strained for the sky.

moderates led by Prakash Singh d Longowal could only control when they adopted a militant stand. l declared: "We shall fight Mrs n her home and lead *jathas* to show community during the Asiad that unjust to us. We will not let the ent sleep until our demands are " Longowal also announced that ld gherao Chief Minister Darbara erever he went. This rousing speech



Harchand Singh Longowal holds forth: morcha 'dictator'



Swaran Singh with Akali leaders: a failed dialogue.

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put the crowd back in his camp. It had earlier listened with frightening attention to the demand of a former state minister, Randhir Singh Cheema, that Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale lead them to a "home of our own".

The talks failed primarily because the Akalis insisted on an immediate commitment on their demands, both religious—like declaring Amritsar a holy city—and political—like the transfer of Chandigarh to Punjab. Mrs Gandhi might even have conceded the cosmetic ones—including the relay of the Gurbani from the Golden Temple and renaming an Amritsar-Delhi train the Golden Temple Express—but the condition for this was the withdrawal of the agitation and this the leaders, tuned in to their militant followers, were not prepared to do.

Breakdown: An attempt to revive the talks crashed in mid-air, with no Akali leader willing to stick his neck out. Only Balwant Singh, former state finance minister and the current Akali ideologue kept in touch with the Central leadership: last fortnight, he was in Delhi to impress upon the prime minister's advisers the implications of a fresh round of agitation. Says he: "We are not asking for the moon. Our demands are straight and simple. What is wrong if Mrs Gandhi honours her own decade-old award by transferring Chandigarh to Punjab immediately and accept our other demands which are just and genuine? But a kind of inertia has overtaken her Government."

By asking for the implementation of the Anandpur Sahib resolution (INDIA TODAY, November 15) the Akalis were asking for considerably more than the moon and no government could have done that and lived to tell the tale. There were, however, other factors that caused the breakdown in negotiations. Not the least of these was the fact that Swaran Singh—the Akalis refused to sit down with Darbara Singh—had no mandate to offer them a formula. Hence they had no choice but to restart the agitation suspended on October 20, or lose face. Says an Akali leader who had worked hard to bring both sides to the table: "Fielding Swaran Singh in this volcanic situation was just a charade on Mrs Gandhi's part. She is indecisive on our demands—both religious and political."

Swaran Singh also faced problems from within his own party. He had left Mrs Gandhi's side during the Janata regime and others felt that if he emerged victorious with his parleys, this would erode the political base of those who had stood by her three years ago. As a result, Mrs Gandhi, though earlier inclined to give her emissary elbow room, developed cold feet and Swaran Singh was reduced to a messenger.

Lobbies: Other pulls and pressures did their bit. For example, Lok Sabha Speaker Balram Jakhar and Union Law Minister Jagannath Kaushal reportedly argued that transferring Chandigarh to Punjab and Abohar and Fazilka to Haryana would be suicidal for the Congress(I). Jakhar was

Tohra (left) and Balwant Singh: militant

elected from Punjab and feels that the land-owning Jats of fertile Abohar and Fazilka would lose in terms of assured irrigation. Kaushal panicked because he represents Chandigarh in the Lok Sabha.

The Punjab Government did its bit to try and solve the tangle. It suggested that water be diverted from Rajasthan to Punjab's fields, as also the remission of a Rs 20-crore World Bank loan obtained by the Union Government to line the water distribution system canals with bricks—a step aimed at winning over the farmers, the Akalis' base in the state. It also urged a quick loan of Rs 100 crore to speed up construction of the Thein Dam. But it balked at releasing over 40 followers of Bhindranwale, out of the list of Akalis jailed over the last three months which had been handed over to Swaran Singh.

MRS GANDHI'S unwillingness to compromise got a much-needed boost when even opposition parties opposed any conciliatory approach. Although the Lok Dal shares its peasant following with the Akali Dal, leaders of both its factions demanded a ban on the party.

Lal (left) and Mathur: speaking out

Bharatiya Janata Party leaders [illegible] mning the Centre for "creating [illegible] problem, threatened an agitation [illegible] mands were accepted. Karan Singh [illegible] president of the Virat Hindu Sam[illegible] at a public meeting in Patna: "[illegible] can be given holy city status, the [illegible] cities like Allahabad, Varanasi [illegible] Mathura should also be de[illegible] cities."

Encouraged by the growing [illegible] the Akalis, even the panic-stricken [illegible] shopkeepers suddenly came out [illegible] shells and opposed the state Go[illegible] move to shift the tobacco shops [illegible] walled city. The Amritsar Cig[illegible] Traders Association resolved on [illegible] 9 to present a memorandum to [illegible] to protest against their uprooting [illegible] Amritsar Municipal Corporation.

Strident Campaign: The Co[illegible] high command, on its part, [illegible] campaign to complete the Akali [illegible] isolation. The chief ministers of [illegible] Rajasthan and Himachal Pradesh [illegible] earlier, began a tirade—sparked [illegible] Shiromani Gurudwara Pra[illegible] Committee chief G.S. Tohra's de[illegible] some Punjabi-speaking areas of [illegible] states be transferred to Punjab [illegible] Rajasthan's Shiv Charan Mathur [illegible] the demand to merge the state's [illegible] Nagar district with Punjab was [illegible] the Akalis' "narrow mentality". [illegible] Himachal Pradesh said that the [illegible] Punjabi-speaking district in [illegible] Haryana's Bhajan Lal, for one [illegible] entire Opposition behind him, de[illegible] all MLA's would resign from the [illegible] the Centre yielded to Akali [illegible] territorial issues.

The immediate need was to [illegible] Akalis from disrupting the Asiad [illegible] extremists and their dossiers were [illegible] to the concerned agencies at [illegible] abroad; the landing facility gran[illegible] igners who arrive without visas [illegible] led (*see page 23*). Home Minister [illegible] directed officials from Delhi, [illegible] Haryana to crush any attempt to [illegible] Games. Said a senior Home M[illegible] icial: "We cannot be cowed [illegible] handful of misguided elements [illegible] political gain is more importa[illegible] tional prestige."

Even as the Delhi Police we[illegible] to put up road-blocks at the bo[illegible] out the Akalis, Bhajan Lal he[illegible] meeting of deputy commissioners [illegible] officers. He directed them to [illegible] Akali leaders, cancel arms licence[illegible] permits and stop the movement of [illegible] looking people on November [illegible] earlier declared that he would [illegible] Akalis to reach Delhi via Haryana.

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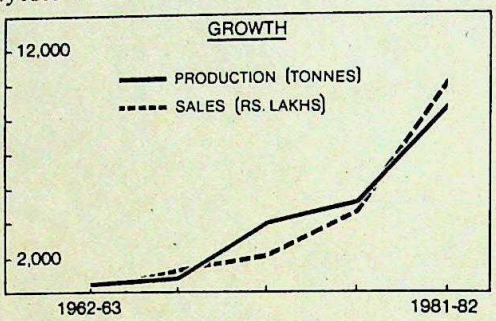

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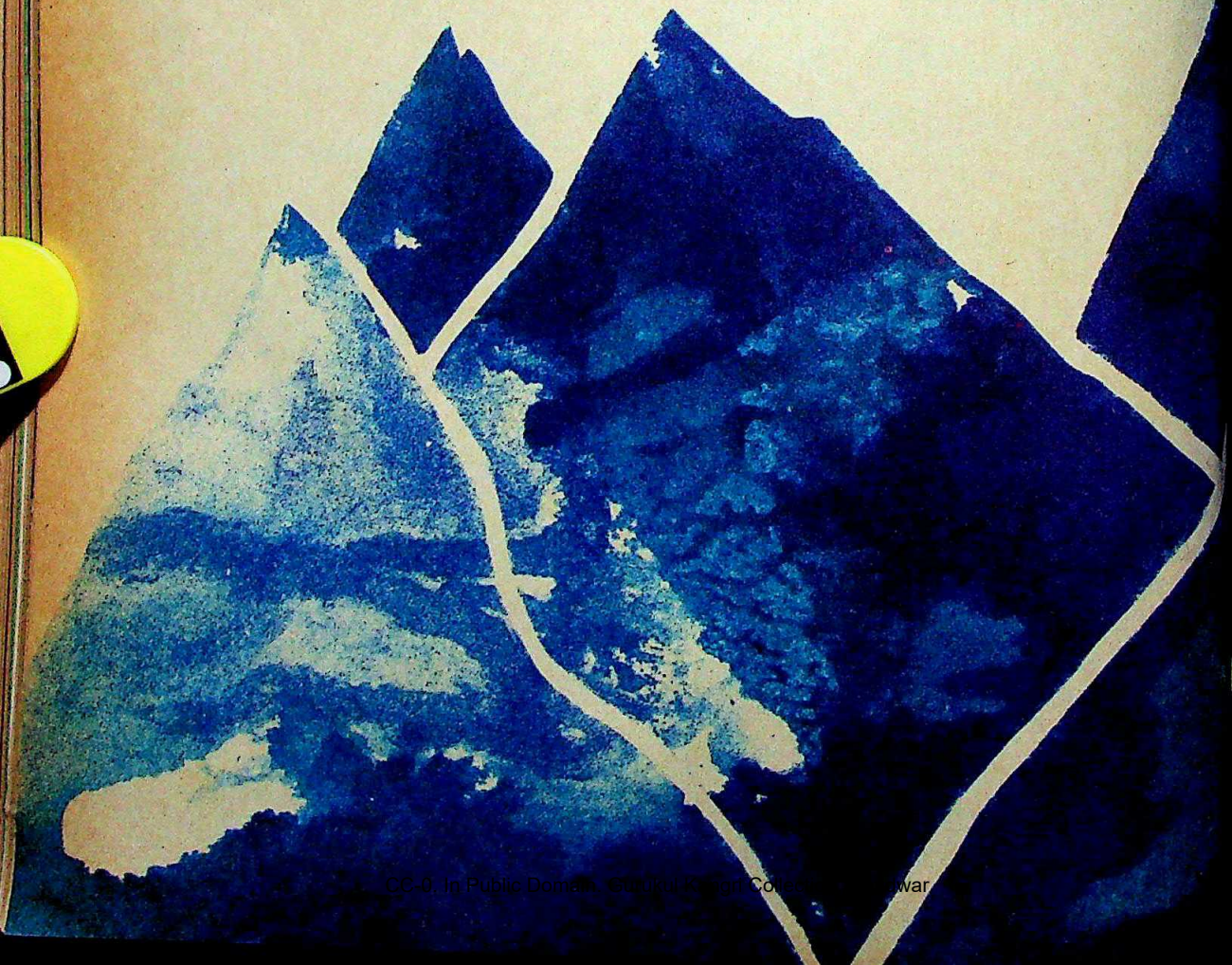

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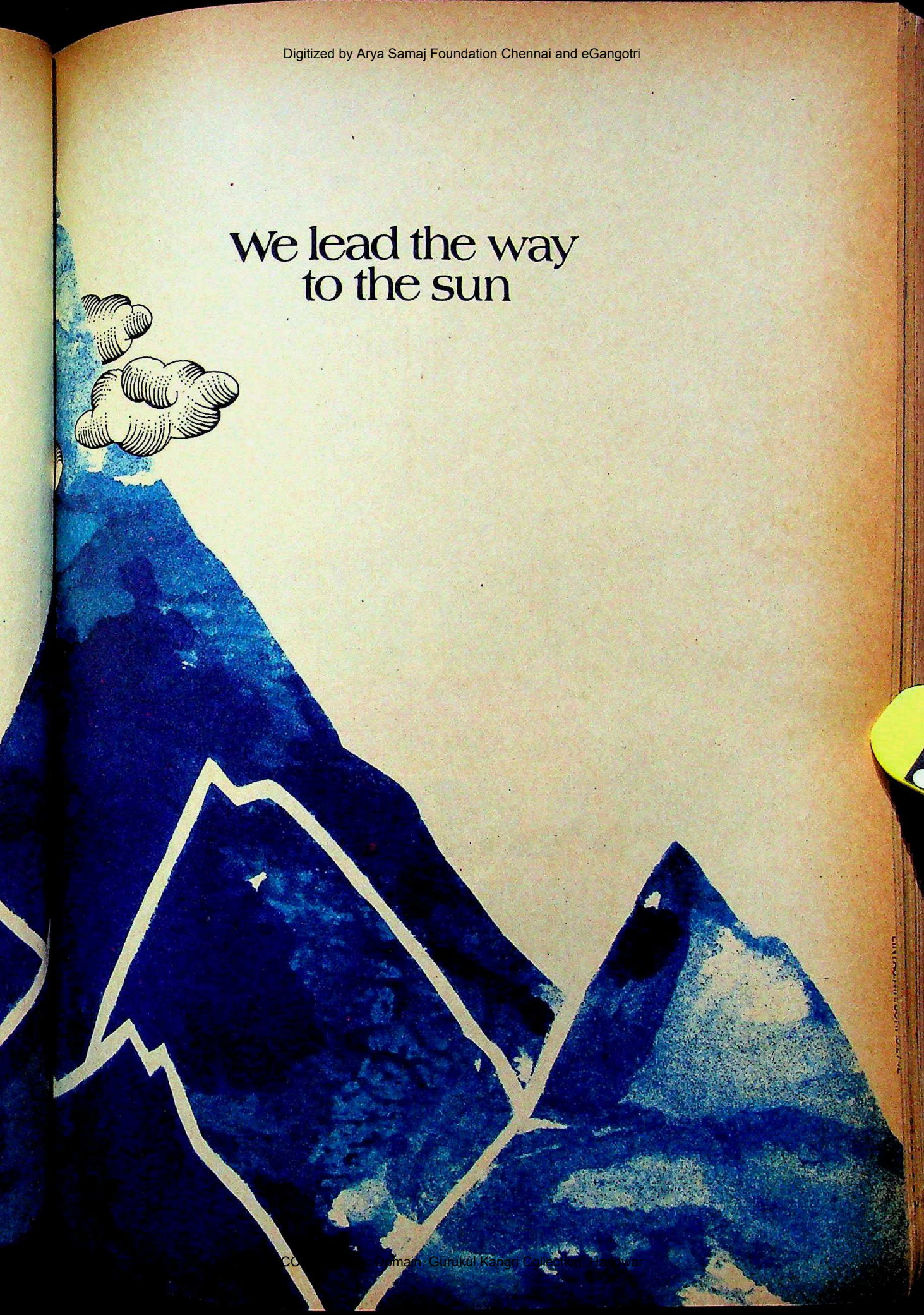

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...er Jagdev Singh Talwandi: "Who ...al Lal to stop us from going to Delhi? ...y the owner of the national highway ...longs to the nation. We are part and ...l India."

...king Terms: Mrs Gandhi was also ...g the possibility of opening the dia-. She discussed the situation with ... Singh and directed her Principal ... P.C. Alexander, Home Secretary ...haturvedi and Cabinet Secretary ...swamy Rao Saheb to look for ways ... the impasse. Many Punjab ...(I) leaders told her that calling off ...tiations in April 1982 had been ...productive. A dialogue was politi- ...d socially essential as communal ... were dangerously inflamed: for ... the first time Sikhs and Hindus did ...ly celebrate Dussehra and Guru ... Birthday in the state, an ominous ...f things of come.

...is argued that the moderates ought ...ngthened so that their hold re- ... intact. Longowal has not di- ... the five-member Akali panel which ... the front line of negotiations, a hint ... door is not completely shut. The ... were reportedly even prepared to ...e the Anandpur Sahib resolution. ... Centre needs to step very warily. ... a senior official of the Prime ...'s Secretariat: "If we don't tackle ...tion with a clear objective it may get ...nd. But for that we must know where the Akali leaders stand in their own community. Frankly, we are trapped in the middle of a tunnel with no sign of the light at its end."

PRAMOD PUSHKARNA

Men and women assembled to court arrest: religious fervour

If the Central Government is more than uneasy about the situation, wavering between a hawkish and a dovish stand, and worrying about the possibility of the extremists taking shelter in Pakistan if passions finally run away with the men, the Akali leaders are in no better spirit. As Tohra puts it resignedly: "We shall have to go by the mood. In the lap of the militants we shall have to live up to our announcements. That will only feed separatism and we shall not be responsible for that." If the Akalis disrupt the Asian Games, it will be only one act in a colossal tragedy.

—PRABHU CHAWLA with GOBIND THUKRAL in Chandigarh

...SAS

...lip Flop

THE GOVERNMENT'S shifting policies on tourism have long baffled both tourists and the people in ... trade. But last fortnight's sudden ...nouncement that starting November 6 ... ending December 5, visitors would ...longer be able to pick up a tourist visa ... the airport, but would have to acquire ... before arriving here has sent tre- ...s through the tourism industry.

After some persistent lobbying done ... the travel trade the decision changed ...ain—24 hours after the first announce- ...nt: the Government exempted those ...velling in group tours who had done ...er bookings before November 6. Said a ...ome Ministry official: "Groups can ...w come in without a visa, provided the ...ur operator undertakes a guarantee ...at all the members are travelling tog- ...er and will not drop out."

The slight reversal will not, however, ...ar up all the problems. Highlighting ...e most important one, M.K. Kannan, northern region chairman of the Travel Agents Association of India, said: "The Government should have given us more notice and not announced the policy overnight. Although it won't affect our tours, those coming on their own are bound to run into trouble." Kannan is probably right. Of the 75,000 tourists expected during the Asian Games, only 25 per cent will be travelling on group tours. Of the remaining, as many as 25,000 will be in for some unpleasant surprises because of the new regulations, speculated an industry source.

What seems to be a last minute decision was apparently arrived at almost six weeks ago, but was not announced according to a Home Ministry official, because it would have alerted the 'trouble makers' who might be heading for New Delhi during this time. The ministry has got wind of a possible terrorist attack and in order to ensure that nothing untoward happens is willing to sacrifice some of the revenue from tourists.

Home Ministry officials are sceptical about the losses feared by the tourism industry. Said the official: "We have informed all agencies in India, the embassies abroad and the foreign airlines which have offices in India. There is ample time for those wanting to come to India to get a visa." Travel agents disagree as many tourists may have started on the first leg of their journey before the announcement. The Home Ministry has a ready remedy. All persons who were issued tickets before November 6 will be permitted to enter. The police have been entrusted with the job of checking the tickets as well as ascertaining whether the visitor is genuinely a tourist at the immigration counter. Given the usual level of inefficiency at Indian airports, this will only add to the confusion.

The quick changes in the visa policy has already taken its toll. According to a trade source, before the policy was amended in favour of group tours, Air-India off-loaded a group of tourists at Rome because they did not have Indian visas. With the Government reviving up its public relations machine, such moves are bound to detract from the efforts to successfully sell India.

—ASOKA RAINA

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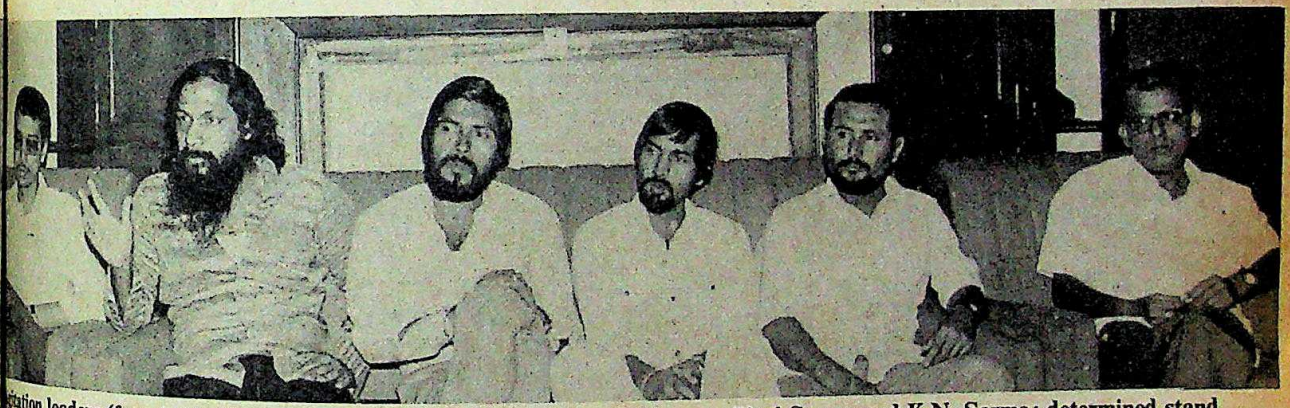
ispended Agony

IT WAS a paradigm of an anticlimax—a government that worked interminably at the negotiating table, headlines that went through a crushingly predictable cycle, and at the end, to a much-worn square one.

week's talks with the Assam leaders began as usual on a optimism"—with as many as seven ministers participating—pro well, acquired a "silver lining", ended abruptly as they "bogged It seemed the talks would never be out of the quagmire. The All Students Union (AASU) president Mahanta pointed out that it was th round of talks with the



itation leaders (from left) Phukan, Bora, Latif Rajkhowa, Nayen Sharma, Biraj Sarma and K.N. Sarma: determined stand

ent since the agitation began in 79, and the sixth time that oppo- ties had participated.

h the agitation itself in a state of d animation, the latest round of had been touted as "decisive", be- the imperative of elections to the Assembly before March 18 next loomed over the negotiators. 's rule had been imposed in this year after two Congress(I) ministers, Anwara Taimur and Gogoi, failed by hook or by o hang on to a tenuous majority in embly. In effect, Assam's democ- stitutions have long ceased to the only representatives from the Parliament belong to the predo- y Bengali area of Cachar, which t out of the agitation.

thering: The Government's lack of ation was reflected in the fact that it had come to depend on a formula devised by Janata Party MP Ravindra Varma, who proposed on August 26 that the question of deciding who exactly was a foreigner should be left to quasi-judicial tribunals.

This time around, the agitation leaders appeared willing to climb down considerably from their original hardline demand that all post-1951 immigrants to Assam be deported from the state. "Our demand now is that Bangladeshi immigrants in the period 1951–61 can be granted citizenship if—and this is an important condition—the 1961–71 immigrants are disenfranchised and dispersed elsewhere in India, and all post-1971 immigrants are deported from the country," says Bhrigu Kumar Phukan, AASU's general secretary.

There were abundant signs of the Government's uncertainty. On October 21 Prime Minister Indira Gandhi constituted a 15-member election committee, headed by Assam Congress(I) chief Harendra Talukdar, in anticipation of the polls being held on schedule. On November 5, a day before the talks with agitation leaders were to begin, however, the Government discussed with opposition leaders a possible amendment of Article 356 of the Constitution, so as to allow extension of President's rule (only in Assam) by another year. It fell to the Opposition to point out that such a move would hardly help dispel the atmosphere of suspicion surrounding the talks.

Agitationists' Stand: In Delhi, however, the agitation leaders were strangely ambiguous about a constitutional amendment. Said Phukan: "Constitutional amendments are not our concern. They are Parliament's responsibility." Added All Assam Gana Sangram Parishad (AAGSP) convenor Atul Bora: "We can discuss an amendment, merely because the very process of implementing an agreement will take at least nine months, and go beyond the March 1983 deadline."

Any settlement of the Assam tangle will now have to sort out the thorny question of deciding the fate of illegal immigrants between 1961 and 1971. AASU's estimate is that 1.2 millon people immigrated to Assam from the then East Pakistan, while Varma conservatively estimates the total to be 1.6 lakh. In another major climb down, the agitation leaders have agreed that Assam should retain all 1961–71 immigrants who were granted citizenship certificates by the Assam government; these number 30,000 in all. But the agitationists insist that they cannot recognise citizenship certificates given by the West Bengal and Tripura governments, estimated to total 120,000. "We were even willing to allow immigrants with no citizenship rights to stay on until elections," says Bora. "But the Government has been singularly immature."

Sharp differences between the two sides also arose on two other issues. The agitation leaders said that the tribunals proposed by Varma could not decide eligibility for citizenship—they could only detect foreigners. "Moreover," says Bora, "we pointed out that Proviso 2 to Section 2 of the Immigrants (Expulsion from Assam) Act of 1950 would cause complications. It would allow Hindu immigrants—the minority in Bangladesh—who had fled for cultural or religious reasons, to stay on. The Government wants to exclude them from deportation. But we say that everybody, Hindu or Muslim, must go if he is an alien."

Increasingly, however, the Government has been forced to recognise that the agit-

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ation has justifiable grounds. It has officially declared that 116,000 illegal immigrants were detected between 1961 and May 1982, of whom 111,244 have been deported. Electoral rolls in 1979 showed an astonishing increase of 1.2 million voters over the 1977 lists. A secret Home Ministry study has concluded that the Assamese constitute minorities in as many as 85 of the state's 126 Assembly constituencies.

LAST fortnight, as the talks headed towards another stalemate, Ravindra Varma was asked to amend his earlier formula. Varma proposed on November 8 that the 1961–71 immigrants could be divided into four categories. Those who had obtained citizenship certificates from "competent authorities", and those who had been rehabilitated or resettled by the Assam government, but had not got citizenship, could stay on the electoral rolls. Those who had neither obtained citizenship nor rehabilitation but had their names on electoral rolls, and other patently illegal immigrants, would qualify for dispersion.

The agitation leaders, however, rejected the formula. Said Mahanta; "It is an election-oriented formula. Obviously the opposition parties want to have elections, as much as the Government does."

That was only too obvious. As the agitation has dragged on, the political parties in Assam have become sharply polarised with most non-Left opposition parties tacitly taking the Government's side. The Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) and the Rashtriya Swyamsevak Sangh (RSS) have gained a lot of support from Hindu immigrants who fear that they might be deported. All other "minorities", mostly Bengali, have fallen in behind the Communist Party of India-Marxist (CPI-M) with the Congress(I) itself trying to woo minority voters. "There has been a communalisation of the agitation," alleges Atul Bora. "The Government has supported the formation of the All Assam Minorities Students Union and the Citizens' Rights Preservation Committee."

Dangerous Portents: Inevitably, political analysts have perceived the Government as caught between two thorny problems—Khalistan and Assam. But the agitation leaders insist that their movement is not as "communal and inherently secessionist" as Khalistan; "We are fighting for India," says Mahanta, "and for the Constitution."

But the agitation leaders insist that a renewed agitation will once again generate mass support. Sources say that a total break-off of negotiations might even lead to a fresh outbreak of violence, and that agitation leaders are standing by to go underground if that eventuality should arise. Significantly, the AASU and AAGSP representatives supported BJP MP Jaswant Singh's suggestion that foreigners could be detected on a "house-to-house" basis.

Such a census-like operation would provoke violent resistance from the illegal settlers, who inhabit well-defended villages in the *char* areas on the banks of the Brahmaputra, and are "ruled" by feudal headmen called *matabbors*. To this Bora retorts: "Doesn't the Government have agencies like the army and the Border Security Force? The BSF has been encouraging illegal immigration."

Angry rhetoric of this kind reflects the frustration of the hardliners in the agitation. Observers have noted that AASU represents the moderate elements, while the AAGSP—which includes militant members of the Purbanchaliya Lok Parishad and the Assam Jatiyatabadi Dal—takes a more rigid stand.

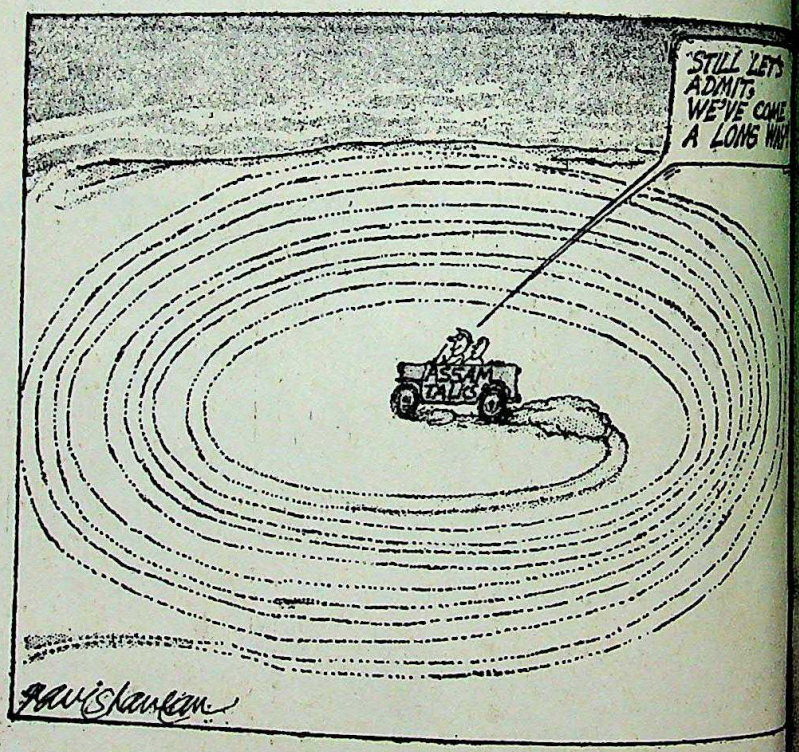
Limited Options: Aware of these undercurrents, the Government has moved in the recent past to hold out some sops to the agitationists. On October 11, R.V. Subramaniam, adviser to the Assam Governor, announced that government employees would get drastic increases in their payscales, with retrospective effect from January 1, 1981. Defence Minister R. Venkataraman announced that "indigenous" Assamese would be offered constitutional safeguards for the educational and employment ri

On November 9, when the adjourned until December 6— that would allow the Governm the Asian Games over with raman and Home Minister P.C. ered to visit Assam later this inspect the state's border with and look into complaints that continue and the border guarded.

Even if the fate of the who entered Assam between 1971 is decided, it will give rise logistical—and human—problem Government. Already, the govern West Bengal and Tripura, appe that they will be asked to abso immigrants who are dispersed, ing to challenge such a decision.

As the fortnight ended, it though the Government would to delay a settlement by convening cial session of Parliament after Games to pass a constitutional ment and extend President's Assam. The agitation leaders, part, returned to Gauhati to pu revised formula before their committees, and to decide on launch a fresh phase of the Before very long, Assam prom vade the headlines yet again miliar, weary cycle—going from through progress to stalemate.

—CHAITANY



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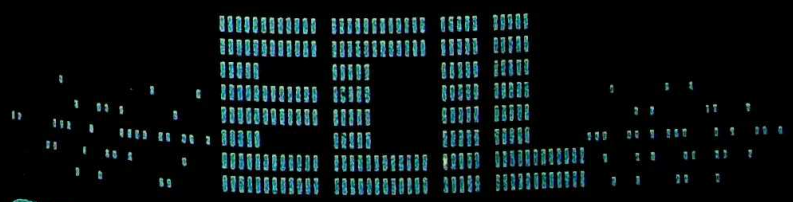

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urricane Havoc

AS a visitation of grief and rvation, a cruel twist to the ering Gujarat was already shrouded eorologists first noticed the cyclone over the Arabian Sea on er 5, 1,200 km to the south-west Forty-eight hours later it was just to the south-west of Bombay, and rapidly for the city. As storm went up in Bombay port, city ators prepared for any by warning schoolchildren and ers to stay home the following

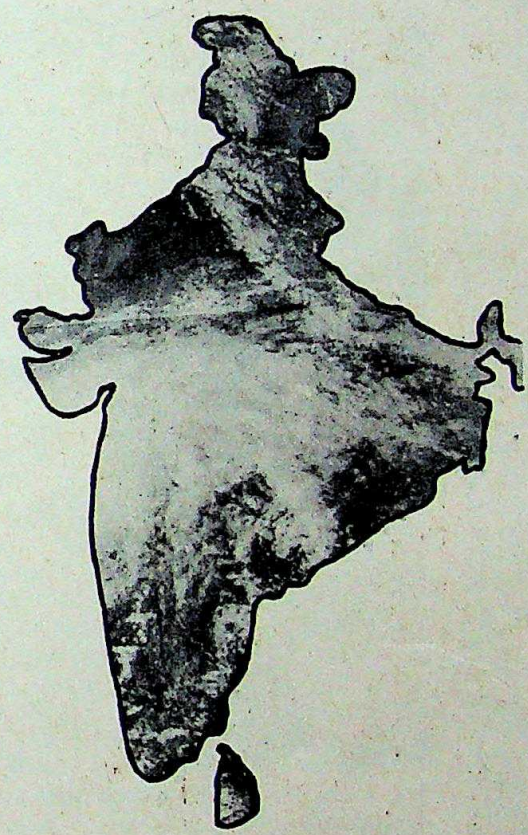
y on November 8, the radar at (range: 400 km) picked up the by ere cyclone and thereafter kept it nstant surveillance. Then the storm veered on a north-north-easterly wards Gujarat. It hit somewhere Veraval and the Union territory that evening. By midday November yclone had simmered down to a m. The damage it wrought was other example of how fickle the gods could be.

ere Damage: More than 50,000 sq Gujarat's coastal districts bore the f the cyclone. Veraval town looked gh a giant hand had chopped its houses and trees, leaving water to a depth of a metre and a The gale exceeded 200 kmph in and Bhavnagar and Baroda crippling electricity failures.

e storm left its mark on northern Maharashtra, too. Winds of 90 hed Raigadh and Thane districts, 500-tonne oil tanker sank at the harf in Bombay, while an oil with 350 people aboard began dangerously towards the Gujarat

ce again, the administration in had been caught totally ared. Chief Minister Madhavsinh who was in Delhi, managed to ck to his state only when he ompanied Prime Minister Indira and Rajiv Gandhi on the ory aerial survey of the cyclone-areas on November 10. Home er Prabodh Raval coordinated of the panic-stricken, post-facto operations—which were in any case n satisfactory.

e cyclone took a steep toll. The rnment's official estimate (which be much below the actual figure) the total number of deaths at 380—one of the worst-ever. Amreli and Bhavnagar districts were the worst hit, and huge stretches of coconut and groundnut land was laid waste. Rajkot alone lost cotton worth Rs 29 crore, and cold storages in Veraval—which handle much of India's fish exports—began to warm dangerously due to power failure. At least 60,000 dwellings were destroyed in the hurricane, and 4.5 million people were affected in 4,500 villages. At least 28,000 people had been evacuated until November 10; the loss of cattle amounted to 30,000 heads.



Satellite picture of the cyclone: devastating fury

The death toll could not have been authoritative, because relief teams found themselves cut off from the affected towns for as long as 72 hours after the cyclone had passed. Una town, for instance, had to be linked up by the Space Applications Centre via the APPLE satellite for four hours of contact every day with the outside world. The extent of damage in Bhavnagar, Kheda, Amreli, Broach, and Panchmahal districts, said affected people, was much more than any government official could guess at.

Calamities: Mrs Gandhi issued the usual statement promising all help to the stricken state. But the fact remained that the cyclone had struck at a particularly inauspicious time. Fishermen on the Saurashtra coast had disregarded storm warnings, and put out to sea. Until November 11, at least 42 boats had sunk and 600 more were missing from Dwarka, Okha, Salaya and Porbandar ports.

Worse, Gujarat had been reeling under an unprecedented drought this year. Just two weeks before the cyclone hit, the state Government announced that 10,000 of the state's 18,725 villages were scarcity-affected, and the Central Government had been desperately petitioned for 85,000 tonnes of wheat, rice and coarse grains. The state Government's estimates, then, were that more than Rs 200 crore would be needed in Central assistance to tide over the drought. To top it all, Gujarat was blighted by a severe shortage of electricity, the shortfall touching 700 mw by end October.

It was ironical that the cyclone should bring water to areas that had been the most drought-hit—Amreli, Panchmahal and Broach districts, for instance. But it was a case of the pendulum swinging from one extreme to the other, just as Orissa had, two months earlier, been struck first by drought and then by a cyclone. Government officials in Ahmedabad and Gandhinagar seemed numbed by the rapid succession of calamities, and it looked at fortnight's end as if an already beleaguered Centre would be able to only partially salve the wounds.

Cyclones are an essential part of the mechanism by which excess heat received from the sun in equatorial latitudes is conveyed towards higher latitudes. If there were no cyclones, equatorial heat and polar cold would intensify to unbearable limits. That Gujarat played its part in maintaining this balance was the unkindest cut of all.

—CHAITANAYA KALBAG

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ORISSA

Declaration Of War

LAST fortnight, Mrs Gandhi had to cope with a fresh burst of infighting. Twelve of the 28 Congress(I) MP's from Orissa—including Jayanta Patnaik, the chief minister's wife—led by Chintamani Jena, the president of the Orissa Pradesh Congress Committee(I) (OPCC-I), trooped into the prime minister's house in Delhi on November 6 to submit a detailed memorandum. The butt of their anger: Ram Chandra Rath, Union minister of state for chemicals and fertilisers. The memorandum requested Mrs Gandhi to initiate disciplinary action against Rath for allegedly encouraging dissident activities in the state and openly defying the fiats of the state Government.

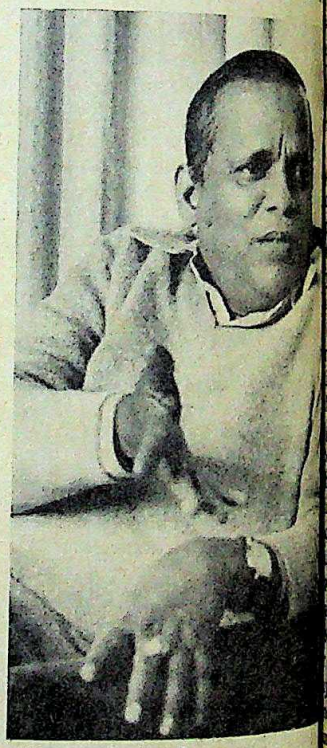
The memorandum was the fall-out of Rath's visit to Orissa at the end of October. According to the memorandum, he addressed over half a dozen public meetings and in some of his speeches was highly critical of the state Government, accusing it of neglecting the 20-point programme and making false promises. Rath was somewhat guarded in his criticism compared to MLA's like former state minister Kanu Charan Lenka, Bipin Das, and Sheikh Mujib Ali, chief whip of the legislature party who pulled no punches in denigrating the administration.

At a public meeting on October 23 in Chowdraw, 50 km from Bhubaneswar, the three militant MLA's declared war on Chief Minister Janaki Ballabh Patnaik, who they claimed had performed dismally on every front. Lenka, who was sacked by Patnaik from the ministry last year, presided over the meeting. Stormed Lenka: "Corruption in the Government is rampant. Police *zoolum* and atrocities on loyal Congress(I) workers are mounting. Let Patnaik not think that he has taken a permanent lease on the state." Added Das: "This government is only temporary."

Pressure: Help for Patnaik came when the pro-chief minister faction in the 115-member legislature party launched a counter-offensive. Pressure started mounting on the high command to discipline Rath and the the defiant MLA's. Pro-Patnaik leaders from various districts dashed off memorandums to All India Congress Committee(I) (AICC-I) headquarters, as well as tape-recorded speeches of Rath at his meetings in the state.

But the victory of the Patnaik forces was not complete. Mrs Gandhi decided to serve a show-cause notice to only the three "erring" MLA's and exonerated Rath from all charges. The high command's verdict was followed on November 4 by AICC(I) General Secretary G.K. Moopanar's announcement that the three Congress(I) MLA's had been asked to explain their outbursts against the state Government. This undoubtedly boosted the sagging morale of the Patnaik camp, although Mrs Gandhi's stand on Rath has placed the chief minister in an embarrassing position.

PRAMOD PUSHKARNA



Rath (left) and Patnaik: joining battle

Meanwhile, Rath tried to justify his "attack" on the state Government. Said he: "I only said that whoever sabotaged the 20-point programme will not be spared by the prime minister. What is wrong with that statement? Is it anti-party activity?"

The episode shows that Mrs Gandhi means to keep Patnaik on his toes. Rath was instrumental in securing the chief ministership for Patnaik during the Emergency and also after the 1980 Assembly elections. The two fell out after Sanjay's death, when Patnaik started ignoring Rath's supporters in the legislature party. When Rath's name was being considered for inclusion in the Central Cabinet last year, Patnaik supporters in the party's rank objected.

Although Mrs Gandhi gave free hand to drop or include his Cabinet, his stock with command nose-dived after M and Rajiv visited the state. D visit they were informed Congress(I) leaders, including prominent MLA's, that Patnai about the economic developm state were highly exagger impression was reinforced when team visited Orissa in Au submitted an unfavourable repo implementation of the programme.

The most severe blow to credibility came when it was his government was far behind of establishing new industries Rs 1,000 crore during his five-ye which ends in June 1985. month, the state Government able to attract only Rs 400 crore actual private investment.

While the state is beset by ills, dissidence feeds on them. If on, more MLA's will most sinecures to persuade them attacking the chief minister. D favours is the time-tested tech survival in office, but how long chief minister keep the wolves door with his crumbs?

—PRABH

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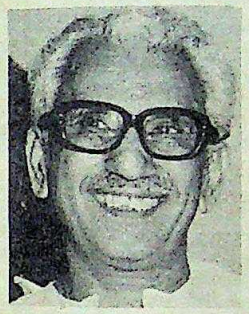
cking The Boat

IT'S EVERY man for himself in Kerala. This comes as no surprise to observers in this state of the politically hyperconscious, but Chief Minister K. Karunakaran must be wishing that e who have come together under gave Kerala one of its perennially alition governments would not already leaky boat with such vi- they have been doing lately. e more enthusiastic boat rockers Minister N. Sreenivasan who ac- own partymen and the other So- Republic Party (SRP) MLA in the Vijaya Rajan, of money from liquor Rajan promptly split SRP group and threa- leave the ruling front nasan was not given ing orders from the



Karunakaran: a leaky coalition

of course, did not ring the House down nakaran's neck, with leaders sneering at ty to hold his sq- flock together. How- Opposition, particu- Congress(S), laughed on the of its face when Sreenivasan that he had persuaded C.G. of that party to join the SRP. is a party of the Ezhavas and also announced that more would be joining him. Home Vayalar Ravi drove the point ing: "It is not a defection but the of a sinking ship."

nterthrust: Despite Ravi's proud inking ships, the President of his ongress(A), T. Radhakrishnan, dis- of Janardanan's defection and the state should put pressure on the to enact a law to prevent such ts." The state is unlikely to do so, it was a defecting A.K. Antony ested Karunakaran in the first

ony, for his part, is constantly re- the Congress(I) chief minister that ort is not to be taken for granted: of the Youth Congress(A) have marching from Kasargod to rum focussing attention on, and ng the eradication of corruption, ther things. Says G. Karthikeyan, aran's blue-eyed boy and president of the state Youth Congress(I): "Antony's boys' manner of speaking against the administration in its cool shadow is ridiculous." Antony retorted that his "boys" and his party are restrained compared to other parties in Karunakaran's patchwork.

He has a point. M. Kamalam, minister for cooperation and leader of the rebel three-man Janata Party group, is threatening to quit: Kamalam is considerably peeved over the "lethargic attitude" of the Congress(I) leadership in solving the issue arising out of the forcible occupation of the Janata Party's Tellicherry office by Congress(I) workers. Elsewhere, the rift between both Kerala Congresses continues to widen every day. Revenue Minister P.J. Joseph gave his Cabinet colleagues an unpleasant shock when he said that an urban land ceiling bill would be introduced in the next session. National Democratic Party Chairman K.G. Pillai—a close friend of Joseph's arch rival K.M. Mani—charged: "Joseph had no business to come out with public statements on policy matters on which neither the Government nor the liaison committee of the ruling front has taken any final decision." Retorted Joseph: "The imposition of urban land ceilings was one of the points in the ruling front's election manifesto."

Besides the usual unendearing tapestry of thrust and counterthrust, the ministry is facing other serious problems. In the five months of its existence, it has amassed a huge deficit of Rs 60 crore which might well swell to Rs 100 crore by the end of the year. Among the goodies the Government has spend on are hikes in the travel allowance and emoluments of the ministers, the decision to acquire a fleet of escort cars and a helicopter, and air-conditioned comfort for ministers in their offices and at home. One of the smaller items is reportedly two smuggled pens bought at the market at Varkala near Trivandrum for the swearing-in of the new Governor P. Ramachandran. Said K.G. Marar, general secretary of the state unit of the Bharatiya Janata Party: "The pens cost the state exchequer Rs 556."

Costly Promise: One of the more costly acts of the state Government has been the creation of a new district, Kerala's thirteenth, of Pathanamthitta, carved out of Quilon and Alleppey districts on November 1. It was born out of a promise made by Karunakaran to K.K. Nair, the independent MLA from Pathanamthitta, whose support was crucial to Karunakaran when his pre-election ministry survived on a few votes. According to Joseph, Nair's pound of flesh cost Rs 2 crore to set up.

The new district is perhaps the best example of financial and political recklessness. But the rulers have also to contend with the 'follies' of others. The Government's import policy has ruined the coconut farmers in the state. A ministerial delegation headed by the chief minister went to New Delhi but returned with no firm promise from the prime minister. Said E.K. Nayanar, former chief minister: "Unless there is a ban on import of coconut oil it will disrupt the economy of the state."

Nayanar is getting ready to lead a movement—a series of agitations—that will draw attention to the "misrule that has plunged the state into a crisis of unprecedented magnitude". Revolutionary Socialist Party strongman Baby John sums up the outcome in a colourful simile: "Karunakaran's ministry will crash down like the Skylab." With things the way they are at present, that could be more than wishful thinking. —SREEDHAR PILLAI

GUJARAT

Communal Cauldron

NO ONE in Baroda was really surprised when the communal cauldron boiled over again. After all, its citizens have been sent scurrying behind doors for safety 16 times already this year and the times were tailor-made for nights of the communal knives: the nine days of Navratri—the traditional Hindu festival of nine nights of dancing—and the Muslim occasion of Muharram. When the fires finally died down early this month, leaving seven dead and scores injured over a searing week of hate, the aftermath was made up of equal parts of allegations of police excesses and stories of shadowy operators inciting communal frenzy with, as a bonus, the explosive report of a Congress(I) committee that charged that ruling party politicians and police officers had taken sides in the madness.

The first sign that Baroda was not going to enjoy a peaceful Navratri and Muharram came on the night of October 23 in the Navapura area. Persons accompanying the *tazia* quarrelled with fisherwomen squatting on the road and the

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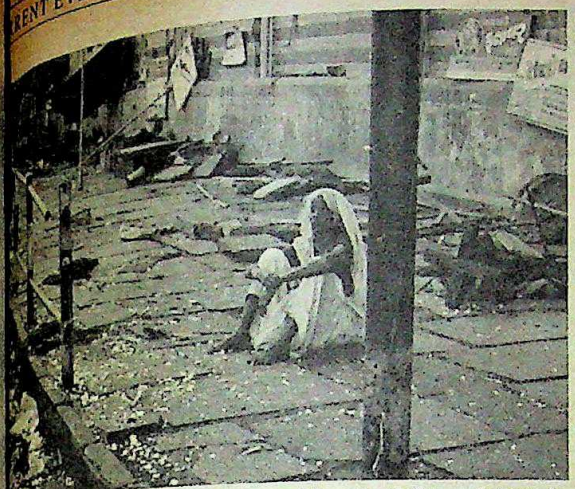

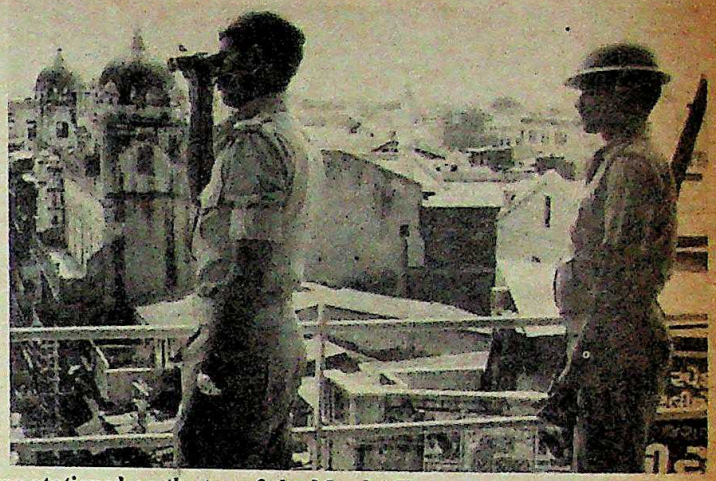

Flower stalls damaged near Nyaya Mandir (left) and SRP jawans stationed on the top of the Mandvi Tower: an uneasy peace

had to fire on the resulting mob; 25 were injured. On October 27, at 9 paralysis gripped Navapura after a was stabbed to death. Three hours a *tazia* procession from the gura locality was stoned by mis- near Koyli Falia. The friction be- these two areas dates back to when a Koyli Falia 'dada' was to death in broad daylight.

The police, admittedly, had mounted vigil in sensitive localities in view Hindu and Muslim festivals. But in of the October 23 warning the local was not reinforced. State Reserve (SRP) units usually available in the were deployed in other districts where ministration feared trouble. An ad- SRP company which reached on October 24 was withdrawn two later.

Developing Violence: The result was police were too late to prevent the from spreading to other parts of Patel Falia, Fatehpura and nda. Four persons died that October and sharp weapons inflicted se- injuries on at least 24 others. Mobs to six shops, two houses, several carts and a motorcycle.

The situation was fast getting out of and the police had to fire 15 rounds than 20 tear-gas shells to con- the mobs. They imposed an indefinite in areas covered by four police sta- Wadi, City, Kareli Baug and and the army was called in. the next week, three more persons in stabbing incidents which had now the commonplace. Several more were Minor incidents of arson and were reported almost every day November 3, when calm at last re- to Baroda.

After the deluge, an embarrassed state ment announced that it was investigating the riots. Said Chief Minister Madhavsinh Solanki, who visited the city on November 5: "It appears that there are some forces at work in Baroda which whip up communal tensions. The Home Department has already begun investigations in order to identify them." Director General of Police P.N. Writer, who camped in Baroda for most of the troubled week, added: "We cannot rule out the possibility of strong, militant youth groups in both communities."

The police are looking at the large number of youth organisations that have sprung up in the last year—Jai Bhole mandals, Hussaini committees and so on. There is also a question mark over the Islamic Study Centre just outside Baroda established with generous assistance of about Rs 32 lakh from the Middle-East, including Libya.

Accusing Report: Another important factor in the communal clashes is the uncontrolled growth of liquor and gambling dens, run by people from different communities. Their murderous squabbles do nothing to alleviate tension in a city where communal identities are already sharply marked. To unmask the political patrons of these gangs, Gujarat Pradesh Congress Committee(I) President Mahipat Mehta appointed a six-member panel in June this year: this included Ibrahim Kalaniya and Ranjitsinh Gaekwad, MP's, Ahmedabad Mayor Rafiyuddin Shaikh and Manubhai Parmar, MLA.

Their report said that several police officers actively aggravated the riots and charged that "some of our own Congress(I) people are also responsible for this situation". Among those named was a prominent Baroda Congress(I) leader, who was "patronising a certain number of groups of bootleggers and anti-social elements to collect easy money".

The leader was supposed to ensure immunity from police action for some bootlegger groups, while others were "curbed ruthlessly". Conclusion: "Naturally, jealousy has been aroused among the anti-social elements who happen to be Hindus and Muslims and thus communal tension was created." Solanki, however, rejects the report. Says he: "I was always against the committee because it is biased toward one group in the party."

Police Actions: But the fact remains that some of the police officers named in the report have been transferred out of Baroda. A high-level police team headed by Special Inspector General of Police Majbootsinh Jadeja inquired into the riots and his confidential report forms the basis of the Government's steps to control the situation. Six persons were arrested under the National Security Act, and over 620 in connection with offences like murder and rioting. Externment orders may soon be served against more than 200 persons.

There seems to be some truth in the charge that police overstepped limits: in many localities they entered houses and mercilessly beat up youths. Even police officers do not deny this, saying that a large number of policemen, particularly SRP personnel, have been traditionally biased against the minority community.

Even as Baroda settled down to an uneasy peace, the ruling Congress(I) found itself faced with a revolt. Three Muslim city corporators resigned from the party in protest against alleged police excesses on the minority community. Another Muslim corporator, an independent, withdrew his support to the Congress(I). Among those who resigned is Deputy Mayor Nissar Hussain Saiyad and the 30-member opposition front saw its chance to capture control of the corporation's 60-member general board. The politicians, as usual, were jockeying for advantage on the ruins.

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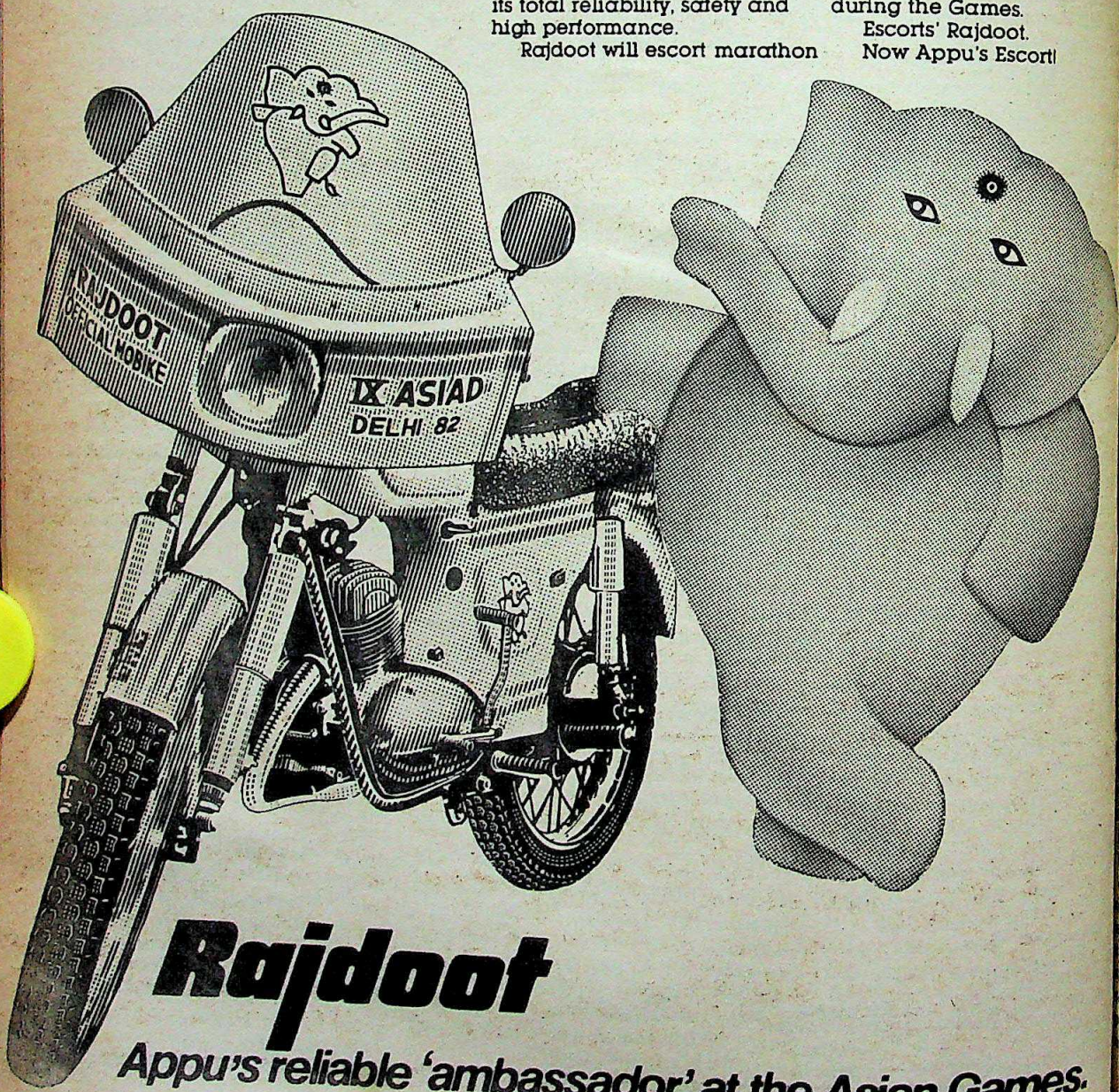

Rajdoot

Appu's reliable 'ambassador' at the Asian Games.

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Squabbles Of Solanki

GUJARAT Chief Minister Madhavsinh Solanki has very little cause for celebration this festive season. Suddenly, the problems weighing down his administration have snow-balled in rapidity. Mounting political from the fragmented Opposition deteriorating power situation have started taking their toll. But he now bigger threat, one that seems to be up on Congress(I) chief ministers in growing dissidence from within the rank and file.

last fortnight, dissidents led by the Pradesh Congress Committee(I) Vice-President Dr Namipat Mehta, Lalal Kamdar, MLA, said that they going to make a effort to con- leaders at the about the need about changes state party to res- confidence among rank and file of the Said Kamdar: we want is to im- the image of the If our suggestions ignored by the we may quit to a regional party of Congress(I) Congress." This is the that dissidents state have adopted kind of a hard line approach.

Last fortnight, Ratubhai Adani, a se- dissident Congress(I) leader, assured group of fellow dissidents that he was the moment planning to quit po- But, he said, he was "anguished" the present state of affairs in the Congress(I) which had "com- abandoned" the basic values and of the party and was following a of action that had destroyed the and image of the party.

Rampant Corruption: Adani claimed had several times drawn the atten- party circles at the Centre to the rating situation in Gujarat but his had fallen on deaf ears. Instead, had become rampant in the ad- ration, casteism was flourishing and social elements were being given offi- protection. He hinted that, if matters not improve, he would be forced to quit the party as he did not want to be "a party to the corrupt malpractices prevalent in the Congress(I)". Adani had recently organised several public meetings to highlight problems faced by the khadi industry. The meetings attended by opposition leaders severely criticised the performance of the state Government.

Kamdar alleged that bogus members were being enrolled for the membership drive with a lot of money being pumped in by Congress(I) leaders of the Solanki group. Retaliating to this, Hasmukh Patel, a close confidant of Solanki and GPCC(I) secretary, said: "It is unfortunate that disgruntled and frustrated elements within the Congress(I) have joined hands with the Opposition to malign the party. Their misguided actions will neither help the party nor the people."

(From left) Solanki, Kamdar and Adani: rising party dissension

Group rivalry in the Congress(I) ranks is no news, but it has of late increased in intensity. A recent, glaring example was of the scuffle at the Rajkot circuit house where Youth Congress(I) leader and Solanki supporter, Prithvisinh Jadeja, was beaten up and his clothes torn to shreds by alleged supporters of Manoharsinh Jadeja, health and civil supplies minister. In the melee, a number of window panes at the circuit house were smashed. Home Minister Prabodh Raval hurriedly rushed police contingents to control the situation.

The Congress(I) executive committee meeting at Baroda last fortnight also witnessed acrimonious scenes as members just stopped short of coming to blows. The reason was trivial: some Solanki supporters tried to disrupt the meeting convened by Jaswant Makwana, the city unit treasurer, who was holding the meeting under written instructions from president Ranjitsinh Gaekwad. While Solanki's supporters heckled Makwana saying that he had no authority to call the meeting, dissidents rallied around Makwana. A slanging match followed, with the two groups shamelessly hurling abuses at each other. Makwana later said that the disturbance at the meeting was a deliberate attempt by the chief minister's group to thwart the progressive group of members.

Lessening Strength: And yet another blow for the Congress(I) came when former Surat mayor Madanlal Bunki, presently the party's corporator, resigned from the Surat Municipal Corporation and the party, carrying with him three other Congress(I) corporators. With this, the Congress(I) lost its majority in the corporation. Its strength from 33 seats came down to 29 in the 68-member house. Thirteen others of the Bunki group have threatened to resign if "indisciplinary behaviour of some Congress(I) corporators was not checked". In a letter addressed to GPCC(I) President, Mahant Vijaydasji, they have charged the Surat civic administration with inefficiency.

Sensing the turbulence in the Congress(I) the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) and the Janata Party have unleashed a massive and systematic campaign to mobilise support especially in the rural areas. With Chimanbhai Patel, former chief minister, joining the Janata, chances of electoral alliances by the fragmented opposition in Gujarat are better than ever before. Patel, who is a powerful leader of the ryots is known to be an excellent coordinator. The Janata and BJP are organising rallies of different sections like Harijans and labourers so as to win support by highlighting their demands.

Though four posts in his council of ministers have been lying vacant for a long time, Solanki has been avoiding a Cabinet expansion. This is because of the deep-rooted fear that once dissidents are accommodated, their lobby will become more powerful, strengthening the hands of Finance Minister Sanat Mehta and Health Minister Manoharsinh Jadeja who are embroiled in a cold war with the chief minister. And by all these indications Solanki is in for a trying time.

—RAMESH MENON

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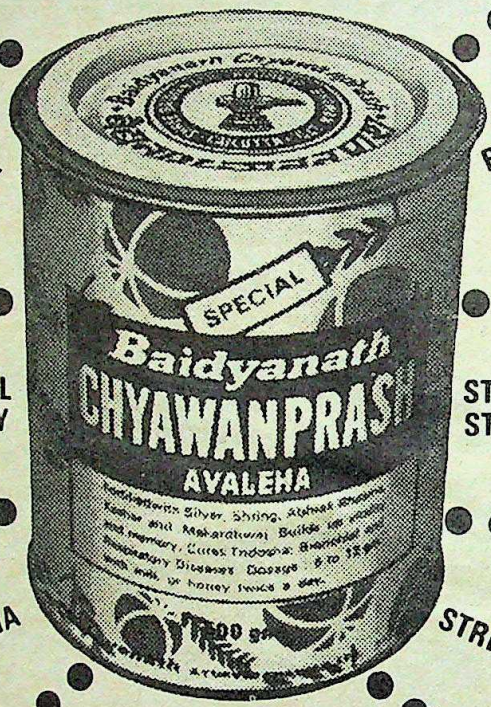

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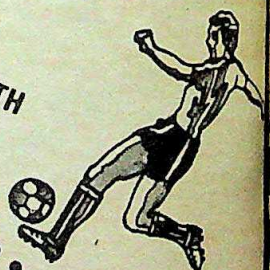

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NADU

eking Relief

WITH the portents of crop failure looming large, the Tamil Nadu Government is embroiled in a controversy with the Centre over sizeable relief allotments from the Central reserves. Voiced last the state demands amount to a mo- cation of 80,000 tonnes of rice and nnes of wheat (60,000 tonnes for its our mills and 10,000 tonnes for its istribution system).

vous drought conditions face the state this year, particularly in r district, its rice bowl, accounting fourth of the total rice output. ently, the off-take of rice from the istribution system in Tamil Nadu eased from the normal monthly level 00 tonnes to a staggering 85,000 and the existing stocks are threaten- run out in three to four months.

Nadu has two paddy crops every the short-term *kuruvai*, and the long- ba. The short-term crop accounts per cent of the total rice output, but 5 lakh acres of the usual 4.5 lakh e brought under cultivation this year the total failure of the pre-monsoon though the prospects for *samba* were

Nedunchezhian and Diraviam: wanting more

earlier hoped to be better, it could be cultivated only in 32.5 lakh acres of the regular 45 lakh acres this year, according to V.T. Thurairaj, director of agriculture, Tamil Nadu. Consequently, he projects the total rice production this year to be only around 30 lakh tonnes against the normal level of 55 lakh to 58 lakh tonnes.

Inadequate Contribution: Questioning the state's claims, a joint secretary from the Centre, who was interviewed at Madras by a reporter of the Tamil daily *Dinamani* but refused to be quoted, pointed to its irregular and inadequate contributions to the Central pool. Repeating the same point in the Rajya Sabha, Union Agriculture Minister Rao Birendra Singh has termed the state's demand as "unfair". The state's normal procurement of rice, so the argument goes, has been 4 to 5 lakh tonnes, but it has not contributed a single grain to the Centre. And on September 1, its godowns had 3.5 tonnes of rice stacked in them.

Quick to refute the charges, a piqued Tamil Nadu Chief Secretary K. Diraviam summoned a hurried press conference. He disclosed that the state had offered no less than 2 lakh tonnes of rice to the Central pool in 1979. Further he argued that they had never earlier been confronted with the notion of prior contribution to the Centre as the condition of eligibility for later allocation. The system of foodgrain allotments was not supposed to be akin to bank accounting where withdrawals were proportionate to the magnitude of the deposits.

Replying to the chief secretary's press conference, the zonal Public Relations Officer of the Food Corporation of India (FCI) T.S. Nagarajan clarified that the FCI was asked by the Centre to explore the possibility of taking over 70,000 tonnes of rice from Tamil Nadu to the Centre's pool, in response to the state's offer of 2 lakh tonnes. Said he: "On joint inspection of the stocks (by officials of the FCI and the state Government) it was found that only 4,636 tonnes of rice conformed to (the specified 'fair average quality') standard and they were taken over by the FCI."

Mediation: In an attempt to defuse the increasingly acrimonious dispute, the state's Food and Finance Minister V.R.

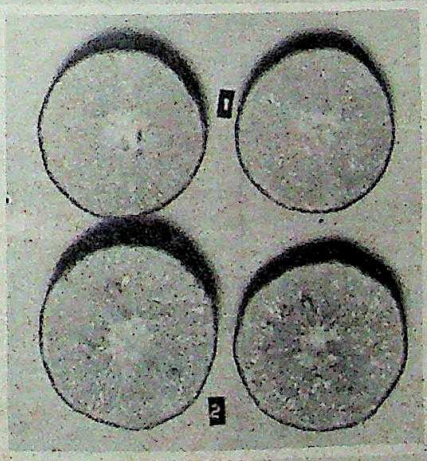
ANGES

Pipsqueak

FIRST grapes, then guavas and now for the first time in India—the seedless orange. Inevitably, the latest breakthrough comes from Nagpur, the ve-centre of India's orange-growing ness, where the first batch of seedless nges are blossoming this winter on the ab Krishi Vidyapeeth farm.

The breakthrough has come after ort of effort. It began when Professor N. Kunte the head of the department ticulture at the Agriculture College d a colleague, Professor C.N. Kathale ard stories about an orange tree in an chard in Wardha district which was d to bear seedless fruit. The fruit was pt under observation for a few years d it was found that though it was not dless, it had far fewer seeds than the er trees in the orchard.

But this find triggered off a search r other such trees. One was finally nd on the university orange plantation lf. The findings of the survey were that



Seedless oranges (top) and normal ones

the fruit from the tree were almost seedless—it had only one seed in five oranges as against 10–15 seeds per fruit in the other trees. Then, in January 1976, 15 buddings were taken from the tree. They have borne fruit—seedless fruit—for the first time this winter, after five years.

Causes: Seedlessness in citrus fruits takes place when pollination is prevented, says Professor Kunte. But, he adds that in the present case this does not appear to be the cause, as the tree from which the buddings were taken was growing in an orchard where the other trees were bearing normal fruit. In all likelihood, he says, the seedlessness in this particular tree appears to have been caused by bud variation.

The quest for the seedless orange was not undertaken merely to make the fruit easier to eat. It was begun for sound commercial reasons. When seedless varieties are grown on a large scale it will be a boon for the canning industry in particular. At present the seeds have to be removed from each orange segment. This not only involves extra labour, but also makes hollows which make the segments break easily.

It will be some time yet before the new discoveries make an impact on the industry. It will need another 10 years before the buddings from these 15 trees are used on a wide scale. And it will be another five years after that before people come to forget about pips in oranges.

—NIRMALA CHINU PANCHAL

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Nedunchezhian declared that his was only a "marginally surplus" state, which had been "contributing to the Central pool whenever there was surplus food production". However, he was at pains to explain that "there was no confrontation with the Centre on the issue, and the state was not pointing an accusing finger at the Centre. The state was grateful to the Centre for its allotment of foodgrains last year".

Also trying to mediate, Union Minister of State for Agriculture R.V. Swaminathan, who was elected from the Sivaganga constituency near Madurai, based himself on the assumption that Tamil Nadu had not refused to contribute to the Central pool. On a recent visit to Madras, he said that "on hearing the stand of the Tamil Nadu Government, I am convinced that it has got a good case and I will try to convince my department (Central Food Department) at Delhi".

Nevertheless, Nedunchezhian and Diraviam continue to question how a chronically deficit state like Kerala can get as much as 1.5 lakh tonnes of foodgrains every month from the Centre. The key issue clearly remains whether there is a quid pro quo between a state's foodgrain contributions to the Central pool and Central foodgrain allotments to the state. And while the Centre and the state take time off to pass the buck from one to the other, the common man can only keep his fingers crossed.

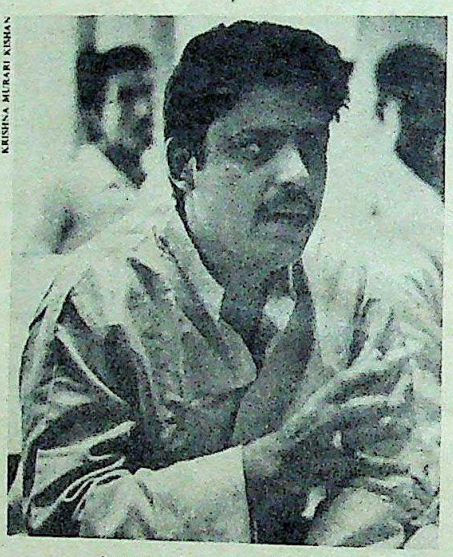
—S.H. VENKATRAMANI

BIHAR

Out From The Shadows

WITH THE pressure mounting against Bihar's beleaguered Chief Minister Jagannath Mishra, the capital has been buzzing with rumours that the party high command is currently casting around for a possible successor. Meanwhile, back in Bihar, a strong contender seems to have emerged from the shadows. He is Tariq Anwer, current president of the All India Youth Congress-I (AIYC-I). Anwer is an example of ruling party fickleness. Nine months ago, he was in the doghouse as the ousted president of the Bihar Pradesh Youth Congress-I (BPYC-I). But by last fortnight, it was obvious that Anwer was back in favour as he orchestrated a major reshuffle of the state YC(I) committee. What gives credence to the talk that Anwer is one of the candidates for succeeding Mishra was the fact that 10 of the 15 new office-bearers are dissidents who have openly challenged Mishra's authority in recent months.

Commented a senior Congress(I) leader: "Anwer symbolises the growing influence of dissidents and marks the beginning of Mishra's real problems." He pointed out that Anwer enjoyed the full support of Rajiv Gandhi and represented the anti-Mishra lobby in New Delhi. That he is the political protégé of staunch Mishra opponent Sitaram Kesari, All India Congress Committee(I) treasurer and Union minister of state, is "why Mishra has not only suspected the loyalty of Anwer but has covertly been working to nip the trouble in the bud",



KRISHNA MURARI KISHAN

Anwer: focus for dissidence

added a dissident leader. Obviously, Bihar's chief minister, assailed on all sides for the infamous Press Bill and under attack for his sins of omission and commission, was not about to take chances.

Notable amongst the nominations was that of Serferaz Ahmed, MLA, as president of the Chotanagpur-Santhal Parganas regional YC(I) despite stiff opposition. The move directly undercut Gyan Ranjan, MLA from Ranchi and former YC(I) president, who had master-minded the appointment of Bagchi. Ranjan had emerged as a force to reckon with through his hold over the Jharkhand Mukti Morcha (JMM) and his instrumental role in the Congress(I)-JMM electoral alliance in 1980. In addition, four of the 14 other youth leaders—Munna Shahi, Rajendra Singh, Ershad Hussain, Prem Kumar Singh besides Ahmed—have opposed the Bihar Press Bill.

Strong Reaction: Hardly a coincidence, this was enunciated as a principle by Shahi who said that all those who had signed the statement against the Press B[illegible] below 35 years of age had be[illegible] the new committee. The portf[illegible] foursome received [illegible] impressive—Rajendra Singh [illegible] president, Shahi and Hussain [illegible] secretaries, and Prem Kumar S[illegible] retary. The reaction against M[illegible] licies which had ignored the YC[illegible] into his personal fief after Sanj[illegible] death, and stocked it with his o[illegible] protégés who did not necessarily [illegible] organisation's required age-limit. [illegible] Said Secretary Prem Kumar Singh [illegible] first job would be to launch a cru[illegible] institutionalised corruption in B[illegible]

Also ousted was Anwer's rival [illegible] president of the old YC(I) committee [illegible] Ranjan Jha, another Mishra pro[illegible] deputy minister in the Bihar Go[illegible] Senior leaders feel that since the [illegible] YC(I) deputy ministers—Ram[illegible] Shyam Sunder Singh Dhiraj, Kar[illegible] Singh and Ishwari Paswan—alre[illegible] to the Anwer faction, the AIYC(I) [illegible] on the youth of Bihar was defi[illegible] others believe that the state YC[illegible] sation had virtually become de[illegible] groupism being silently encourage[illegible] politics by Anwer who was b[illegible] Central leaders like Kesari. Stoutly [illegible] the charge, Sharad Kumar Jain, [illegible] dissident YC(I) MLA said: "Tariq [illegible] factional politics."

Some youth leaders belon[illegible] Bagchi faction also allege Anwer [illegible] ment in the recent move to get [illegible] from the state YC(I) presidents[illegible] Bagchi's nomination, some YC[illegible] including Shahi collected docume[illegible] ence to prove that he was alre[illegible] years of age and had been expelled [illegible] organisation during 1978–79 for [illegible] on the charge of anti-party activ[illegible] further charged him with forge[illegible] liberate suppression of his age, [illegible] the prime minister to apprise [illegible] situation. In fact the high com[illegible] already removed three YC(I) [illegible] (Madhya Pradesh, Maharas[illegible] Bombay) on grounds of age.

Stout Defence: Warding off [illegible] Bagchi stoutly asserted that the [illegible] mand had endorsed his candid[illegible] he: "Since the beginning, rival [illegible] trying to tarnish my image by b[illegible] an outsider (Bengali), an anti-pa[illegible] and indisciplined," adding that [illegible] fault was that I tried to give a ne[illegible] the defunct organisation and [illegible] purposeful."

Bagchi's problems have not [illegible] the committee reshuffle. His pa[illegible] stand questioned in the wake of [illegible] that he has been hobnobbing w[illegible]

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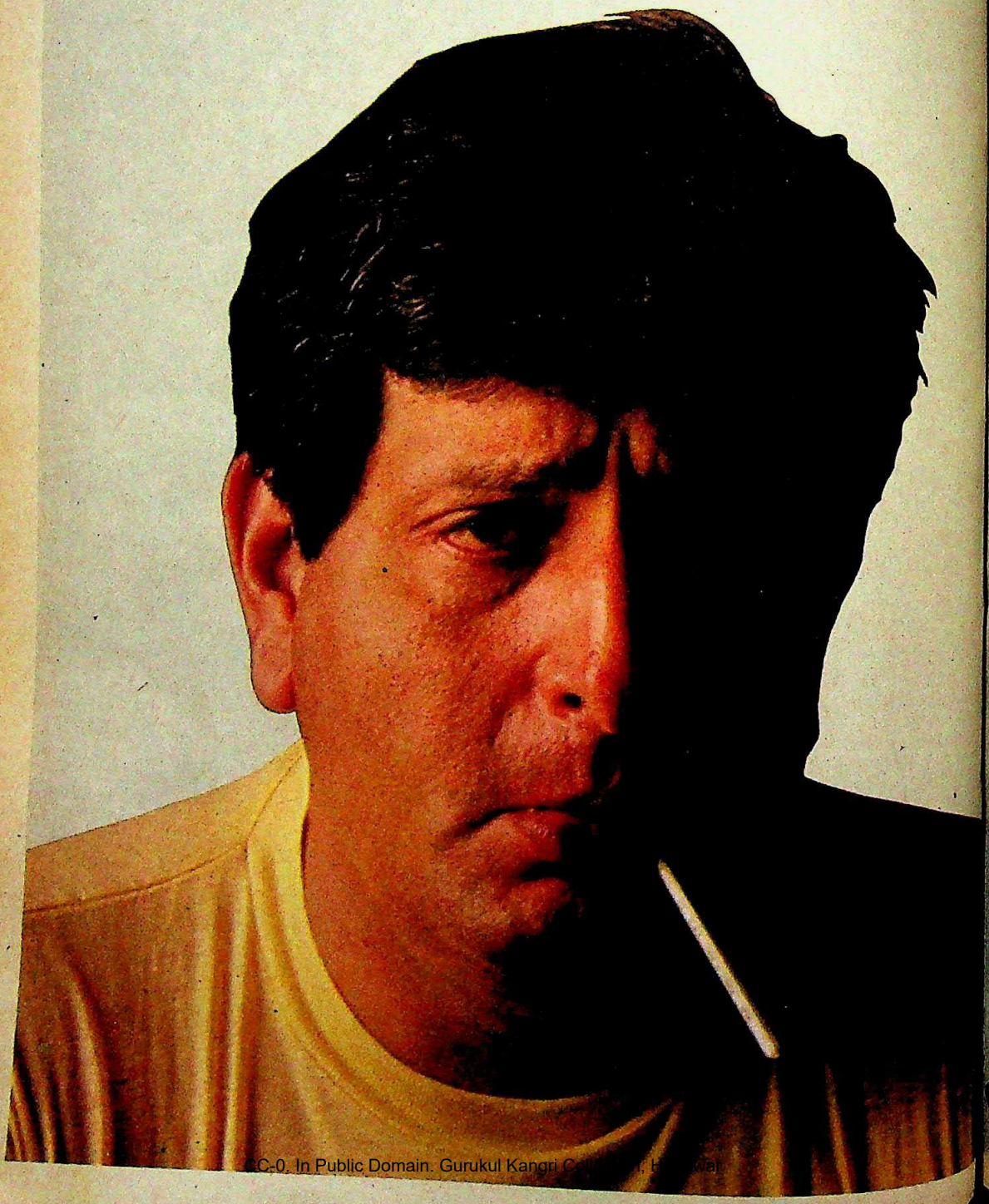
then heat and moisture again,
what do you think would happen to yo



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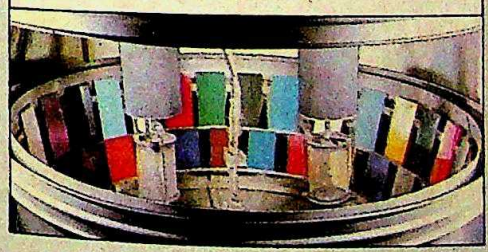

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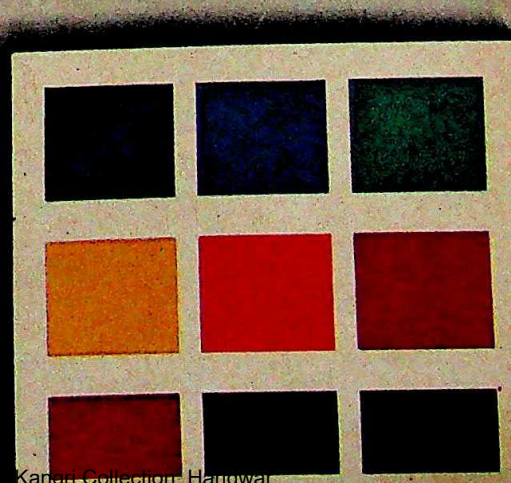

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the Sanjay Vichar Manch (SVM). than the Pradesh Congress(I) ay Shankar Mishra alleged in a that he had "unimpeachable evid- prove that Bagchi and his mentor had played a major role in the SVM rally in Patna in June. who is in charge of the YC(I) and the Students Union of India, deman- immediate expulsion. While this no response from Bagchi, a show- for issuing the statement was Mishra by BPCC(I) chief Rafiq With Mishra steadfastly reiterat- harges, and the withdrawal of the nce notice, however, the matter has vented from escalating into a major rsy. Nevertheless the reprieve, both of Minister Mishra and for Bagchi, tenuous one. —FARZAND AHMED

BENGAL

holy liance

THE KILLING of police officer Gangadhar Bhattacharya has become the peg on which many of the West Bengal Government's troubles can be hung. It has brought into sharp that a large section of the Com- Party of India-Marxist (CPI-M) has ated with the lumpen elements in as in which the party has estab- dominant hold. And it is the ation of this group with the police led to the death of Bhattacharya. e policeman was gunned down on r 31 at Tiljala, at the eastern fringe tta, when the State Armed Police, fort to quell an angry crowd, ope- and killed one man. After this, the joined by more of the local in- and police reinforcements ar- ng with Bhattacharya. Unable to peace and with the mob turning nt, Bhattacharya ordered the po- open fire again. Soon after this, at (the afternoon, Bhattacharya fell dead with four bullets in his back.

Unsavoury Links: Tiljala has always political battleground. It stands on confluence of three Assembly constituencies—Sonarpur, Bhanagar and Tiljala. This, along with the fact that area is crowded with fisheries, tan- and illicit liquor breweries, makes locality an irresistible magnet for the criminal element. For a long time, Tiljala was under the influence of the undivided Congress, but of late the Marxists have emerged as the strongest group.

The motive for the killing of Bhattacharya is not known. Nor can the police trace his assassin. There are growing suspicions that the inspector in charge of Tiljala Thana may have been killed by one of his own men. Efforts were being made to check if the bullets found in his body matched the guns used by the policemen to disperse the crowd. What lends some credence to the theory is that Bhattacharya was shot in the back while he was facing the angry mob—with only the police force behind him. It cannot be denied that Tiljala is a very lucrative posting and Bhattacharya, known for his honesty, might have tried to restrain some of his less scrupulous colleagues.

What adds grist to the Opposition's mill is that Kanti Ganguli, a CPI-M activist, had been working in the Tiljala area for quite a while. Ganguli, who had been away on that particular afternoon rushed back to Tiljala when he heard of the trouble to "help the police restore peace". In spite of this avowed intent, Ganguli left as soon as Bhattacharya was gunned down. Later he explained: "I went away as there was confusion all around and I thought the police might make a go for me." The police did in fact want to take Ganguli into custody but said that he could not be traced. Actually Ganguli was at home and maintains that the police never attempted to contact him there.

This was followed four days later by a similar incident when some people in Baruipur accosted and beat up a police party during a raid. The crowd was led by local Marxist leader Manoranjan Naskar. Sub-Inspector Ashim Banerjee was injured and has been hospitalised. Naskar has surrendered in court reportedly following a directive from the party high command. He has been refused bail.

Fears Confirmed: Both these incidents have forced the Marxists to acknowledge that members of their cadres have formed unwelcome alliances with local hoodlums. A minister awaiting the return who conducted an investigation into this has told the leadership that the charges are by and large true. It seems that the party is of Secretary Promode Dasgupta from China before initiating any major action. Meanwhile the state committee of the CPI-M has sent out a circular to all district committees asking them whether these links exist in their areas and to take the necessary action if it does. But says CPI-M member R. Banerjee: "The Tiljala developments remind us of the experience during the United Front rule of 1967–69 when large numbers of criminals had infiltrated our ranks and created a bad name for us by their activities."

Disquieting reports have also surfaced that the incidents may be part of the Opposition's campaign to bring discredit to the Marxist Government. It is being alleged that the police have been provoked by the opposition parties in the state, particularly the Congress(I). The belief has been reinforced by the fact that though the Calcutta Police Association and the West Bengal Police Association passed resolutions conde-

BIKASH DAS

Frightened Tiljala residents file past a policeman: flashpoint

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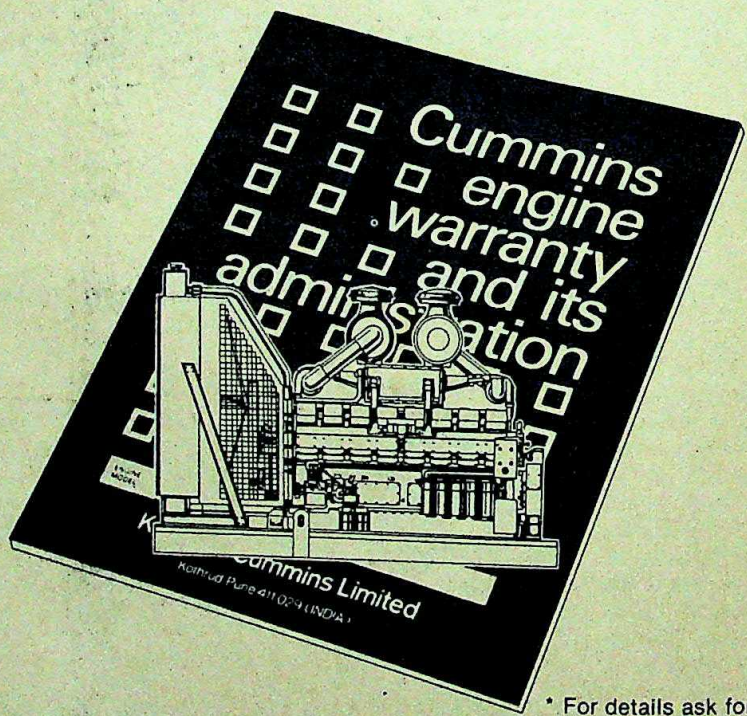

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incidents, the reaction cannot the fury witnessed in the state when the police went on a after a colleague lost his life in circumstances. If this allegation is then the agitation that the is whipping up could be more another opposition tactic. Says a Marxist leader: "It is strange that neither the police nor the Congress party reacted in the same way when constables were killed during the days of Naxalite violence." Asit Kumar Kundu, a district committee secretary of the West Bengal Police Association, feared that "disgruntled but influential elements might instigate others to revolt against the Government."

At the moment, however, the Marxists are more concerned with setting their house in order. Because of the criminal links that some of the cadre have developed, party leaders admit that large-scale expulsions can be ruled out as that would perhaps create more problems than it would solve. But it is indisputable that the time has come for the Marxists to take some kind of disciplinary action.

—SUMANTA SEN

CALCUTTA

Offside

FOR YEARS Calcutta's soccer-crazy crowds have been clamouring for a large stadium where it would possible for them to watch favourite teams in action without having to scramble for a ticket. Just when it seemed their dream could come true in the shape of the 100-seat stadium being constructed eastern suburb of Salt Lake for the five years, a major controversy has kicked up. Embroiled in it is no less organisation than the one entrusted its construction, namely, the Society Sports and Stadium (SSS).

The society has on its committee the minister and several other ministers the Left Front. The controversy it has centres round the wide-scale campaign it started recently, aimed at out huge sums of money from businessmen. In return they were promised rewards of "golden cards", which would not only enable them to watch all matches at the new stadium as life members but would also ensure a seat during cricket Tests at the Eden Gardens. advertisements offered such privileges to individuals who paid Rs 10,000 commercial institutions which paid Rs 25,000.

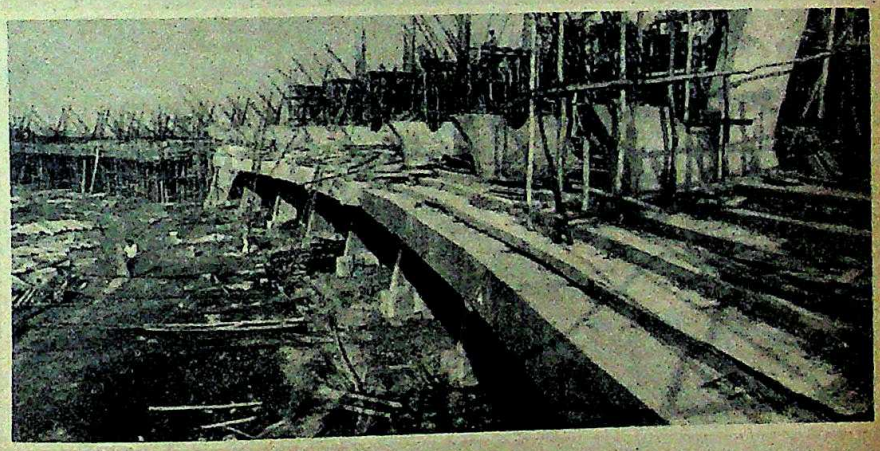
The society obviously felt that this the best way of raising funds to complete the Rs 16-crore project as the Government would clearly contribute no more than the Rs 4 crore that it done so far. In fact the very idea of forming the society developed from the realisation that the stadium could not be completed without donations from business houses which it would not be possible for the Government to accept. However, as the ads appeared, the extra sensitive sections within the Communist Party of India-Marxist (CPI-M) and other constituent parties began raising questions about the wisdom of accepting 'tainted' money from the business community.

Poor Response: More than this, what has been more disquieting for the society is the continuing poor response for golden cards largely because of the uncertainty that has cropped up about availability of the cricket tickets. This follows the stiff attitude taken by the Cricket Association of Bengal (CAB) which organises Test matches and has naturally looked on the promise of seats reserved as an encroachment on its own territory.

Matters were further complicated when the SSS Secretary, Kamal Basu, a solicitor by profession, told a press conference that the state Government had promised the society 10,000 seats. He added: "We do not know how the Government will arrange that with the CAB. It is a matter to be settled between the two."

So far the two parties have not been able to work out any solution. At an informal meeting with the CAB president, former chief minister Siddhartha Shankar Ray, Chief Minister Jyoti Basu was reported to have suggested that the additional block of seats to be given to the CAB would be constructed by the Government at its own cost. Ray's counter-proposal was that the seats be constructed by the CAB itself and "the Government can use these for its purpose", provided it agreed to grant the Eden Gardens to the CAB on a long lease. As Ray later said: "CAB would like to assert its right over the Eden Gardens."

Protracted Negotiations: At the meeting, Ray also expressed the CAB's unhappiness at a third party's promising seats at the Gardens. However, he was assured by the chief minister that he would tell the society, of which he is also a member, that nothing final should be done as matters were still under discussion. The negotiations are likely to be protracted with West Bengal Sports Minister Subhas Chakravarti making it clear that "the Government does not want a confrontation with the CAB." Nevertheless, pending finalisation of this important issue, the SSS continued to invite applications for golden cards. Said a spokesman: "We are not enrolling members and only applications are being accepted."



BIKASH DAS

The Salt Lake stadium under construction: controversial moves

It will, however, be a pity if work on the stadium is further delayed, projected by the organisers to be the largest in Asia; there are also claims that it will be bigger than the ones at Wembley, Moscow and Barcelona. The sports complex will cover an 80-acre area and apart from the main football stadium, there will be a tartan track for athletics, a 20,000 capacity astroturf hockey stadium, a velodrome for cycling and an indoor swimming pool. But right now discussion on the chances of completion of the complex have receded in the face of the current controversy.

—SUMANTA SEN

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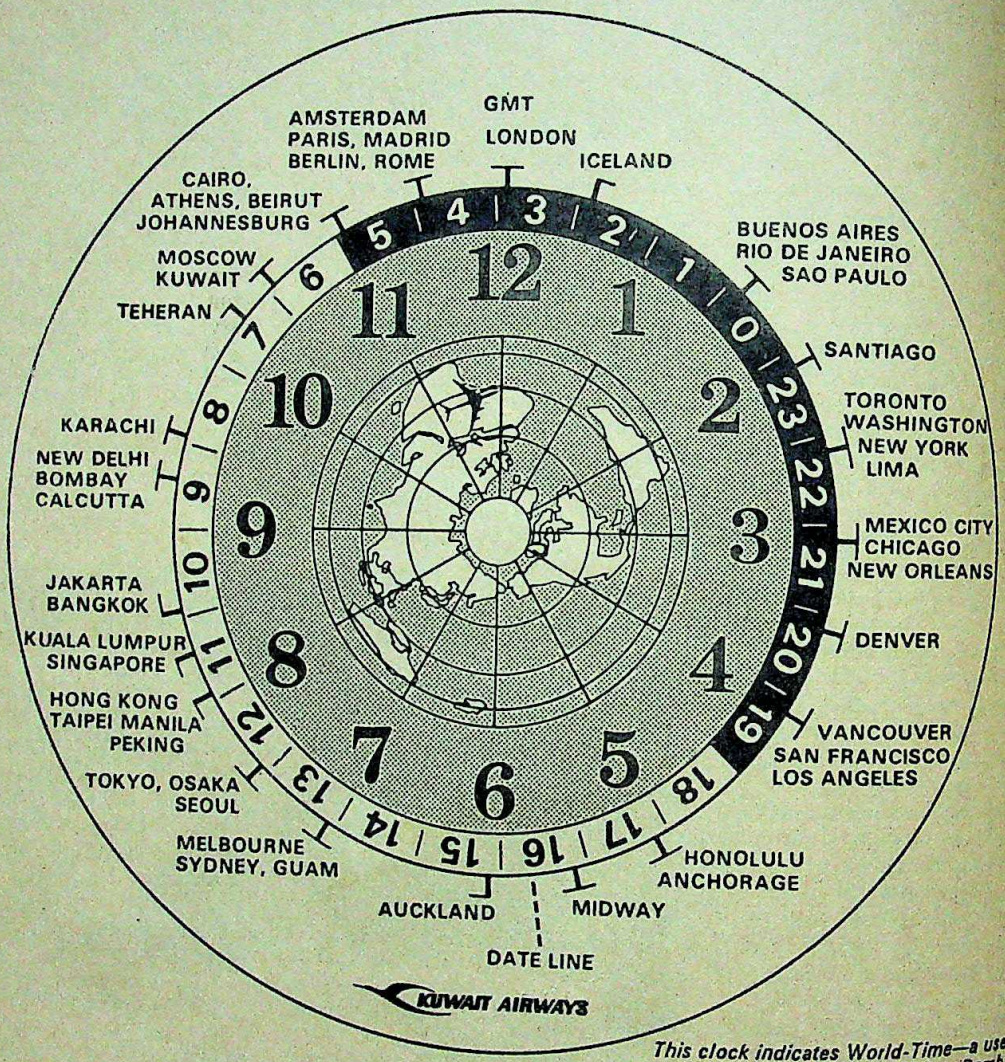
Punctual.



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New Thrust

...ernight, when the Union Minis-
...for Health and Family Welfare,
...Shankaranand told members of
...ative committee attached to his
...in New Delhi that the Centre had
...to convert the National Tubercu-
...amme (NTP) into a 100 per cent
...sponsored scheme, it was indica-
...the radical changes the Govern-
...been making in its efforts
...the disease under control.

...Centre's decision to bear the
...crore allocated in the Sixth Plan
...the wake of rampant neglect by
...ments to control tuberculosis
...health is a state subject, the respec-
...ments were expected to chip in
...per cent of the amount set aside for
...But when the Centre found that
...states funds for health were being
...other sectors, it decided to spo-
...entire programme. Shankaranand
...that the Centre would not supply
...cash to the states. Instead it would
...to reaching medicines to TB

...ts in the country are happy
...Centre's announcement. "It will
...thrust to our efforts to control
...," predicts Dr A. Banerji, the
...director of the National Tub-
...Institute (NTI), Bangalore, the
...premier TB training and res-
...institution. Many of the present
...the NTP have come about bec-
...the amazing finding of the
...Chingleput trial in Tamil Nadu,
...by the Indian Council for
...Research (ICMR), that BCG vacci-
...does not give protection to adults
...above 20 years of age) against TB.
...immunisation was one of the
...ities of the NTP; but as Banerji
..."We had to renovate the whole
..." The emphasis has now shifted
...detection and treatment of the
...instead of protection.

...Strategy: To reactivate the pro-
...in the states, the Centre has not
...ded control of TB in the new 20-
...programme announced by the prime
...early this year, but has set rigo-
...gets for all the states "whose com-
...to the cause has been flagging in
...few years". As the TB programme
...followed by the states was operating
...30 per cent efficiency, the Centre
...commended that every peripheral
...unit located in districts where labo-
...facilities are available should take up two sputum examinations every day of adults who complain of chronic cough, fever and chest pain of more than two weeks' duration. The sputum test indicates whether a person is suffering from TB. Studies done by the NTI indicated that while most districts have a potential of detecting 2,000 cases every year, they hardly carry out 600 tests.

Apart from this the Centre has decided to step up the treatment of TB patients—a duty sadly neglected by the states. As the treatment involves a rigorous 18-month course of drugs, most patients give up within the third month and spread the disease to others. The primary health centres have so far shown no interest in motivating the patients to continue the treatment. The Centre has now asked all

MYSORE NEWS PHOTOS

Taking sputum for the test: motivation

the peripheral health institutions in the country to ensure that 80 per cent of the patients complete the full course of the treatment. To make certain that the instructions regarding detection and treatment of TB cases are being followed, the Prime Minister's Secretariat, with the help of the NTI, has been monitoring reports sent in by states since June last.

Constant Threat: While this new accountability is expected to give a boost to the efforts to control TB, experts are watching with increasing dismay the progress of the disease. The NTI has found that despite a massive TB control programme in the past three decades the prevalence of the disease remains a constant four per 1,000 of population. It is estimated in India that out of a population of 68 crore, about 26 crore (or more than one-third of the population) is infected with TB. While most people infected develop resistance and do not suffer from it, currently 1.5 crore people in the country are TB patients. They are found predominantly in rural areas, and it is estimated that in the 6 lakh villages in the country there are 88 lakh patients, of which 18 lakh people are spreading the disease to others.

Much of the problem of controlling TB has arisen because of sheer neglect by the states to observe the programme rigorously, despite having the required infrastructure. An ICMR study done on the working of the NTP found that while it was technically "sound", administratively it was "deficient". Right now, of the 421 districts in the country, 353 have a tuberculosis programme. Each district team is headed by a medical officer, four paramedics, a treatment organiser, two laboratory technicians and a statistical assistant. This team moves among all the primary health centres and trains them on the detection and treatment of TB. The programme in each state is supervised by a state TB officer.

The NTI found several lacunae in the system. While the district team has been trained by the institute, in many states such key personnel manning the programme were transferred without any suitable people replacing them. As a result of such mishandling the programme suffered. Apart from this there was a "haphazard and disproportionate allocation of supplies". Vital drugs and X-ray films were rarely supplied on time, affecting diagnosis and treatment. But the real problem was lack of motivation of the staff. Many positive TB cases were treated as ordinary ones and cough mixture had been prescribed by the doctor in charge. As a result, despite massive campaigns to reduce the incidence of TB in the country, it remains a constant threat. As a TB specialist Dr P. Chandrasekhar puts it: "You can't empty a bucket with the tap on."

Further Steps: The Centre has now asked the NTI to train on a priority basis both medical and paramedical staff so that all the districts in the country could be equipped with trained staff. The NTI which runs a 13-week training course for the district tuberculosis team has so far trained 738 medical and 3,067 paramedical staff. The institute has now introduced a crash reorientation course for district tuberculosis officers.

Apart from this, from next month it will be conducting a workshop in collaboration with the World Health Organisation (WHO) to train medical college professors so that they could restructure the syllabus and train undergraduates in the problems of TB. Said Chandrasekhar pragmatically: "With all these measures, we can at least lick the problem of TB, though not bite it!"

—RAJ CHENGAPPA

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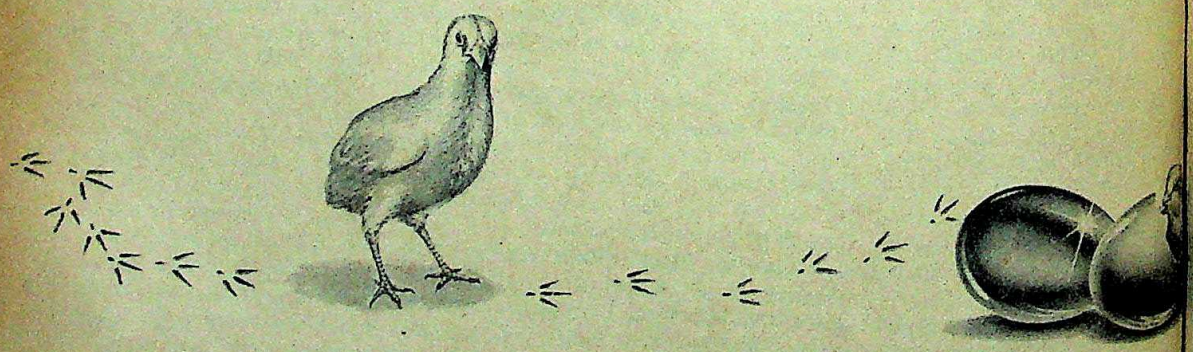
Fuel oil consumption costs of typical low-efficiency boilers and Enormous Savings in operation if they are replaced by High-Efficiency THERMAX Boilers

STEAM OUTPUT OF TYPICAL OLD BOILERS	TYPICAL EFFICIENCIES OBSERVED BY PCRA, NPC AND OTHER BODIES	ANNUAL FUEL OIL COSTS ON 2 SHIFTS A DAY & 300 DAYS PER YEAR **	ANNUAL FUEL OIL COSTS WITH MINIMUM 82% EFFICIENCY FROM THERMAX BOILERS	SAVINGS WITH THERMAX BOILERS
TONNES/HR	% (GCV)*	RUPEES	RUPEES	RUPEES
2	45	28,23,000	14,40,000	13,83,000
4		55,68,000	28,80,000	26,88,000
6		83,52,000	43,20,000	40,32,000
2	50	24,96,000	14,40,000	10,56,000
4		49,92,000	28,80,000	21,12,000
6		74,88,000	43,20,000	31,68,000
2	55	22,08,000	14,40,000	7,68,000
4		44,16,000	28,80,000	15,36,000
6		66,24,000	43,20,000	23,04,000
2	60.	20,16,000	14,40,000	5,76,000
4		40,32,000	28,80,000	11,52,000
6		60,48,000	43,20,000	17,28,000
2	65	18,24,000	14,40,000	3,84,000
4		36,48,000	28,80,000	7,68,000
6		54,72,000	43,20,000	11,52,000

* Gross Calorific Value of Furnace Oil: 10,200 kcals/kg. ** Price of Furnace Oil: Rs.2,500 per tonne



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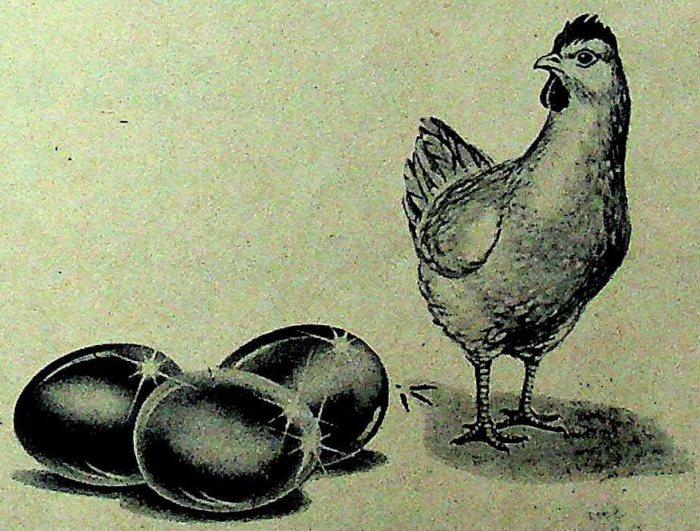

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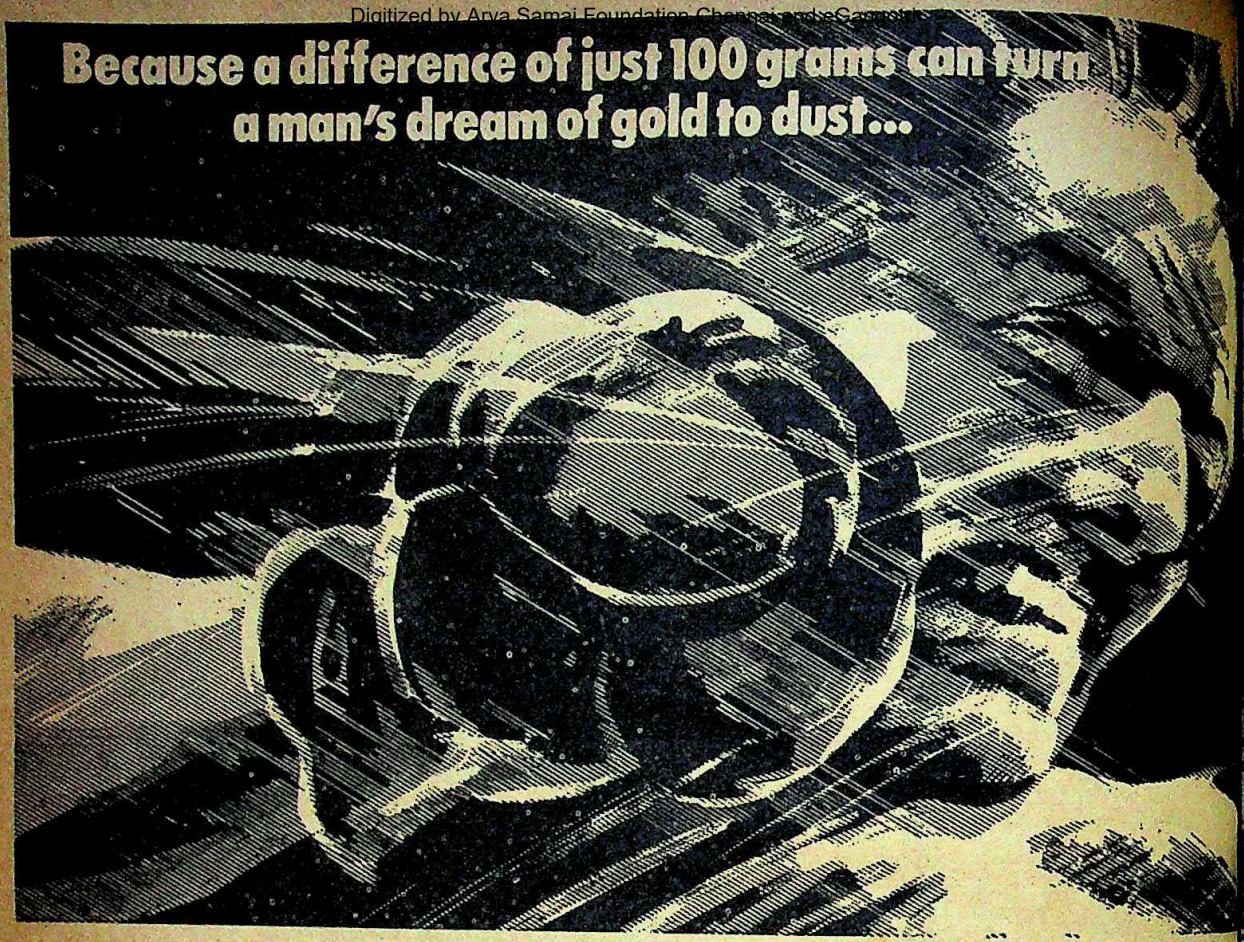

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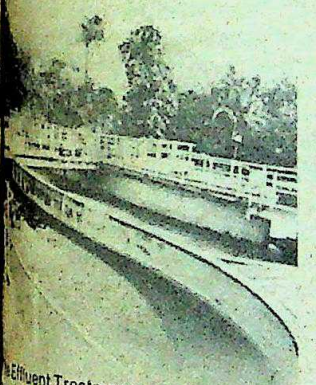
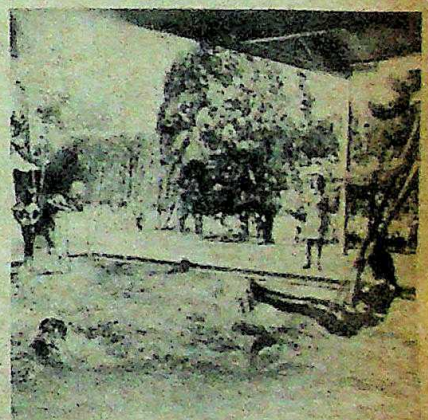


...e Effluent Treatment plant releases ...ean water for irrigating nearby fields



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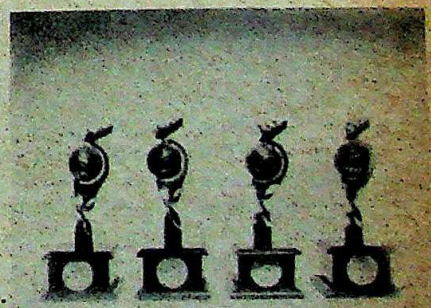

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IX Asiad India

AND FINALLY, the moment of truth. Four years of sweat and tortured toil crystallised into one explosive 10-second burst of speed, the heave of a discus, the balance on a beam or the crack of a pistol shot. And, at the end of it all, a cascade of tears; of triumph and failure, and a tiny circular medal round the necks of far-away figures on the victory stand.

To many, it would seem inadequate reward for the effort; a medal, a pat on a track-suited back, a picture in the morning papers and a statistic in the record books. But that, eventually, is what it is all about. That momentary moment of triumph on the victory stand lives long as a memory; the title of the fastest, the strongest, the best becomes a lifetime passion.

Going for gold means breaking barriers considered unbreakable, powering the human body to heights never reached before. The mountaineering phrase "because it is there" seems trite. But nothing could be closer to the truth. The superstars of sport are enshrined on a private Olympus. Berlin, 1936. A black bombshell called Jesse Owens shattering Hitler's myth of Aryan superiority. Mexico, 1968. Bob Beamon, soaring bird-like to a distance no human was thought capable of. Munich, 1972. Machine-like Mark Spitz powering through the pool for an incredible seven gold medals. Montreal, 1976. Nadia Comaneci, sinuous as a signature, reaching heights of unimaginable perfection.

Biggest Spectacle: Suddenly, the biggest sporting spectacle after the Olympics is here. Asiad '82 has emerged overnight from the rubble and recriminations and become reality—5,500 athletes from 33 countries that represent more than half of humanity have arrived to take part in what is destined to be the biggest and most exciting Asiad ever. Only 588 of them will return with that all-important medal. The rest will be content in being able to say they were there.

For India, the Asian Games is more than just an opportunity to play generous host to a continent. It is prestige, power and political one-upmanship. The ripple-effect inside the country has been all pervasive. Lutyens's gracious capital city transformed forever into a concrete condominium. Asiad echoes bouncing around in planes and trains. At no other time in history has sporting fever reached the kind of level it has in India. A mediocre football match against a little-known Russian club leads to riots and a jam-packed 75,000-capacity stadium—an unheard of event in New Delhi; 25,000 people, meek-mannered office clerks, raucous students and grey-haired elders, jostle for seats to see second-string Soviet gymnasts. Athletics has, incredibly enough, toppled cricket from its perch of prominence. Now, the stage is set and the actors in the 16-day drama are waiting in the wings.

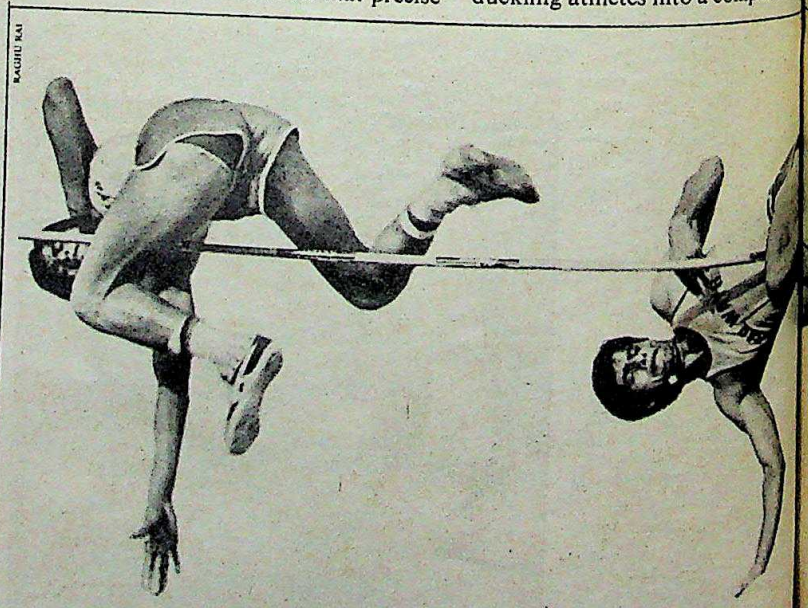
The tension is far more than that before the curtain goes up on an opening night play. The National Institute of Sports (NIS), Patiala, the country's sporting nursery and fine-tuning factory, wears an almost surrealistic air. Fewer words are spoken; the sweat-stained athletes withdrawn into their private, gold-tinged world, clouded by a haze of hopes. "The excitement and interest the Games has whipped up even before it starts is unbelievable," marvels NIS Director R.L. Anand, "there is a new awareness about sports all over the country."

Waiting Impatiently: At the doorway of the NIS through which the athletes pass each day is a board announcing the countdown to the Games. Gradually, as the number decreased, training accelerated into high gear. Up at daybreak for work-outs and then the nervous, impatient wait for the exact minute at which the particular event will take place at the Games when the starter's pistol shatters the silence and the sinewy bodies explode into action, mentally ticking off the seconds and fractions. "If the athletes can adjust and adapt to the particular temperature and weather conditions at that precise

hour, it gives them a crucial advanta
chief athletics coach, Joginder Singh

India's Asiad challenge has o
built advantages as well. One is es
historical and based on the fact th
country that has hosted the Asian Ga
1978 has finished in the top three
placings. The most spectacular exam
Iran which went medalless and fini
the bottom of the medal table in th
Games but stormed into third place w
unbelievable 81 medals at the T
Games in 1974.

Another related advantage is th
that Indian athletes will be perform
fore a partisan and highly vociferous
crowd and in a familiar environment.
Asiad '82 has transformed India's
duckling athletes into a comparative



Decathlon medal hope Sabir Ali: striving for new heights

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Medal Hopes

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OVEMBER

Trial Games. Burly Bahadur Singh heaved the shot put to 18.35 m, almost one metre more than his Trial Games mark. Decathlon star Sabir Ali collected 6,911 points as compared to his September score of 6,570. The signals are encouraging and a combination of the expert coaching, the new equipment and, above all, the Asiad infection that has injected the Indian squad with a new and encouraging commitment. Long jumper Mercy Mathews says she got married in August 1981 but has hardly seen her husband since then because of her training commitments. British-based weight-lifter G.S. Cheema has been trying to represent the country since 1976 and paid his own fare to participate in the Nationals last October. His record-shattering lift finally earned him a place in the Asiad sun.

The Indian investment has been unprecedented. A total of Rs 1.6 crore spent on putting 1,020 probables through the wringer and 240 training camps to get the final 644-member squad in peak form. Sports equipment worth Rs 3.8 crore imported to get the athletes used to its feel. Which brings up the bottom line: How will India fare in the gold rush and who are the main medal hopes?

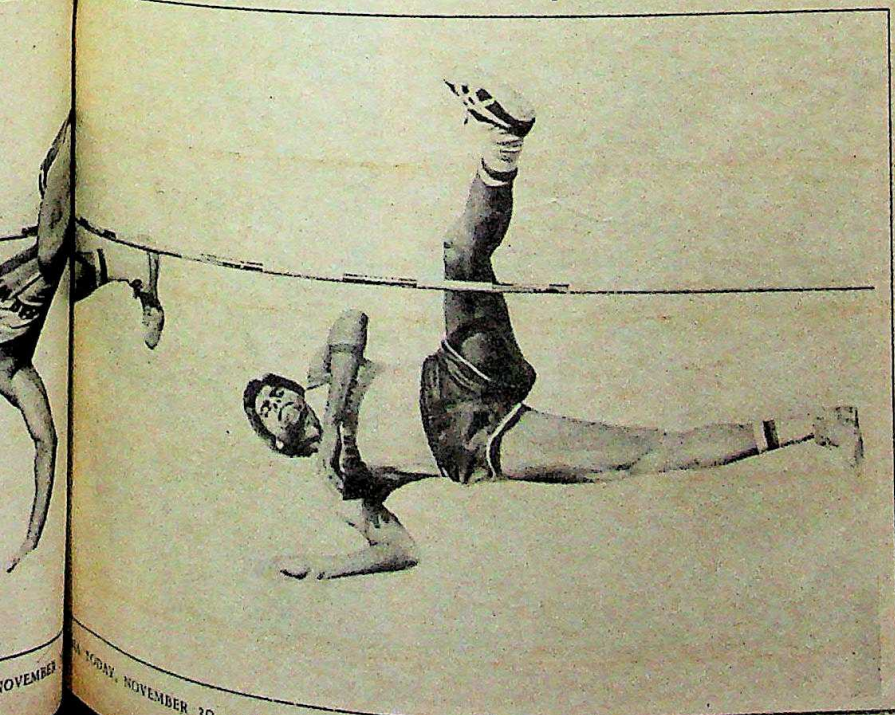
ON CURRENT form, India's brightest hopes are in the athletic contingent. Track and field events have a total of 120 medals and quite a few should wind up draped over Indian colours. Leading the field is a tall, wiry assistant sports instructor from Tata Iron and Steel Company (TISCO), Jamshedpur, Charles Borromeo, 24, the 800 m national champion. Borromeo, ironically enough, is one of the least-known of the Indian track stars. He started his athletic career as a student in Gujarat University in 1978 and first hit the headlines with a gold medal run in the Pakistan National Games with a timing of 1:54.

Since then, he has kept a low profile, throwing himself into training and the build-up for Asiad with quiet determination and steadily improving timings. He scorched the track at NIS last month with a timing of 1:47:8, the best timing by an Asian athlete this year. Though still below the Asian Games record of 1:45.77 set by India's Sriram Singh, Borromeo is confident of wearing the gold medal round his neck in the New Delhi Games. "I will finish the race in less than 1:47," he predicted.

Suresh Yadav, a young army lieutenant, will have to wait till the last day of the competition, December 2, to make his personal bid for gold in the 1,500 m, but it should be worth the while. A frail-looking 23-year-old, Yadav nevertheless has a fluid motion and is a perfectionist in everything he does. He topped the honours list at the Indian Military Academy where he took up athletics seriously and has been running superbly of late. His best timing for the event is a creditable 3:46.9, which is better than the Asian Games mark of 3:47.3.

Yadav, however, knows he will have to do far better if he is to wrest the gold from the 1,500 m favourite, Takashi Ishii of Japan who has clocked 3:38.2. He will also have to shrug off the challenge of China's Wang Bin and Japan's J. Motomaya, both of whom have clocked around the 3:47 mark. Yadav, however, is convinced that he has perfected his strategy for the race and his secret weapon, a powerful burst of speed in the last 60 m, should give him the silver if not the gold. "I still feel fresh after the race so I should do well," says Yadav modestly.

Hopeful: In fact, the army's regimented and disciplined environment has produced quite a few medal hopes, particularly in the longer distances. Apart from Yadav, there is Chand Ram, 24: The slim, bearded armyman originally took up hockey and only switched to his current event, the 20 km walk, in 1980. He showed his class almost immediately, striding away with the gold medal at the Asian Amateur Athletic Track and Field meet in Tokyo last year with a time of 1:34.08, a performance that is good enough to put him on the victory stand in New Delhi. The medal, however, will have to struggle for space with the silver chain and the string of beads he habitually wears as



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talismans whenever he competes. "With the better weather in New Delhi, I should do even better than at Tokyo," he warns.

Fellow-soldier Swarup Singh, who also switched midstream from the 20 km walk to the 50 km walk, is another excellent medal prospect. This event has only been held once before in the Asian Games calendar, in 1951, and consequently there are no comparative timings. But the long-striding Sikh clipped an hour and two minutes off the 1951 record which should put him firmly in the running, or rather walking, for a medal.

Old stalwart Shivnath Singh, 37, will be looking to end his athletic career in a blaze of glory in what is to be his last major competition. His age, however, will be a major handicap. Singh burned himself out in the 10,000 m at the September Trials and though his Patiala timing of 29:26.4 puts the gold out of his grasp, he is hoping for a silver or bronze. Singh, a security inspector at TISCO and the father of three children, has one strategy that could prove his undoing. He likes to lead the pack from start to finish but occasionally burns himself out too early in the race. "Like the Ethiopian Yifter (who is the same age), I still have the stamina," he insists, "everybody calls me the old man but before hanging up my spikes I will show them what I really am."

Medal-winning Performances: A far brighter prospect is Sabir Ali, 26, the 6 ft 3 in decathlon star. A powerfully-built and superbly-conditioned athlete, Ali was lured into the sporting arena by the offer of a track suit and a cash award of Rs 101 to the best all-round athlete in college and has never looked back since. National champion since 1978, Ali has earned the sobriquet of Asia's Daley Thompson. The Indian Railways ticket collector won the gold at the amateur Asian meet at Tokyo last year and has been consistently piling up around 7,400 points during training. "I hope to be doing around 7,600 by the time of the Asiad which is good enough for the gold medal," he says optimistically.

Medal prospects among the women athletes are a bit thin on the ground. Indian women have traditionally fared comparatively poorly at top-rank competition but the New Delhi Games should finally whet their appetite for some medal-winning performances. Sprint queen P.T. Usha, 18, the long-legged railway clerk has had a meteoric rise since she burst onto the sporting scene as a schoolgirl in 1978. Usha will be bidding for a sprint double in the 100 m and 200 m with her best timings being 11.8 and the 24.3 respectively. Her best bet, however, will be the 200 m though she will be going flat out for both. "I set my sights on both the medals three years ago and I have been training very hard since then," she says.

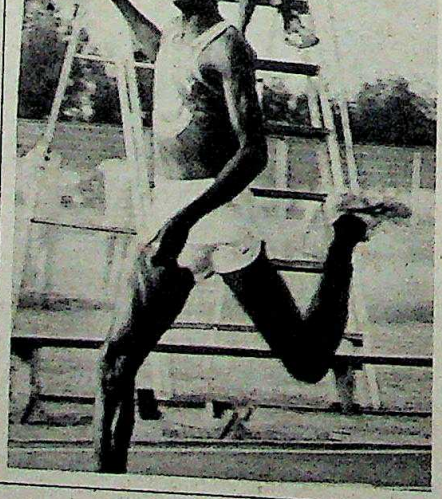
Consistent Performers: Middle distance runner Geeta Zutshi, 26, should be among the medal winners in the 800 m on present form. The slightly-built star has always performed better when the competition was the keenest, like her gold medal-winning burst of 2:06.6 in the 1978 Bangkok Asiad. But since then, she has failed to better her mark. Zutshi, however, attributes that to the lack of competition. "If I was allowed to train with the men, I would have done much better," she says spiritedly. If the competition is good enough and the home crowd an added psychological advantage she should have far better medal chances in the 800 m than the 1,500 m where her career-best of 4:28.2 is likely to place her among the also-rans.

The most consistent woman performer has been 400 m hurdler, M.D. Valsamma. The 22-year-old railway clerk has been constantly bettering her bronze-medal performance of 61.16 at last year's Tokyo meet. Her short stature has so far proved no major barrier in the hurdles and she breasted the tape at 60.9 last September. Since then, she has broken the one-minute barrier twice with timings of 59.8 and 59.6 which puts her firmly in the running for a gold medal. "All that lies between me and the gold medal are 10 hurdles," she quips confidently.

Valsamma should pick up another medal in the 4 × 400 m relay along with team-mates Rita Sen, Padmini Thomas and Sreekumari. The quartet ha 3:41.8 which compares very f with other top contenders, C Japan who have posted timings and 3:41.35 respectively this ye other possible medal hopes are per Mercy Mathews, 22, and He star Angel Mary Joseph. Mathew 6.23 m at the Brisbane Comm Games last October and has bette in practice sessions. "Long jum like pilots," says Mathews, "we decide on how much to travel up way before taking off. If I get a g off, I will land on a medal." Joseph to be in peak form with a point 5,265 which is just below the bes score of 5,518 set by China's Ye Pe

OUTSIDE the saucer Jawaharlal Nehru there should be a fair ing of medals. B.N. Jones, secretary of the Federation, predicts that his boys up medals in at least half the 12 and could give favourites Thailand for their money. His confidence i misplaced. Boxing standards ha proved remarkably in recent mon the Indian squad displayed at the B Games. Most of the Indian squ from the ranks of the army and ha through extensive and strenuous outs at the Army School of P

"I will finish the race in less than 1:47"
—CHARLES BORROMEO, 800 m



"All that lies between me the gold are 10 hurdles"
—M.D. VALSAMMA, 400 m hu

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in Pune and also the expert ad-
American coach Sam Hickman.
near-certainty for the gold is tower-
weight Kaur Singh, 32. The 6 ft
army havildar will be bidding for his
cessive gold medal this year hav-
the King's Cup Championship in
k and the Asian Boxing
ships in Seoul earlier this year.
sent form, he seems invincible.
heavyweight Brij Mohan, 26, an-
illery havildar, and Brisbane bro-
alist C.C. Machaiah should be
ding on the final day. India could
some more medals through fly-
Isaac Amaldass, 24, and feather-
M. Xavier, 22, but much will de-
the draw and whether they can
their handicaps when the chips
down. As Hickman comments:
boxers seem to have a mental
bout going all out for a win. They
killer instinct otherwise they are
any."

THE WRESTLING squad, still flushed from their fantastic medal blitz at Brisbane—nine medals in 10 events including four golds—should add tidily to India's final medal tally. Lower weight category, in particular, the best medal chances with Satbir the Delhi policeman who missed a medal at Brisbane through a last-minute injury, certain to vanquish all comers in the 62 kg class. NIS coach Bal Bhagwat feels that there could be upsets from the Mongolians and Japanese, but Satbir's brother Mahabir Singh, 18, and Bangkok gold medallists Rajinder Singh, 28, and Kartar Singh, 19, should grapple their way to the medals table.

The wrestlers have expressed their dissatisfaction with the Russian coaches M.M. Zenin and Vladimir Nastenrov in no uncertain terms. Says Mahabir: "We appreciate their suggestions to improve strength but for the all-important techniques of free-style wrestling, we prefer to listen to our Indian gurus."

THE STRONGMEN of the weight-lifting squad offer up some excellent medal prospects as well. Tara Singh, 27, the railway clerk from Jullundur has lifted over 330 kg in training and if he repeats that effort it should be enough to put him on the gold medal list. Singh, who downs a dozen eggs and a litre of milk at breakfast, will undoubtedly be joined by Gian Singh Cheema, the burly, bull-necked pub-owner from Birmingham who has been training hard in anticipation of representing his country finally. This year's nationals gave him that chance when he lifted 324 kg, a lift that, as he modestly remarks, "should get me among the medals."

The squad's Bulgarian coach, Lubimir Gradinarov has been carefully monitoring their progress and gradually reduced their weights as the big day approaches. "Heavy loads are only for training," he says, "but the diet should be reduced as the competition comes closer so that all the energy is used to the optimum level." Much of the squad's confidence comes from their brief but fruitful relationship with Gradinarov. As Vispi Daroga, 24, the powerfully-built railway clerk says: "If the Bulgarian coach was brought in two years ago instead of in April we could have won gold medals in many of the weight classes. We are lifting 15 tonnes a day in training as compared to five or six tonnes last year. The Indian coaches knew that this was the best technique but they were afraid to ask us to lift heavier loads."

ANOTHER sport where India has made steady progress is shooting and they could strike gold at the Tughlakabad Ranges. There are 22 gold medals to be won in shooting and though the Koreans and Japanese should bag a majority of them, India would not be unduly hard-pressed to pick up a few along the way. Certainly, Mohinder Lal, 35, the tall Border Security Force deputy commandant is likely to pick up a medal in at least one of the three events he is competing in. Lal's best chance is in the standard pistol event. In the Bangkok Games, his score of 546 points out of 600 relegated him to 21st position but since then he has consistently been on target with scores of 558 in the Manila Championships in 1980 and 565 points back in India which broke the national record. Out at the Tughlakabad Range, Lal has consistently clipped the Asian mark with scores of 573, 575 and 578, and, as he says: "Anything above 570 should be good enough for a medal." (The Asian record is 571).

Lal should also pick up a medal in the standard pistol team event along with team-mates Sharad Chauhan, Major R.K. Vij and Bhanvar Singh. The team is hoping for a combined score of around 2,240 points which should put them in the running for a silver.

Traditionally, India's strongest challenge in shooting has been in the trap events. Randhir Singh, 36, three-time national champion, has been hitting an average of 188.4 this year and feels that 190 is good enough to put him among the medals. He should also strike gold by teaming up with Karni Singh, India's best-known and most experienced marksman. The 59-year-old Karni Singh is getting on in years but has lost none of his touch and

"I set my sights on both medals three years ago"
—P.T. USHA, sprint double

"My scores should be good enough for a medal"
—MOHINDER LAL, standard pistol

SREEKANT KHANDIKAR

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keen eye. Last year, he picked up the North Wales Cup and the North West Cup and the Welsh Grand Prix title, the first man to win all three titles in a year. Says Randhir: "Our team is pretty tough and we stand an excellent chance." Karni Singh agrees but also cautions that the Chinese are an unknown quantity. But the fact that the Indians have been practicing at the newly-built ranges and have got accustomed to its characteristics should give them an all-important edge.

THAT advantage could also hold true for cycling, a sport that India has only recently come into its own. One near-certainty for a brace of medals is Maxwell Trevor, 19, the highly-talented youngster who has been one of the biggest success stories in Indian sport this year. The stocky, curly-hair cyclist's saga is all the more amazing considering that he only took to the sport in January 1981. Since then, his performance has been nothing short of spectacular.

A fortnight after he started cycling competitively, he pedalled off with an incredible five golds and one bronze in the junior and one gold and a silver in the senior section at the inter-state championships. A month later, in the junior nationals, he picked up golds in all the five events he entered and then capped it all by smashing two senior national records in the September Trial Games. Trevor, however, tragically fell sick after the Trial Games and there is a possibility that he may miss out on his medals this time round. He is, however, young enough to look forward to the next Asiad if he is declared unfit this time.

The 100-km team trial is another event in which Danish coach Kim Refshammer is convinced India can pick up a medal. The team of Amar Singh, C.M. Kurni, Inderjit Singh and Kanwaljeet Singh clocked 2:25.32 in practice earlier this month which clearly puts them in line for a medal. In fact, it is obvious that had Refshammer arrived earlier than September, India's medal challenge in cycling could have been far stronger. Says one cyclist: "If Kim had come two years ago instead of two months ago we could have done wonders."

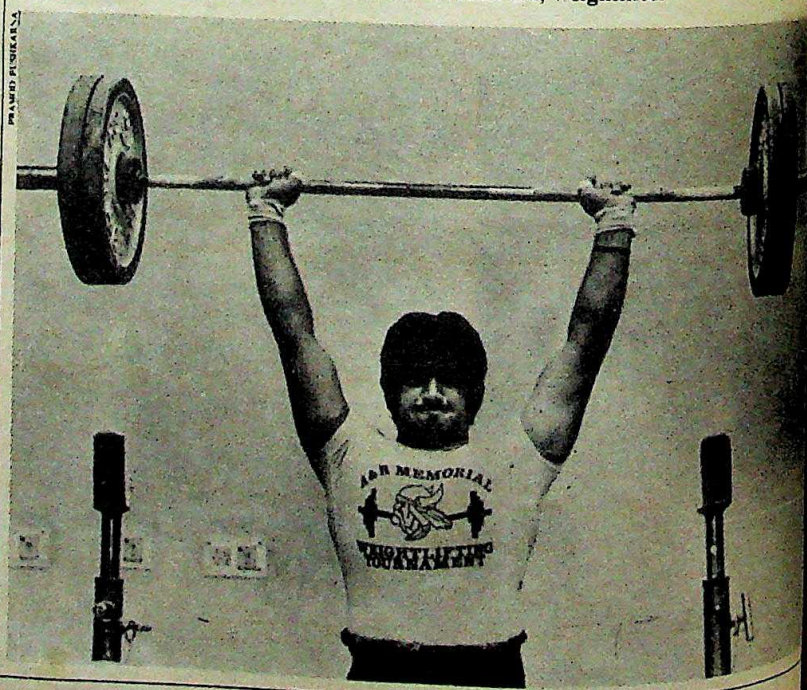
THE EQUESTRIAN team, which is an all-army affair, are a little uncertain about their chances but that is natural considering that the sport is being introduced for the first time in the Asian Games. However, with the army in control and extensive training they feel that a couple of medals will not be too much to hope for. The Japanese and the Middle-East countries will undoubtedly gallop off with most of the medals, largely because of the huge amounts of money they are able to spend on buying the best horseflesh. Indian team members are confident of at least two medals. "We should pick up a silver in the three-day event and possibly the gold in the tent-pegging," says one of the team.

WITH a total of 102 medals up for grabs in the swimming competition, it is tragic that India's medal chances are practically nil. The difference in timings between Indian swimmers and their Japanese or Chinese counterparts is a gap that seems unbridgeable. Swimming coach Bernad Johnke from East Germany has managed to improve timings considerably in the short time he has had the swimming squad under his wing, but there is still a long way to go before they can add to the medal tally. Johnke puts this down to the late stage at which swimmers in India are spotted for potential and then taken in tow. Says Johnke: "They have to be spotted when really young, preferably in their early teens which helps them to develop techniques to move faster before the body is fully formed. Much more could be done for the swimmers if they were younger."

His favourite example is of course, Bula Choudhury, the 12-year-old who was the star of the September Choudhury, a frail, waif-like figure through the water for an incredible medals in the meet and the best title. Choudhury owes her success body but herself and her taught herself to swim in a nearby and later graduated to the river home on the outskirts of Calcutta. undoubtedly the most exciting prospect the country has produced cades. Under Johnke's guidance, she adapted to modern training and though her chances in New Delhi as slim as she is, she could position India's golden girl by the time the Asiad comes around.

INDIA's equally slender of a medal in badminton nosedived with Prakash kone dropping out of the The badminton court is to be swamped by the Chinese Indonesians but India could have up at least one or two medals if the rities had not made their usual blunders According to chief coach, T.P.S. Pu team could have earned themselves cisive edge if they had been permitted practise in the indoor stadium courts venue is important to gauge several that influence the flight of shuttlecock—the humidity, draughts

"I should be among the medalists"
—GIAN SINGH CHEEMA, weightlifter



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HOCKEY

Clash Of The Giants

FOR INDIAN sports fans, no rather gold medal will be as valued as the hockey one and no other ma- more keenly watched than the clash of the giants, Pakistan and India. On recent form, it seems inevitable that the two traditional rivals will once again battle it out for the gold in the finals. Since the introduction of hockey at the Asiad agenda in 1958 India has beaten Pakistan only once in Bangkok in 1966.

This time, however, India has a slight edge by virtue of playing before a home crowd and on a familiar ground. We beat Pakistan in our last meeting in Amsterdam and for the last few months we have had almost uninterrupted practice on the astroturf," says India's new hockey captain Zaffar Iqbal, 25, the Indian Airlines engineering supervisor and an international for the last seven years.

Good Prospects: Though Iqbal refused to stretch his neck out and predict an Indian gold, the team is fighting fit and have never combined better in practice matches held so far. Since September, they have been training on the synthetic surface on which the matches will be played under the eagle eye of coach Balbir Singh Jr.

The team's initial awkwardness on the faster synthetic surfaces seems to have been overcome and the main strike force of Mervyn Fernandes, 23, and Mohammed Shahid, 22, have disciplined themselves into reducing their solo flights and the forward line now moves like a well-oiled machine. Says Singh: "About 30 of the 35 goals scored by the team during inter-zonal competitions were field goals and only five goals were scored against the side." That statistical data is significant considering the fact that till now India's goals in international competitions have come mainly from short corner hits.

Pakistan will of course be going all out to avenge their Amsterdam defeat. However, there are indications that all is not well with the Pakistan combination. A worthy replacement is yet to be found for the pivotal centre-half and former captain Akhtar Rasool. Also, Saleem Sherwani, their goalkeeper, is out of the running, having been punished for allegedly making a pass at a chambermaid in a hotel. Qamar Zia is a poor replacement. It is clear that even the great Hassan Sardar and his penetrating line of forwards—admittedly the best in the world—will have to give off more than their best to bring the gold home.

For the first time during the Asiad a new hockey rule will be in force in the corner conversions. Instead of trapping the ball with the hand as was being done earlier, it will now have to be trapped by the player's stick at the top of the penalty circle. But since the new rule has only been enforced since October, it will not give any particular team an advantage.

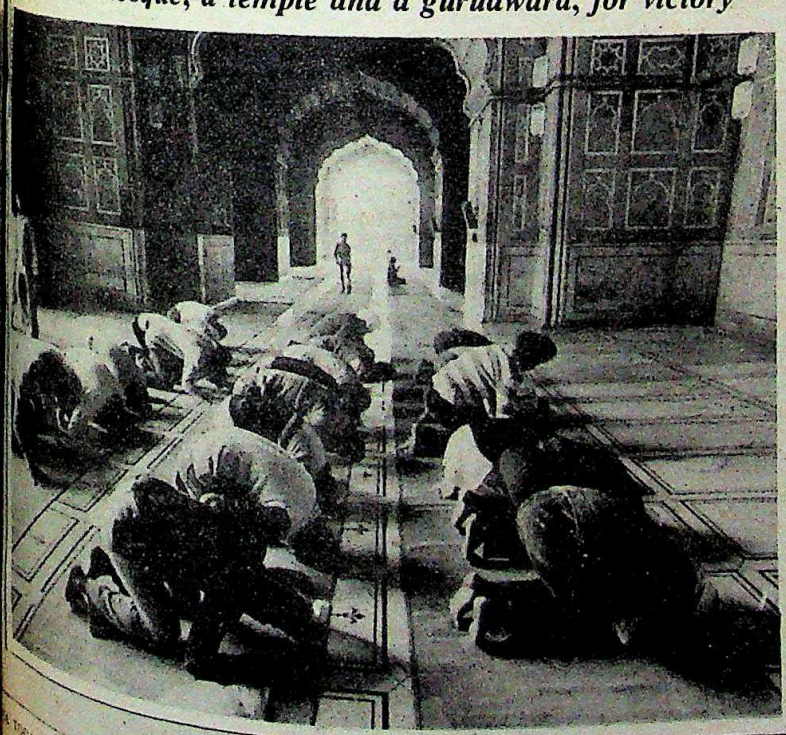
India's main chink continues to be in the goalkeeping department, though Romeo James, 24, has fared considerably better than his rival for the post, veteran Mir Ranjan Negi, 24. Both men have been through extensive work-outs. However, they have good covering fire in the deep defenders, Rajinder Singh, 25, the penalty corner expert and Vineet Kumar, 24. The team chosen is a good blend of age and experience with only one newcomer in Rajinder Singh Jr, who replaces former skipper Surinder Singh Sodhi. Fernandes and Shahid are ably supported in the forward line by nippy striker Jagdeep Singh Gill, 22.

Unlike the men, the women's hockey team start as clear favourites for the gold. Women's hockey is being introduced for the first time in the Asian Games and India's win at the inaugural Asian Women's Championship in Kyoto, Japan, last year should boost their chances even further. Eliza Nelson, 25, captain of the team, is however, non-committal about the gold medal. "Our chances are good," says the Bombay-based railway employee, "but both Japan and Korea have improved tremendously."

Nelson feels that because most of the women's team is made up of railways players, the coordination will be better. Coach Balkishen Singh is more forthright in his predictions. "We should win," he says confidently. The only drawback is the fact that the forward line of Rajbir Kaur, Selma D'Silva and Nazleen Madraswala have displayed a tendency to be goal-shy. In practice matches, they move fast and combine well but choke up when they get to the striking circle. Nelson puts this down to the fact that they have not had as much practice on the astroturf as the men. On current form, however, they look good enough for the gold.

—AMARNATH K. MENON

"Just before the Games, the Indian team prayed at a church, a mosque, a temple and a gurudwara, for victory"



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are always present in a large hall, lighting and the background. The team arrived in Delhi on October 18 but were unable to get proper practice.

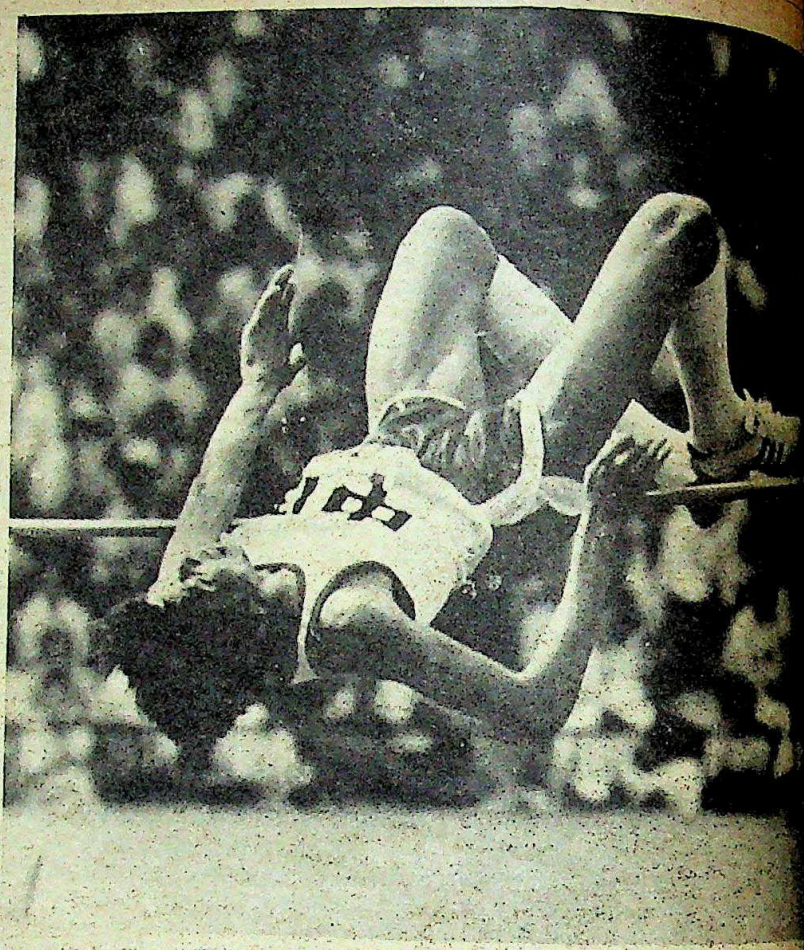
Finally, in desperation, the team threatened to go on a hunger strike on November 3 and only then was the matter sorted out. The damage, however, has undoubtedly been done and whatever chances the team had have rapidly evaporated.

Taken together with the hockey medals, both men and women (*see box*) and a possible medal in golfing, it looks like India should end the Games with anything between 40 and 50 medals which is nowhere near the top of the table but a vast improvement on its 28 medals in the last Asiad at Bangkok. It would be nothing short of a miracle if India can pick up any medals in gymnastics, archery, basketball, tennis, table tennis or volleyball.

Low Standards: In fact, Indian standards in these events are pitiable compared to their fellow-Asians. The reasons, of course, are legion, lack of equipment and proper training being only a piece of the whole messy cake. As sports commentator Novy Kapadia states in a recent article: "The basic defect of Indian sport is that there are no systematic and scientifically planned programmes for games in the schools," the place where other countries usually pick their future stars from. Kapadia estimates that out of the 500,000-odd high schools in the country, only about 1.8 per cent have playgrounds. In Delhi, the venue for the Asiad, there are 1,500 primary schools run by the Municipal Corporation of which 540 do not possess playgrounds and less than 10 per cent have physical instructors.

But in the ultimate analysis, it is the powers-that-be that really count. Especially with sports bodies and athletes so totally dependent on government sponsorship and doles. And yet, when an event like the Asiad comes around, it is the politicians who jump on the bandwagon and rudely elbowing out the professionals, the men who should really be in charge. Perhaps it would not be too much to hope that India's expected medal tally and the fall-out from the Asiad will spur the Government into spending more time and money on sports and not letting the state-of-the-art stadia built at such enormous cost remain a fig-leaf to cover the nakedness that exists in what has been all along a low-priority area. Asiad '82 is a watershed in Indian sport. It would be the ultimate tragedy if it were to wind up as only an expensive exercise in political propaganda.

—DILIP BOBB with AMARNATH K. MENON and SREEKANT KHANDEKAR



China/Japan Battle F

THE NINTH Asian Games may well turn out to be Asia's dress rehearsal for the Olympic Games at Los Angeles two years from now. The standards set in most events are likely to be much closer to international levels than ever before. But more than anything, the Asiad will be the site for an exciting clash between the two sports superpowers of the region—Japan and China.

Until 1974, Japan had an easy run. In the sixth Asiad at Bangkok in 1970, for instance, Japan got 144 medals (74 of them gold) and the number two country in the medals tally, South Korea, was way behind with 54 (only 18 gold). In the 1974 Games at Teheran, Japan had a list of 176 wins (75 gold) and the Chinese, in their very first outing, took second place with 89 medals (33 of them gold).

In the 1978 Games, China gave notice of their determination to be the top team by narrowing down the margin be Japan and itself: while Japan secure medals, including 70 gold medals, notched up an impressive 151 ries—51 of them gold. The last year provided more evidence of China's wess: in 1981, that country won 25 international titles in individual and events—an all-time record for any The 1982 Asiad may well boil down tussle between these two countries top spot. After all, in 1978 at Ban between them the two bagged 329 629 medals at stake—well over half total.

Keen Contests: The result of the for the 196 golds (total medals: stake this time will be decided, as primarily through two sports—b with 40, and swimming with 34 gold als. One of the most exciting Che Zou Zhenxian, 27, who has been best national athlete in China for years in a row. He has broken the

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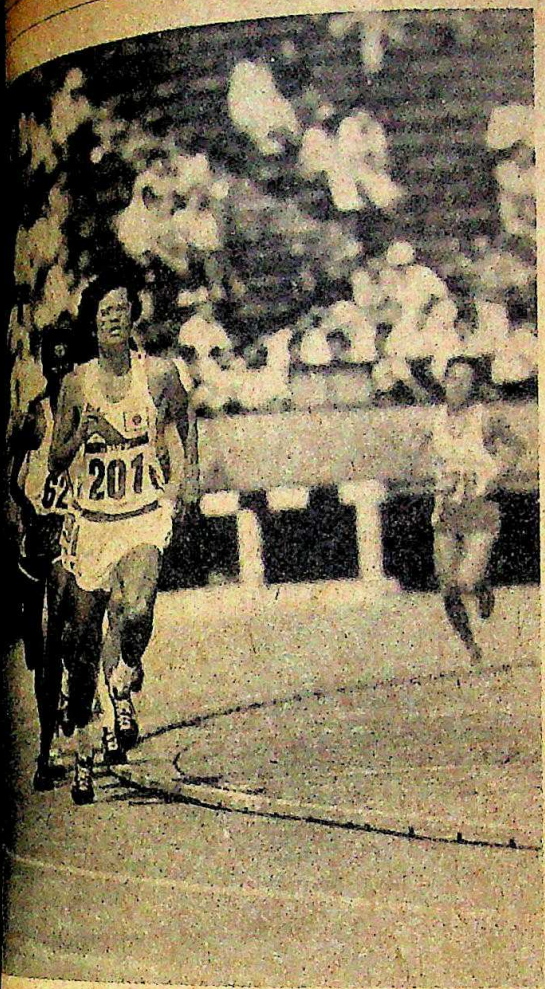

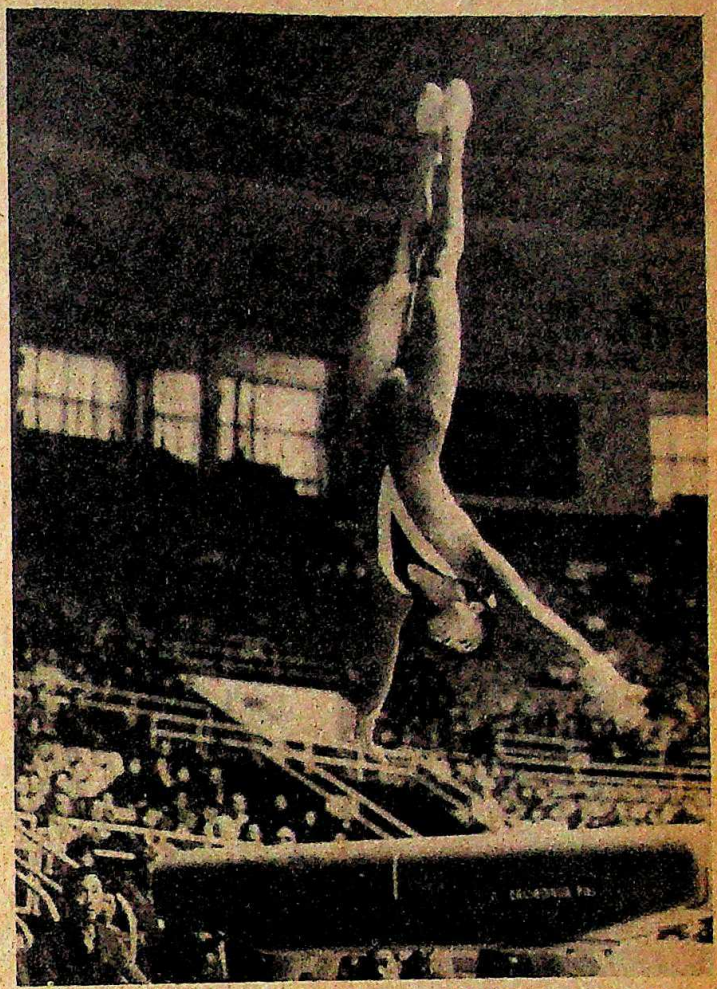

(from left) Chinese high jumper Zhu Jianhua, Japanese marathon star Shigeru So and Li Cuing, champion Chinese gymnast

Fo premacy

...p record five times and at the ...Students Games in Bucharest last ...won th gold. In the World Cup ...at Rome his attempt of 17.34 m ...a silver.

...other Chinese male athletes ...the world's top 10 in their events. ...ang, with a long jump effort of ...holds the Asian record; this ...the ninth-best in the world ever. ...p the ladder is high jumper Zhu ...the five-foot 10 inch physical ...student, whose best of 2.30 m ...the fifth spot in the world and ...far below the world record of ...

...rently, Chinese men hold four and ...seven Asian records. Among the ...standing is woman high jumper ...Dezhen who earlier this year equal- ...Asian record held by Japan's ...Fukumitsu, of 1.93 m. In fact, the ...are bound to shock more than ...since their improvement has been steady—less than a year ago, at the first open international athletic meet in Beijing, for example, the Chinese bettered 10 of their own records.

THE JAPANESE, however, are certain to give China a difficult time. In the last Asiad, Japan had 11 medals in athletics to China's 12, with Japan ahead among men and China one up among the women. Japan's athletic team of 53 (including 20 women) consists primarily of new faces and only eight of this lot have competed in the last Asiad.

Stars: One of the safest Japanese bets is 26-year-old Tomomi Takahashi, a pole vaulter who holds the Asian record of 5.51 m. He won the top place, both at the Crystal Palace meet in London last July and at the eight-nation track and field meet in Tokyo earlier this year. A prominent contestant among the women will be high jumper and current Asian record holder Hisayo Fukumitsu, 22, who has cleared 1.93 m in a 1981 meet.

Alongside them is a 37-year-old, whose performance in the Asian Games has been nothing short of incredible. Shigenobu Murofushi holds both the Asian as well as the Asian Games record in the hammer throw. Since 1966, when Murofushi won the silver, he has won the gold in the last three consecutive Asian Games. The disappointment really comes from the absence of Japanese marathon men—and one woman—who are as good as the best in the world. Toshihiko Seko, Takeshi So and Shigeru So will all be missing, just as Akemi Masuda, a 17-year-old girl hailed as a prodigy. Though Masuda, holder of the Asian record in the 3,000 m steeple chase for women will be absent, 20-year-old Shino Izutsu will probably give a bad time to North Korea's veteran, Kim Ok Sun who holds the Asian Games record.

In swimming, the Japanese undoubtedly have an edge over China. In the 1978 Asiad they grabbed 25 gold medals and

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THE GAMES

Firm Favourites

THE ASIAN Games have grown considerably in scope since they came into existence in New Delhi 31 years ago. On that occasion there were less than 500 athletes from six countries competing for 56 gold medals. At the eighth Asian Games at Bangkok in 1978, there were 3,843 contestants from 25 countries. In 1982, there will be about 5,500 competitors from 33 countries vying for the 184 gold medals at stake.

According to reports from overseas, a majority of the countries have trained at length, and the result is likely to show in the demolition of a large number of Asian Games records. An assessment of the favourites in each sport:

Archery: In the last Asiad, when this sport was introduced for the first time, Japan took six of the 12 medals—gold, silver and bronze—in four events. China, the two Koreas and Indonesia were the other winners. The contest will again be restricted primarily to these countries, though among women, the South Koreans, who recently bettered one world record in an international meet in Japan, may have an edge.

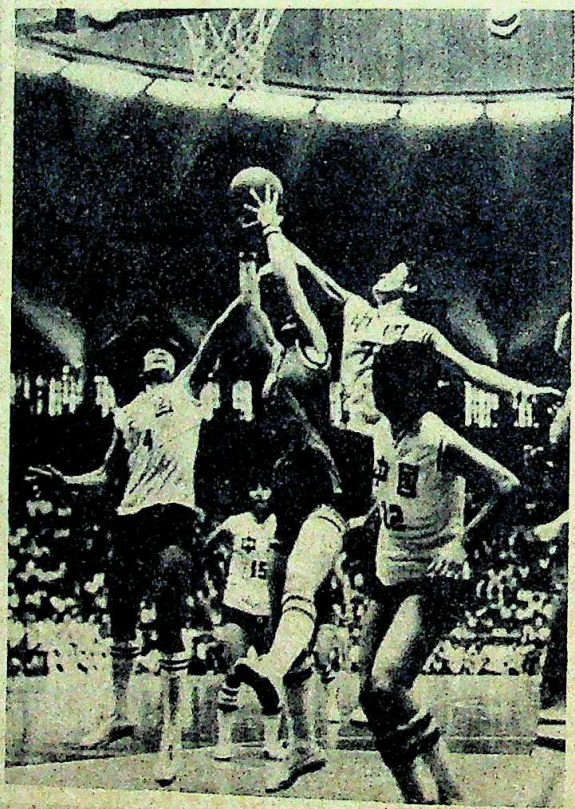
Athletics: In this most important of sports—with its total of 120 medals—Japan and China will be in the forefront, with India in third place. In the 1978 Asiad, India collected 18 medals to China's 34 and Japan's 35.

China's strength lies in its women athletes, and added to this is the fact that the Chinese have gained enormous international exposure over the past four years. The Chinese may well overtake the Japanese this time.

Badminton: With India's Prakash Padukone and Malaysia's Misbun Sidek out of the way, the men's events are bound to see a clash between Indonesia and China for the top place. In the women's, these two countries will also have to contend with Japan.

Basketball: In this fast 40-minute game in which virtually every second counts, the Chinese are firm favourites in the men's event. They were placed third in 1974 and first in 1978. Moreover, they have won the Asian title four years running. In the women's, South Korea may win though the Chinese will certainly give them a difficult time. Japan and North Korea are the other major contenders.

Boxing: Four years ago, Thailand and South Korea were tops in this sport, which has a total of 36 medals this time in 12 weight categories. On current form, these two countries should emerge on top again, going by the results of the 10th Asian Boxing Championships in Seoul earlier this year. The other countries certain to pick up some medals are Pakistan, North Korea, Japan, Indonesia and India.



South Korean forward scoring against China in the women's basket ball event

Cycling: For 21 medals at stake, Japan with 12 contestants in the fray is fairly certain to get the top spot. But they face tough competition from China and South Korea, particularly the latter, which won four places [illegible] last Games. Iran and India will [illegible] limited challenge.

Football: In the last Asiad, the [illegible] Koreas, with their strained rel[illegible] were dramatically pitched against [illegible] other in the final which turned [illegible] be a goalless draw. The two were [illegible] red joint winners. This year, these [illegible] tries will have to contend, among [illegible] ers, with China, Iran, Iraq and Ku[illegible]

Gymnastics: This promises to [illegible] an exciting event, since Asian stand[illegible] have soared over the past few ye[illegible] China is the best bet though Japa[illegible] performance is of a high [illegible] as well. North Korea is [illegible] ender number three [illegible] South Korea right behind.

Hockey (men): Tra[illegible] nal rivals Pakistan and I[illegible] will be major opponents [illegible] time too, with Malaysia ca[illegible] ble of providing more th[illegible] one moment of tension. [illegible] rent performance and the p[illegible] record in the Asian [illegible] mes—a gold, five out of [illegible] times—places Pakistan [illegible] undoubtedly the m[illegible] promising position.

Shooting: For this sp[illegible] with its total of 66 medals [illegible] very close quadrangular co[illegible] est is certain between Chi[illegible] Japan and the two Koreas. [illegible] the last Asiad, China bag[illegible] maximum of 18 places, [illegible] the other three countries [illegible] close behind. Thailand, [illegible] will pick up some medals.

Swimming: Perhaps [illegible] major sport—in terms of m[illegible] dals—is dominated so comp[illegible] tely by one country as sw[illegible] ming is by Japan. In [illegible] Games at Bangkok last [illegible] Japan had the incredible [illegible] of more than 50 medals in [illegible] sport alone—and 25 of [illegible] were gold. Japan is sure to emerge [illegible] number one with China in second p[illegible] and possibly Indonesia emerging th[illegible]

Table Tennis: Just as swimmin[illegible] primarily Japan's domain, table te[illegible] is China's, where they won all [illegible] gold medals in the last Games. T[illegible] are sure to emerge as the number [illegible] Asian nation in a sport in which [illegible] continent has dominated the w[illegible] And if they repeat their clean swe[illegible] should not come as a surprise.

Lawn Tennis: Shorn of its [illegible] professionals—the Amritraj bro[illegible] and Shashi Menon—India. A[illegible]

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tennis, is at a severe disad- countries in the race in men's e China, Japan, South Korea certain extent, Indonesia, the gold winners in the team the women's section too, the tries are favourites though likely to be some upsets.

Volleyball: In action will be teams have reached the top in worldwi- petition. In the men's the tussle among 1978 gold winners South Japan, which finished second won the Olympic gold 10 years China, which finished, third and has done well in interna championships.

same three countries are in the ng women, though China are by virtue of their top place rd World Cup Women's Voll- championships last year.

Weight-lifting: In an event in the competitors will range in less than 52 kg to over 110 will be 30 medals. Basic com- will be confined to weight lif- Japan, China and North though South Korea and some last nations should record a scores.

Wrestling: In the 10 weight cate- free style wrestling, Japan will maintain its top place which it time. Also in the race will be which bagged half a dozen last time; and South Korea. Pa- and India should also emerge the top five.

Sailing: It is doubtful if any sailor will emerge in this sport, to in Bombay, which has competi- four classes—Fire Ball, Enter- OK Dinghy and Windglider. Japan, Thailand, Singapore, Pa- and Sri Lanka should be among

new sports have been introdu- time, and there being no record competition, it is difficult to picture of favourites. In equ- events, however, Japan, South and Iraq should be in the van- with India hoping to pick up a two. Golf will have contest- Japan, the Philippines and Korea in the lead.

handball. Kuwait is possibly the with Japan, South Korea and as possible competitors. In hockey, India are clearly and Japan and South Korea will to be in the top three. In Jaipur, Japan, China and Korea are the major hopefuls.

his time, according to Japan Swimming Federation officials, they will have a go at all 29 golds. Among them is a 14-year-old schoolgirl, Hiroko Nagasaki, who timed 2 min 33.05 sec in the 200-metre breaststroke three months ago at the World Swimming Championships in Guayaquil to emerge fourth. Also in the same race will be 16-year-old Naritoshi Matsuda who has been doing extremely well. Another teenager certain to figure in the victors' list is Koto Maeda, 15, who in a meet in California this August beat the Asian Games record in the 100 m backstroke for women by clocking 1 min 05.24 sec. The Japanese women's team in the 4 × 100 m medley relay, with a recently recorded timing of 4 min 24.55 sec, is also certain to leave its closest opponent far behind.

China's Han Jian, top badminton seed

China will have a difficult time in swimming, but they have made large strides and currently hold three Asian swimming records. China will, however, try to reduce the gap somewhat by trying to bag all four golds in platform and springboard diving, both for men and women. This year, at the 14th International Diving Championships in Canada, the Chinese captured four golds and three silvers. The most graceful of them all is Chen Xiaoxia among the women and Li Hongping among the men, both of whom specialise in platform diving. Xiaoxia came on the international scene four years ago at the 10th World University Games and has been world champion for two years running. Hongping was the world champion last year.

Talented Performers: China will pro bably use table tennis to boost their medals tally once again. In the last Asiad they won all seven golds, and going by current form it will not be surprising if they repeat their feat. In the world table tennis championships last year they won all seven events. Their formidable team includes names like Guo Yuehua, Cai Zhenhua, Xie Saike, Tong Ling and Cao Yanhua. Possibly the only Japanese who can pose a challenge is former world champion Seiji Ono, 26.

In badminton too, China will try to forge ahead with its galaxy of superstars. In the clash for supremacy among men, there should be a bitter clash between China and Indonesia; but among women, hardly any country can challenge China. In mid-1981, Japanese women annexed the Uber Cup, beating the Indonesians 6–3 in the finals. But over the past year everything has turned topsy-turvy: in the All-England Championships this year, in the women's singles quarter-finals, seven of eight contestants were Chinese. The Japanese men have lost out and China will have to be content with the Indonesians whom they beat 5–4 earlier this year to win the Thomas Cup.

Rising Standards: Gymnastics will provide 14 medals and will be the cause of considerable excitement because Asian standards are very close to world levels. At the 1981 World Gymnastics Championships the Chinese men's team stood third and the women's second. The Japanese squad in comparison includes Nobuyuki Kajitani, 27, and Yayoi Kano, 19, both of whom are extremely talented and highly rated at any level of competition.

Seventeen kilometres from the heart of Delhi, a fierce triangular contest is certain to rage on the rifle ranges of Tughlakabad—shooting, with 22 golds, has the third highest number of medals. In the last Asiad, China (eight golds), Japan (six) and North Korea (five) shot closely for the top place. Chinese shooters, especially women, have improved enormously over the past decade; but the North Koreans and the Japanese may well run them close in a sport where, apart from a trained eye and a steady hand, concentration and mental make-up are of the utmost importance.

While their records point to a flood of victories for these two countries, the margin between victory and defeat in all games will be narrower than ever before. A number of countries have been in training for this crucial moment over the past two years and performances all around are bound to be better. Victory will be extremely sweet, but the bitterness of defeat may well be unbearable too.

—RANJIT BHATIA and SREEKANT KHANDEKAR

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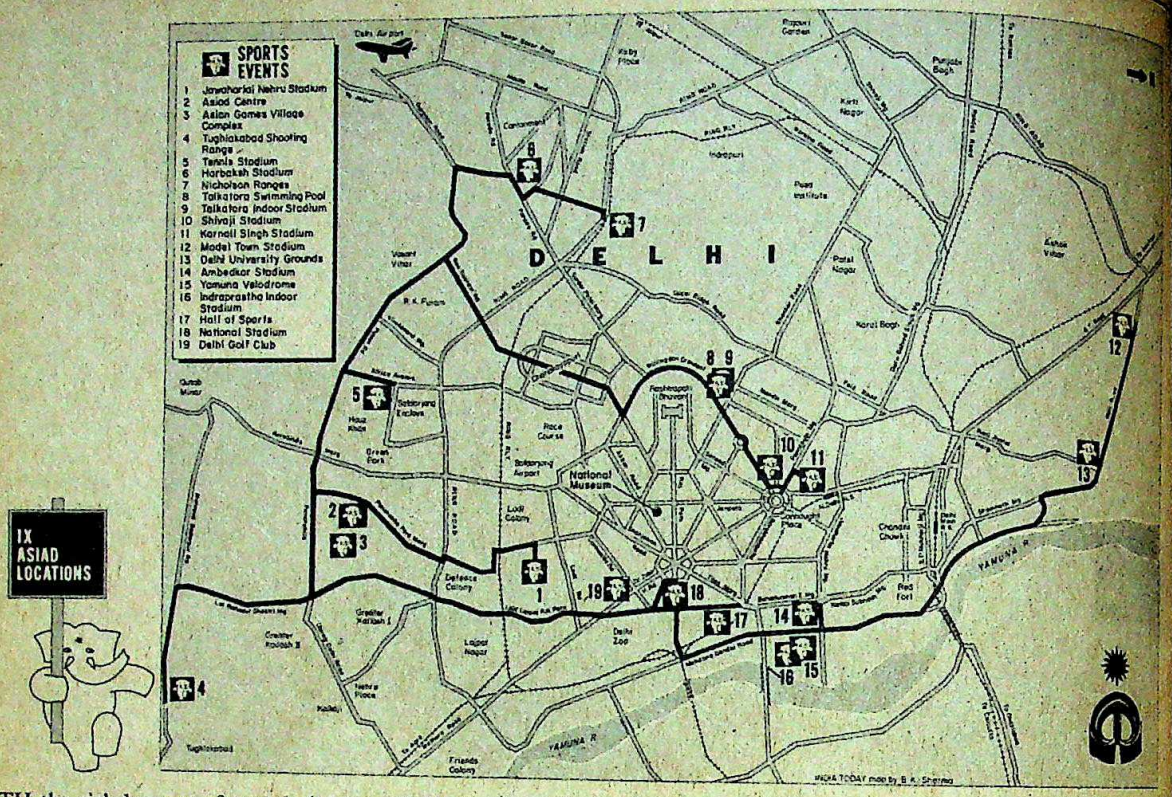

WITH the rich harvest of medals (156) available in the track and field events, the main focus of the Games will inevitably centre around the Jawaharlal Nehru Stadium. However, the athletic challenge starts only on November 25. The timings for the athletic events are from 10 a.m. to 11.45 a.m. and between p.m. and 4.30 p.m. Since the other 20 events being held in Delhi are in different stadia and the timings clash, below is a to-day guide of what will be the most interesting event to

► **November 20:** The official start of the track and field schedule, featuring mainly preliminary events. Visually, the most promising events on this day will be the start of the gymnastics competition at the Indraprastha Indoor Stadium with the men's team competitions. Running a close second will be the swimming heats at the Talkatora swimming pool for both men and women. Other interesting events will be the start of the equestrian, basketball, football and hockey events. Weight-lifting has one final a day starting from the 52 kg class on November 20 and ending with the over 110 kg class on November 29.

► **November 21:** Swimming finals will obviously draw the largest crowds on this day with the finals of the 200 m free-style, 400 m individual medley and the 200 m breast-stroke for both men and women. There will also be a gold rush at the archery competitions at the Delhi University Grounds with four gold medals.

► **November 22:** Four more golds to be won in the archery competitions and the start of the shooting competition. All eyes will, however, be focussed on the pool where interesting heats will be in progress.

► **November 23:** Cycling picks up speed with two finals, some medals to be won at the shooting range, the semi-finals of the tennis event and once again, excitement at the pool with the finals of the 400 m free-style, 200 m back-stroke and 200 m butterfly for both men and women.

► **November 24:** A comparatively quiet day with the interest centred around two semi-finals in the cycling events and the swimming heats.

► **November 25:** Swimming again dominates the day with eight finals, including the 4 × 100 m free-style relay (amen and women). There are two final events in the cycling competition and much interest will be generated in the hockey semi-finals for women. Table tennis fans have their big day with most of the finals in the individual events on this; the last day of the table tennis competition. Equestrian buffs can see the finals of the show jumping event.

Athletics: The first day of the track and field events with six finals and 18 medals up for grabs. In the pole vault (11.30 a.m.) shot put (11.45 a.m.) 20 km walk (2.30 p.m.) and the 10,000 m for men (2.45 p.m.) and the discus throw for women (1.00 p.m.). The star event will be the 4 × 100 m relay for women (3.30). Japanese women have won the event five times in the previous eight Asiads with the Philippines and Thailand taking gold once each, the last-named being record-holders having won the event 46:20 sec in the 1978 Bangkok Games.

► **November 26:** Also a comparatively uneventful day with two finals in the ing events and the women's hockey However, football should have reached interesting stage and the swimming will be well attended as usual.

Athletics: Another 18 medals won in the finals of the javelin (1.30 3,000 m steeplechase (3.15 p.m.), hurdles (2.10 p.m.), 800 m (1.30 p.m the 4 × 100 m relay for men (2.30 and the 800 m for women (1.45 p.m. 800 m for men and women is certain the highlight of the day with India excellent medal chances in both.

► **November 27:** Three finals in ming including the 4 × 200 m free relay for men and women which again pushes the swimming pool top of the day's card, though the ba ton semi-finals in the team events Indraprastha Indoor Stadium come second. Boxing fans can look forward the start of the elimination bouts an interesting morning at the Ha

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	Boxing Championship	Basketball	Football		Volleyball	Lawn Tennis	Hockey Match	Hockey Warm-up	Shooting	Swimming	Weightlifting	Weight-lifting	Badminton	Athletics	Handball	Boxing	Cycling	Table Tennis	Equestrian Events	Boxing	Wrestling	Golf	Gymnastics	Archery	Sailing Regatta
November 19 Friday	1																	17							
November 20 Saturday		9	14	12	1	16	5	18	10		8	2	■					17	6	●			16		
November 21 Sunday		9	14	12	1	16	5	18	10		8	2	■				15	17	6	●		18	16	13	
November 22 Monday		9	14	12	1	16	5	18	10	4	8	2	■					17	7	●		19	16	13	
November 23 Tuesday		9	14	12	1	16	5	18	10	4	8	2	■			13		15	17	6		19	16		
November 24 Wednesday		9	14	12	1	16	5	18	10	4	8	2	■			13		15	17		●	19			
November 25 Thursday		9	14	12	1	16	5	18	10	4	8	2	■	16	1	13		15	17	6	●				
November 26 Friday		9		12	1		5	18	10	4	8	2	■	16	1	13	17	15							
November 27 Saturday		9		12	1	16	5	18		4	8	2	■	16	1	13	17			6					
November 28 Sunday		9		12	1	16	5	18		4	8	2	■	16	1	13	17	15				14			
November 29 Monday		9				16	5	18			8	2		16			17					14			
November 30 Tuesday		9			1	16	5	18		4				16	1	13	17					14			
December 1 Wednesday		9			1	16	5	18		4				16	1		17					14			
December 2 Thursday		9			1	16				4				16	1							14			
December 3 Friday		9			1	16								16			17								
December 4 Saturday																									1

1,2,... VENUE (SEE MAP)
• SEMI-FINAL ★ FINAL
■ BOMBAY (Arrival Gate)
● JAIPUR (Passport Lobby)

	AM	PM	AM	PM	AM	PM	AM	PM	AM	PM	AM	PM	AM	PM	AM	PM	AM	PM	AM	PM	AM	PM	AM	PM	AM	PM	AM	PM	AM	PM	AM	PM	AM	PM	AM	PM	AM	PM
	-	3.00-5.00	9.00-12.00	1.00-10.00	-	3.30-9.00	-	1.30-4.30	-	9.00-1.00	3.00-10.00	11.00-4.30	11.00-12.30	1.30-4.30	9.30-11.00	1.30-4.30	9.00-12.30	2.00-4.30	9.30-12.30	1.30-4.30	-	2.30-6.30	-	3.00-4.30	9.00-1.00	2.00-6.00	10.00-11.45	1.00-4.30	9.00-12.00	2.00-4.30	9.00-1.00	3.00-10.00	9.00-12.00	1.00-4.30	9.00-12.00	3.00-10.00	9.00-12.00	2.00-4.30
	9.30-12.30	1.30-4.30	-	1.30-4.30	9.00-12.00	2.00-6.00	9.00-12.00	2.00-4.30	9.30-12.00	3.00-5.00	-	1.30-4.30	-	2.00-6.00	10.00-1.00	5.00-8.00	9.30-12.30	2.00-4.00	-	4.30-5.00																	

TIME

with the gold medal for the tent-event.

letics: Another six finals on this the long jump (1.00 p.m.) and r men (2.00 p.m.) and the 400 m (1.30 p.m.) shot put (1.45 p.m.) 3.00 p.m.), and 100 m for women m). The glamour event will be the women (2.45 p.m.) an event that ured such outstanding athletes as ng of Taiwan and Esther Rot of mat holders of the record. Both, are no longer in active competi- the field is wide open with the ssibility of a new Asian Games

ember 28: The Ambedkar Sta- will be in the limelight wilt the start wrestling bouts. Other items of inte- the start and finish of the 185 km road race, the handball semi-finals quarter-finals of the tennis events.

letics: The star turn on the athle- will be the 100 m for men (2.30 and the title of the fastest man in Three other finals in the hammer (11.30 a.m.) and 400 m hurdles for 30 p.m.) and the women's long 00 p.m.).

ember 29: Being a rest day for the events, the real action will be at mming pool with six finals, includ- 100 m free-style (men and women) springboard diving finals. Tennis key (men) at the semi-final stage.

Athletics: Rest day for the track and field events.

► **November 30:** A good day to stay on at the main athletics stadium, though there will be plenty of action at the tennis stadium with the doubles finals and men's singles semi-finals; the finals of the hand-ball at the Delhi University Grounds and the semi-finals of the football tournament. A good day at Pragati Maidan where the boxing semi-finals in the lighter weight categories will be on.

Athletics: A chance to see the star of the Nehru Stadium in action in the triple jump finals (1.00 p.m.). Zou Zhenxian of China, who has broken the Asian record thrice, will be going for a new record and he is one of the few world-class athletes who will be in action. Other finals are the javelin throw for women (1.00 p.m.) and the 100 m hurdles (2.00 p.m.) and 400 m for women (3.15 p.m.).

► **December 1:** If the hockey matches go according to predictions, it should be the clash of the giants at the National Stadium between traditional rivals India and Pakistan in the men's finals at 3 p.m., always a nail-biting and emotion-charged event. Tennis finals will clash with the hockey finals but the most sweat will be expended at the wrestling with the finals in the lower weight categories and the boxing finals in the heavier weight categories.

Athletics: Two exciting finals in the 200 m for men (2.15 p.m.) and women (2.00 p.m.) with once again the likelihood of a new Asian record. Also, finals in the 50 km walk (11.30 a.m. to 3.30 p.m.) and high jump for men (1.00 p.m.). The man to watch will be the Chinese high jumper Zhu Jianhua, the Asian record holder (2.30 p.m.).

► **December 2:** Being the last day of the athletics events, the gold rush will be at the main stadium with 24 medals to be decided. Five more golds are reserved for the wrestling finals in the heavier weight categories which start at 1.30 p.m., while the badminton semi-finals should separate the men from the boys.

Athletics: By far the most exciting day for athletics with no less than eight finals, all star events. The men's 4 × 400 m relay (3.30 p.m.) leads the field followed closely by the marathon (1.30 p.m. to 3.40 p.m.), discus (1.15 p.m.), 1,500m (2.00 p.m.) and 5,000 m for men (3.00 p.m.) while the women will battle it out in the high jump (1.00 p.m.) 4 × 400 m relay (2.20 p.m.) and the 1,500 m (2.45 p.m.) with Indian women expected to do well in the last two.

► **December 3:** No less than 12 gold medals going in the boxing finals means that much of the focus will be on the ring (4 p.m. onwards) but aficionados can also catch the football finals at 7 p.m. in the main stadium or the badminton finals in the morning session.

* Schedules and timings are as per official programme but are liable to last minute changes.

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THE WHEEL has come full circle. New Delhi, which hosted the first-ever Asian Games way back in 1951, now once again has that distinction after a gap of 31 years. The circumstances, and the environment, however, are vastly different. In the 1951 Asiad, there were a total of 12 countries (Afghanistan, Burma, Ceylon—now Sri Lanka—The Philippines, Singapore, Indonesia, Thailand, Vietnam, Iran, Japan, Nepal and India) participating in just six events.

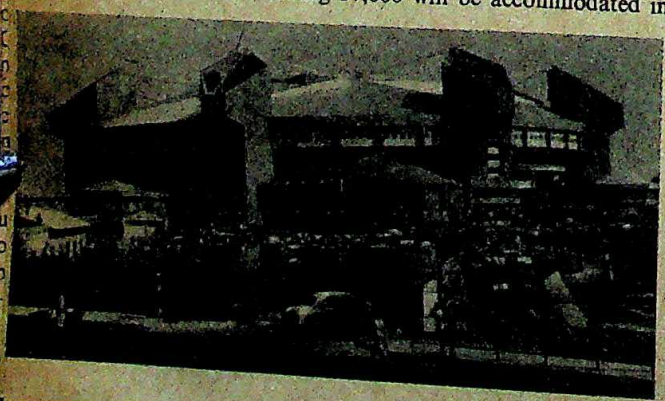
The entire Games, including the opening and closing ceremonies, lasted a mere seven days and were held in one stadium with 489 competitors and an estimated 35,000 spectators. The IX Asiad will have 5,500 competitors from 33 Asian countries competing in 22 events in a total of 17 separate stadia spread over 16 days. The capacity of just one stadium, the main athletics stadium, is 75,000

It is, however, not just sporting horizons that have expanded. In 1951, New Delhi was a sleepy little town of less than a million people, mostly government employees enjoying the first taste of freedom from British rule. Today, it is a sprawling metropolis of 6.2 million people and one of the most important capitals on the international political map. Because of its belated start, Asiad '82 has been a frenetic race against time. Though New Delhi was allotted the Games in 1976, at the end of the Montreal Olympics, political upheavals in the country meant that the actual work on the massive project only started in earnest towards the end of 1980. Since then, the city has resembled a giant excavating site as the rush to beat the deadline has accelerated into high gear.

It has, by any standards, been a stupendous effort. In just under two years, Indian engineers, architects and workers have constructed five brand-new state-of-the-art stadia comparable to the best anywhere in the world, undertaken a major renovation of 12 existing stadia, erected a virtual township which will serve as the Asian Games village for the athletes, apart from the parallel work on building new flyovers to cater to traffic during the Games. The total estimated cost of the project, including flyovers, new hotels, etc, is in the region of Rs 800 crore (US $842 million).

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU STADIUM: The centre-piece of Asiad '82 will be the Jawaharlal Nehru Stadium, named after India's first prime minister and the inspiring force behind the Asian Games movement. The giant, two-tier stadium situated in the heart of the city will be the venue for Asiad's glamour events: the opening and closing ceremonies, the athletics events and the semi-finals and finals of the football competition. More popularly referred to as the Main Stadium, it has a capacity of 75,000 and covers a total area of 100 acres. The eight-lane athletic track has a synthetic surface girding the central oval where the football matches will take place.

The lower tier, meant for officials, invitees and players, will seat 18,000 while the remaining 57,000 will be accommodated in the uppper tiers. Eight concrete ramps provide access to the stadium from the parking area. The stadium has been designed in accordance with international specifications with an eye on the 1992 Olympics which India is making a bid for.



Two giant score-boards of the Matrix type connected to a central computer will flash continuous results of events, as well as those taking place at other stadia. The larger score-board, mounted above the north stand, will also have the capacity for flashing black and white pictures.

Four steel towers containing a total of 1,000 two-kilowatt lights illuminate the stadium for events taking place at night. A unique feature of the lighting towers is that they have been specially constructed at an angle because of aviation restrictions from the nearby Safdarjung Airport. All the electronic timing equipment for the events has been supplied by Seiko of Japan. The facilities at the Main Stadium include the sophisticated medical centre, a mini hospital, international telephone lines, catering and computerised archival information on previous Asiad and Olympic Games.

INDRAPRASTHA STADIUM: The Indraprastha Stadium or the Indoor Stadium is destined to be the *piece de resistance* of the Games. A futuristic design which looks like something of *Star Wars*, the stadium was built in record time and is the third largest of its kind in the world. Situated in the mid-

BHAWAN SINGH

110-acre plot alongside the Yamuna river, the Indoor Stadium is the venue for badminton, gymnastics and volleyball. The stadium has a sound -proof, collapsible partition which enables two events to be held simultaneously. It is centrally air-conditioned and has a capacity of 25,000. The administration block alongside the stadium will have facilities like a conference hall, banks, post offices and special counters for changing foreign exchange.

THE CYCLE VELODROME: Designed according to international standards, the velodrome is also a newly-constructed structure which is situated adjacent to the Indoor Stadium. It has a permanent track 7.2 metres wide and 333.33 metres long and can seat 2,000 with additional seating for the press and officials.

NATIONAL STADIUM: The site of the 1951 Asiad, the National Stadium, in the central part of the city, has been renovated and expanded to accommodate 25,000 spectators. The stadium will be the venue for the men's hockey events and has been newly laid with synthetic astroturf.

TUGHLAKABAD SHOOTING RANGE: Easily the picturesque of the Asiad venues, the newly-built shooting range is one of the most modern in the world. Located amid rolling hills and forests in the south Delhi area, it has a capacity of 5,000 spectators and is equipped with the latest facilities for many events.

Other stadia which have been renovated and expanded

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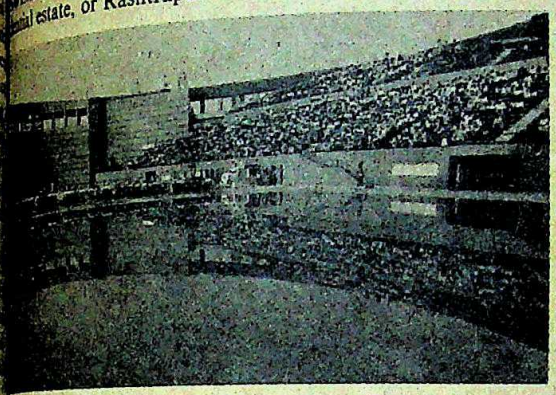
to Asiad standards are the Shivaji Stadium near Place, the city centre, venue for the women's hockey capacity: 10,000) the Harbaksh Stadium, where the events will take place (capacity: 5,000); Pragati for boxing and table tennis (capacity: 4,000); the Delhi (capacity: 5,000); the Delhi University Grounds where and handball events will take place and the Talkatora Stadium, near the swimming complex, where the events will be held.

IMMING STADIUM: Located to the rear of the estate, or Rashtrapati Bhavan, the swimming complex



rhaps been the most problem-prone of the stadia built Originally intended to be a covered area, structural finally led to the roof being abandoned. It has now built as an open-air complex though the pool will be re-controlled to conform to specifications. The pool es all Olympic requirements and has a spectator capacity

NNIS COMPLEX: Situated in the Hauz Khas area of Delhi, the tennis complex was one of the first to be and handed over to the Asiad organisers. Two new courts have been built to add to the nine existing ones. capacity is 1,400 and is equipped with modern scoring and facilities for players.

DEL TOWN STADIUM: Perhaps the furthest away centre of the city of all the stadia, the Model Town is where the preliminary football matches will be held. The stadium has a seating capacity of 11,000 and was built in the early '70s. Some football matches will also be held at the Ambedkar Stadium which is the venue for the wrestling events.

TICKET PRICES: Though a majority of the tickets for the various Asiad events have been sold out in advance, daily tickets, based on availability, will be sold at prices ranging from Rs 3 to Rs 50 except for the opening and closing ceremonies which will cost between Rs 10 and Rs 100. No season tickets are being sold. The tickets available will be sold at booths in the individual stadium. However, there are bound to be scalpers at the more popular centres who will be selling tickets at black market rates.

THE VILLAGE: Located in south Delhi in the Siri Fort area, the village will be an exclusive self-contained township which will accommodate around 5,000 athletes and officials. The Asiad Centre, at the village complex, will also be the venue for the weight-lifting events. Spread over an area of 1,32,000 sq m, it has fully furnished houses of 11 different categories providing a total of 2,479 bedrooms.

Facilities include the reception centre where all athletes will

register; shopping arcades, banks, post offices, restaurants, a discotheque, a 25,000-capacity auditorium where daily entertainment has been organised *(see box)*, a medical centre, bars and extensive practice areas for the participants. Since Delhi is not conveniently located for the yachting and rowing events, these will be held in Bombay, on the west coast, and Jaipur, in the state of Rajasthan, respectively.

onstration Sports

SEPAK TAKRAW: Every Asiad invariably es one or two demonstration games which are not part official Asiad schedule. Ironically enough, the two demdon games scheduled for the IX Asiad are the same that featured during the 1951 Asiad in New Delhi—sepak raw and kabaddi. Sepak takraw is the Malaysian national though it has now become popular in a number of countries, particularly in South-east Asia. Sepak means and takraw is Malaysian for 'ball', so the name is planatory. The ball is made of plaited rattan and is hollow weighs only around 5 ounces, it is 4.5 inches in diameter. The game is usually played on a badminton court and side fields three players. It is very much like badminton that the dividing net is lower and the players are not ted to use their hands or arms to get the ball over the Most players use their feet or head the ball. The scoring is to badminton. However, the position of each player is demarcated on the court with two semi-circles on either of the centre line and a centre circle eight feet from the line occupied by the server.

KABADDI: Basically an outdoor game of Indian origin, kabaddi is inexpensive and requires no equipment, hence its popularity in the villages and smaller towns. It is played widely in India and Pakistan and also in Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Indonesia, Nepal and Malaysia, where it is known by different names.

The game is played on a small demarcated plot with a central dividing line. Each team has 12 players. Seven are allowed on court during the game and five are reserves. Each team lines up on both sides of the dividing lines and one team sends in a "raider" into the opposing court. The key to the game is stamina and lung power since the "raider" is required to touch as many players as he can while repeating "kabaddi-kabaddi" aloud in one breath. If he touches an opposing player and recrosses the line to his own side, the opponent he has touched has to leave the court and sit in the waiting area. If, however, he is grabbed by the opposing team and prevented from crossing back before he runs out of breath, the opposing team can bring one of their side-lined players back into the game. Each side takes alternate turns at sending in their raiders. The game lasts 20 minutes in each half and the side that scores the maximum number of "kills" is declared the winner.

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Cultural Events

CONSIDERING India's vast and varied cultural heritage, it is hardly surprising that the athletics events on display at Asiad '82 will be rivalled by the cultural *smorgasbord* laid out for the benefit of visitors and participants. The cultural feast, in fact, kicked off before the actual Games to coincide with the India International Trade Fair 1982 which opened on November 1.

Around 10,000 delegates from over 20 Asian countries will present ballets, folk-dances, films, fashion shows and music concerts among other offerings at Pragati Maidan which will extend till the end of the Games. Admission to a majority of the shows will be free and the timings (4.30 p.m. to 10 p.m.) are staggered so that visitors can take in a variety of programmes.

The table below gives the cultural events' schedule.

***Cultural shows**—foreign delegations*
- **Hamsadhwani** ..... *November 19 to 30*

Indian musical evenings
- **Hamsadhwani** ..... *November 1 to December 4*

Indian films
- **Shakuntalam** ..... *November 1 to December 4*

Music concerts by eminent Indian artistes
- **Shakuntalam** ..... *November 1 to December 4*

Dance and music performances by Indian artistes
- **Faluknuma** ..... *November 1 to December 4*

***Fashion shows**—textiles, jewellery, leather and sportswear*
- **Shringar** ..... *November 1 to December 4*

***Folk artistes**—puppet shows, dances, magic shows*
- **Saranga & Kadambari** ..... *November 1 to December 4*

Ghazals, karate and jazz
- **Youth Corner** ..... *November 1 to December 4*

Regional programmes
- **Pragati Rangmanch** ..... *November 1 to 19*

Cultural shows by children
- **Pragati Rangmanch** ..... *November 20 to December 4*

The programmes at Pragati Maidan will, however, be only one star in the cultural constellation planned for the Games. Hardly a stone's throw away from there is the illustrious National School of Drama (NSD), the country's premier theatre institution. The NSD will stage a festival of plays from November 18 to December 5 at the theatre complex situated near the NSD campus. Three plays have been selected for the festival and they differ widely in both theme and period. *Tughlaq* is perhaps the best-known of the three. Directed by E. Alkazi, a former director of NSD, it is a story of an ill-fated fourteenth century emperor. *Mahabhoj* is a satire on contemporary politics. *Jasma Odan* is an adaption of a folk play from Gujarat state which combines history with myth.

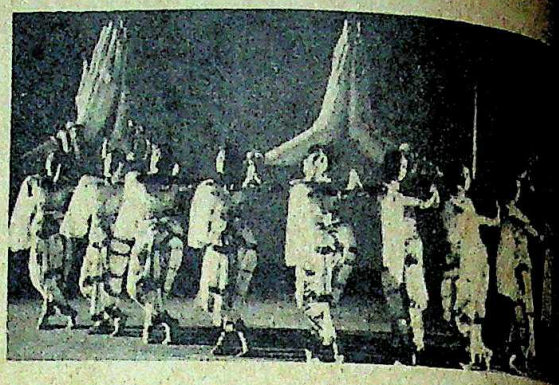
Both *Tughlaq* and *Jasma Odan* were enacted at the Festival of India in London. The plays will be held each evening at 6.30.

***Jasma Odan**—Hindi*
- **Shri Ram Centre** ..... *November 18 to 20*

***Mahabhoj**—Hindi*
- **Meghdoot Open Air Theatre** ..... *November 22 to 27*

***Tughlaq**—Urdu*
- **Kamani Auditorium** ..... *November 29 to December 3*

***Jasma Odan**—Hindi*
- **Kamani Auditorium** ..... *December 4 and 5*



In addition, private theatre groups based in Delhi staging popular Indian plays during the Games. Details venues for these will be announced in the entertainment umns of daily newspapers. Among the plays proposed staged is Habib Tanvir's legendary *Charan Das Chor* ... *ki Gaddi* and Vinod Verma's *Butt*.

Meanwhile, the centrally-located National Museum ting up an exhibition called "Sports Through The Ages" dates back to 5000 B.C. and will coincide with the dates Games. Exhibits will include ancient equivalents of modern chess played with maize, dice and quaint stones; sc depicting shooting and chariot races and some extremely paintings of archery and wrestling (600 B.C. to 200 B.C.) exquisite collection of medieval weapons and ammunition a.m. to 4.45 p.m.).

But by far the most exhaustive cultural panorama one being orchestrated by the government-owned India T Development Corporation (ITDC). ITDC's programmes are at presenting India's many-faceted cultural face throu and classical dances and multi-media projections.

***ITDC Repertory**—"India Through Dance and Music"*
- **Uday Shankar Theatre** (Ashok Hotel) ..... *October 11 to Ma*

***Yamini Krishnamurthy**—Bharat Natyam*
- **Kamani Auditorium** ..... *Nov*

***Uma Sharma**—Kathak*
- **Kamani Auditorium** ..... *Nov*

***International Centre for Kathakali**—Kathakali*
- **Kamani Auditorium** ..... *Nov*

***Triveni Kala Sangam**—Manipuri*
- **Kamani Auditorium** ..... *Nov*

***Raja and Radha Reddy**—Kuchipudi*
- **Kamani Auditorium** ..... *Nov*

***Sanyukta Panigrahi**—Odissi*
- **Kamani Auditorium** ..... *Nov*

***ITDC Repertory**—"Discover Folk India"*
- **Kanishka Hotel** ..... *November 20 to De*

***Ananda Shankar**—"Discover India"*
- **Ashok Hotel** ..... *Nov*

***ITDC**—Brides and Apparels of India*
- **Ashok Hotel** ..... *De*

It is, however, the real stars of Asiad '82, the athletes will have the benefit of the most varied cultural enter during the Games. The cultural shows will take place newly-built auditorium inside the Games Village comple has a 2,500 seating capacity. The Games Village is exclusive the athletes and is not open to the public. —KUMUD

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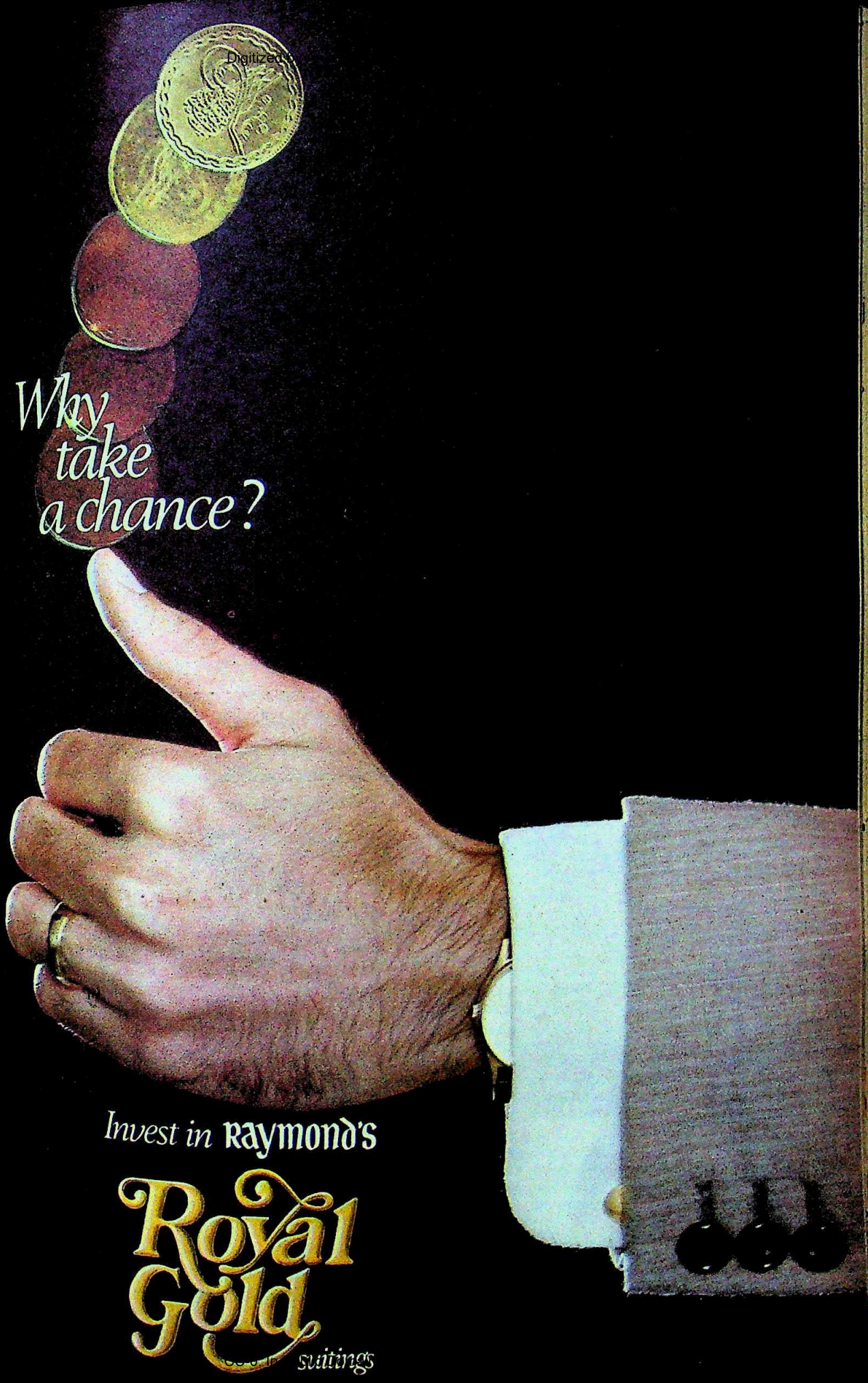

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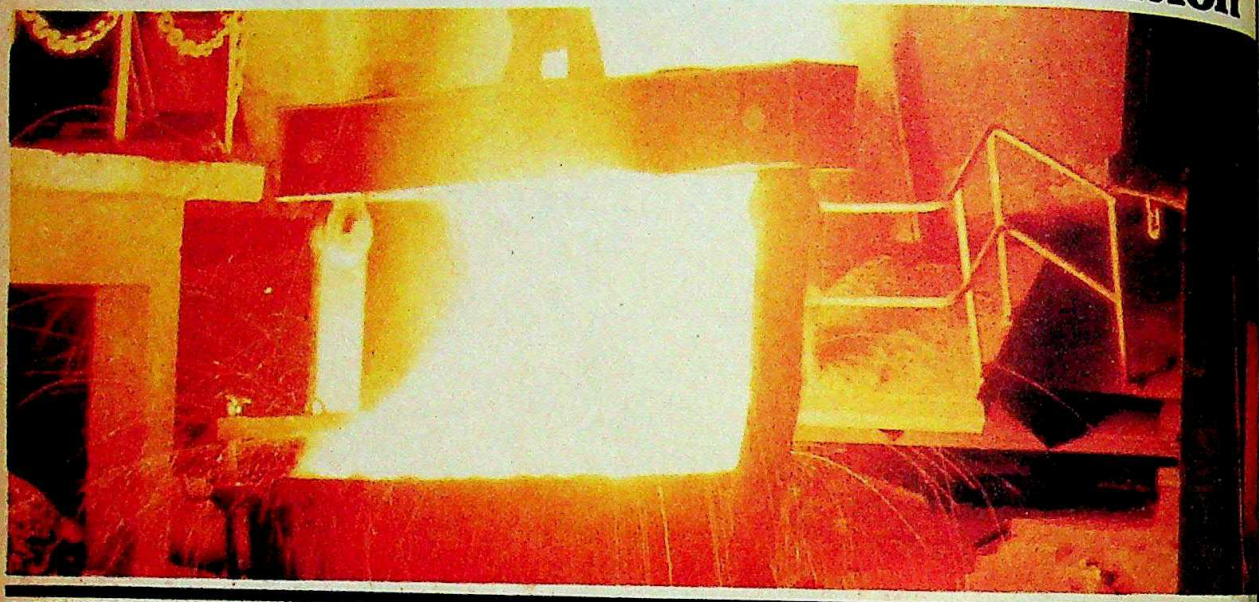
Only GEC has the range, expertise, technology and the "firsts" of the pioneer to have earned this title:

GEC
"Master furnace builders to the nation"



Arc Furnaces, Ultra High Power Arc Furnaces, Medcor Furnaces, Induction Hardening Plants and Heat Treatment Lines are among the growing list of "firsts" that have earned GEC the "master builders" title

In 1960, GEC introduced Heat Treatment Furnaces.

In 1961, GEC initiated the era of Melting Furnaces with India's first Arc Melting Furnace.

In 1979, came Medcor Furnaces for Stainless and Alloy Steel melting. In the same year, GEC commissioned India's first Tube Welder.

In collaboration with Radyne Ltd., U.K. — world leaders in Induction and Dielectric heating — GEC introduced Induction Heat Equipment which included Induction Hardening Machines, Billet Heaters and Tube Welders.

Today, more than 50% of furnaces in use are made by GEC. And, to meet the growing needs of industry, GEC has introduced UHP Arc Melters that offer a melt-down time of 60 minutes.

GEC has also recently introduced Medcor Furnaces upto 2 tonnes.

What's more, each furnace is backed by the special concept-to-commissioning package, unique to GEC.

Furnace technology in India has come a long way. And GEC has played a pivotal part in bringing about its technological revolution.

And so it should be. For the title "master furnace builders to the nation" could never have been earned otherwise.

GEC "firsts" in furnace technology

Arc Melting Furnace

— First furnace (3 tonnes). Hindustan Iron & Steel Co. Ltd., Calcutta

— First large capacity furnace (35 tonnes). Bharat Heavy Electricals Ltd., Hardwar

— First Ultra High Power Furnace (13.55 MVA to melt 17.23 tonnes). Wheel & Axle Plant, Bangalore

Medcor Furnace

— First furnace (500 kg, 350 kW with Medium Frequency Static Inverter Generator. International Steel Foundry, Indore

— First large capacity(1000 kg, 600 kW) furnace with Medium Frequency Static Inverter Generator. Mohta Alloys, Ratlam (MP)

Channel Furnace

— First furnace in India, indigenously manufactured (15/20 tonnes, 400 kW). Jessops, Durgapur

Bogie Hearth

— First largest capacity (1200 kW rated) furnace. Indian Field Gun Factory, Kanpur

Roller Hearth

— First Roller Hearth for Tube Annealing. TPI, Madras

Tube Welder

— First unit (150 kW). Basant Tubes

GEC

If it's engineered by GEC, it's engineered to last

The General Electric Company of India Limited
Magnet House, 6 Chittaranjan Avenue, Calcutta 700 072

Trade Mark GEC Permitted Use — The General Electric Company Limited

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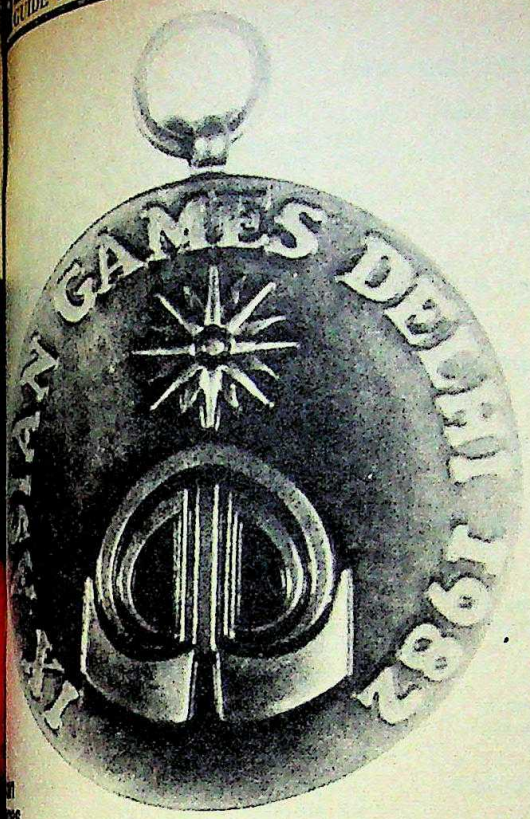

Medals to be Won in the IX Asian Games, 1982

EVENT	GOLD	SILVER	BRONZE
Archery	4	4	4
Athletics	40	40	40
Badminton	7	7	7
Basketball	2	2	2
Boxing	12	12	12
Cycling	7	7	7
Equestrian	4	4	4
Football	1	1	1
Golf	2	2	2
Gymnastics	14	14	14
Handball	1	1	1
Hockey	2	2	2
Rowing	4	4	4
Shooting	22	22	22
Swimming	34	34	34
Table Tennis	7	7	7
Tennis (Lawn)	7	7	7
Volleyball	2	2	2
Weightlifting	10	10	10
Wrestling	10	10	10
Yachting	4	4	4
TOTAL	196	196	196

	1951			1954			1958			1962			1966			1970			1974			1978			TOTAL
	G	S	B	G	S	B	G	S	B	G	S	B	G	S	B	G	S	B	G	S	B	G	S	B	MEDALS
	24	20	16	37	24	24	67	41	30	73	55	24	78	53	33	74	47	23	75	50	51	70	59	49	1097
KOREA				8	6	5	8	7	12	4	8	11	12	18	21	18	13	23	16	26	15	18	20	31	300
																			33	28	28	51	54	46	240
	4	6	7	10	10	13	8	19	22	7	6	25	2	15	25	9	12	4		2	12	4	4	6	232
	15	16	21	5	4	9	5	4	4	10	13	11	7	5	11	6	9	10	4	12	12	11	11	6	221
	8	7	1				7	4	11				6	8	15	9	7	7	36	28	17				171
			4			2			6	11	12	28	5	5	13	2	3	10	3	4	4	8	7	18	145
								1	3	2	7	3	12	11	12	9	7	13	4	2	8	11	12	19	136
				5	6	3	6	11	9	8	11	8	2	4	2	1	2	7	2		9	4	4	9	113
KOREA												1							15	14	17	15	13	15	90
				2	4	7	6	11	17				5	4	10	1	5	12							84
	5	7	2	1	4	4	1	1	1	1		2		5	7		6	9	1	3	7	2	1	4	74
									3	2	4	9	7	5	6	5	1	7		1	4	2	1	3	60
				2	1				2				3	5	3	6	6	5	7	4	8				52
			5	2		2	1	2	1	2	1	5	1		4	3	2	7	1	2	3		3	3	50
																			2	5	8	1	3	5	24
		1			1	1	1		1		2	3			6	2	2		2					2	24
																			1		5	2	4	6	18
							2		4			1			1			2							10
								1	1		2				1									2	7
																						1	2	3	6
												1					2	3							6
					1																1				2
																				1				1	2
																						1			1

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A Comparative Table of Best Performances

EVENT	ASIAN GAMES	ASIAN	WORLD
Athletics–Men			
100 m	10.4 Mohd. Sarengat (INDO) 1962; Regelio Onofre (PHIL) 1962; 10.42* Anat Ratanapol (THAI) 1974	10.0 Chen Jiaquat (CHI) 1965; Anat Ratanapol (THAI) 1974; 10.34* Hideo Iijima (JAP) 1968; Suh Mal Ku (KOR) 1979	9.95 Jim Hines (US) 1968
200 m	21.09* Anat Ratanapol (THAI) 1974	20.6 Toshio Toyota (JAP) 1978; 20.86* Hirohito Yamazaki (JAP) 1980	19.72 Pietro Mennea (ITA) 1979
400 m	46.21* W. Wimaladasa (SL) 1974	45.73* Milkha Singh (IND) 1960	43.86 Lee Evans (US) 1968
800 m	1:47.6 Sriram Singh (IND) 1974	1:45.77 Sriram Singh (IND) 1976	1:41.72 Sebastian Coe (UK) 1981
1500 m	3:47.3 Keisuke Sawaki (JAP) 1966	3:38.2 Takashi Ishii (JAP) 1977	3:31.4 Steve Ovett (UK) 1980
5000 m	14:20.6 Shivnath Singh (IND) 1974	13:25.4 Toshiaki Kamata (JAP) 1977	13:00.42 David Moorcroft (ENG) 1982
10000 m	29:55.6 S. Rosa (SL) 1970	27:43.44* Toshihiko Seko (JAP) 1980	27:22.4 Henry Rono (KEN) 1978
marathon†	2h 15:29.7 Mineteru Sakomoto (JAP) 1978	2h 09:05.6 Shigeru Soh (JAP) 1980	2h 08:13 Alberto Salazar (US) 1981
3000 m steeple chase	8:40.7 Shintaku Masaya (JAP) 1978	8:19.52 Shintaku Masaya (JAP) 1980	8:05.4 Henry Rono (KEN) 1978
110 m hurdles	14.26* Tsui Lin (CHI) 1974	13.5 Tsui Lin (CHI) 1965; 14.06* Y. Fujimori (JAP) 1978	12.93 R. Nehemiah (US) 1981
400 m hurdles	50.31* Hassan Khadum (IRQ) 1978	49.59* Takashi Nagao (JAP) 1978	47.13 Edwin Moses (US) 1980
4×100 m	40.14* (THAI) 1974	39.54* (JAP) 1978	38.03 (US) 1977
4×400 m	3:07.4 (SL) 1974	3:06.5 (JAP) 1978	2:56.2 (US) 1968
20 km walk	1h 31:54.4 Hakam Singh (IND) 1978	1h 27:57.6 Bachan Singh (IND) 1967	1h 20:58.6 D. Colin (MEX) 1979
50 km walk	5h 40:07.4 Bakhtawar Singh (IND) 1951	4h 17:58.6 Kazue Saito (JAP) 1976	3h 41:39 Raul Gonzales (MEX) 1979
Athletics–Men			
high jump	2.21 Teymour Ghiassi (IRN) 1974	2.30 Zhu Jian Hua (CHI) 1981	2.36 Gerd Wessig (GDR) 1980
pole vault	5.10 Tomomi Takashi (JAP) 1978	5.45 Tomomi Takashi (JAP) 1981	5.81 V. Poliakov (USSR) 1981
long jump	8.07 T.C. Yohannan (IND) 1974	8.11 Liu Yu Huang (CHI) 1981	8.90 Bob Beamon (US) 1968
triple jump	16.56 Masami Nakanishi (JAP) 1978	17.34 Zhou Zhen Xian (CHI) 1981	17.89 Carlos de Oliveira (BRZ) 1975
shot put	18.04 Djalal Keshmiri (IRN) 1974	18.66 Bahadur Singh (IND) 1976	22.15 Udo Beyer (GDR) 1978
discus throw	56.82 Djalal Keshmiri (IRN) 1974	61.06 Djalal Keshmiri (IRN) 1974	71.16 Wolfgang Schmidt (GDR) 1978
hammer throw	68.26 Shigenobu Murofushi (JAP) 1978	71.72 Shigenobu Murofushi (JAP) 1981	81.80 Yuriy Sedykh (USSR) 1980
javelin throw	79.24 Mao Mao Shen (CHI) 1978	89.14 Mao Mao Shen (CHI) 1980	96.72 Ferenc Paragi (HUN) 1980
decathlon	7375 pts V.S. Chauhan (IND) 1974	8089 pts Yang Chuang Kwang (TWN) 1963	8649 pts G. Kratschmer (GDR) 1980
Athletics–Women			
100 m	11.6 Chi Cheng (TWN) 1970; 11.90* Esther Rot (ISR) 1974	11.0 Chi Cheng (TWN) 1970; 11.45* Chi Cheng (TWN) 1968; Esther Rot (ISR) 1972	10.88 Marlies Gohr (GDR) 1977
200 m	23.7 Chi Cheng (TWN) 1970	22.4 Chi Cheng (TWN) 1970; 22.62* Chi Cheng (TWN) 1970	21.71 Marita Koch (GDR) 1979
400 m	55.08 Chee Swee Lee (SIN) 1974	51.2 Sim Keun Dan (PRK) 1964; 54.53* Choong Bong Soong (KOR) 1979	48.60 Marita Koch (GDR) 1979
800 m	2:06.5 Hana Sheziffi (ISR) 1970	1:58.0 Sim Keun Dan (PRK) 1964	1:53.43 N. Olizarenko (USSR) 1980
1500 m	4:18.9 Kim Ok Sun (PRK) 1978	4:14.8 Kim Ok Sun (PRK) 1978	3:52.5 Tatyana Kazankina (USSR) 1980
3000 m steeple chase	9:24.7 Kim Ok Sun (PRK) 1978	9:14.81* Akemi Masude (JAP) 1981	8:27.12 Lyudmila Bragina (USSR) 1976
100 m hurdles	13:31 Esther Rot (ISR) 1974	12:8 Chi Cheng (TWN) 1970; 12.93* Esther Rot (ISR) 1976	12.36 Grazyna Rabsztyn (POL) 1980

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	ASIAN GAMES	ASIAN	WORLD
...s-Women			
	61.32* Hsien Chen (CHI) 1978	59.24* Zhang Hui Feng (CHI) 1981	54.68 Karin Rossley (GDR) 1980
	46.20* (THAI) 1978	45.70* (JAP) 1981	41.60 (GDR) 1980
	3:43.5 (JAP) 1974	3:41.18* (CHI) 1981	3:19.3 (GDR) 1976
	1.88 Zheng Da Zhen (CHI) 1978	1.93 Hisayo Fukimitsu (JAP) 1981	2.01 Sara Simeoni (ITA) 1978
	6.31 Xiao Jei Ping (CHI) 1974	6.44 Xiao Jei Ping (CHI) 1965	7.09 V. Bardauskiene (USSR) 1978
	17.70 Shen Li Juan (CHI) 1978	18.15 Shen Li Juan (CHI) 1981	22.45 Ilona Slupianek (GDR) 1980
throw	55.92 Li Xia Hui (CHI) 1978	61.80 Lia Xia Hui (CHI) 1980	71.80 Maria Vergda (BUL) 1980
throw	57.22 Yao Jui Ying (CHI) 1978	61.64 Tang Gao Li (CHI) 1981	70.08 Tatyana Biryulina (USSR) 1980
	—	5518 pts Ye Pei Su (CHI) 1981	6717 pts Romona Neubert (GDR) 1981

	ASIAN GAMES	OLYMPIC	WORLD
...ming-Men			
	0:54.01 Tsuyoshi Yangai (JAP) 1978	0:49.99 Montgomery (US) 1976	0:49.44 Jonty Skinner (US) 1976
	1:56.68 Gerardo Rosario (PHIL) 1978	1:49.81 Sergei Kopliakov (USSR) 1980	1:49.16 Rowdy Gaines (US) 1980
	4:06.83 Shujit Tzukazaki (JAP) 1978	3:51.31 Vladamir Salnikov (USSR) 1980	3:50.49 Peter Szmidt (CAN) 1980
	16:14.92 Shujit Tzukazaki (JAP) 1978	14:58.27 Vladamir Salnikov (USSR) 1980	14:58.27 Vladamir Salnikov (USSR) 1980
...stroke	1:00.76 Kenji Ikeda (JAP) 1978	0:55.49 John Naber (US) 1976	0:55.49 John Naber (US) 1976
...stroke	2:10.87 Tsuyoshi Takahashi (JAP) 1978	1:59.19 John Naber (US) 1976	1:59.19 John Naber (US) 1976
...stroke	1:04.89 Shingehito Takahashi (JAP) 1978	1:03.11 John Hencken (US) 1976	1:02.86 Gerald Morken (FRG) 1977
...stroke	2:22.56 Shingehito Takahashi (JAP) 1978	2:15.11 David Wilkie (UK) 1976	2:14.79 Vic Davis (CAN) 1982
	0:58.21 Hara Hideaki (JAP) 1978	0:54.72 Mark Spitz (US) 1972	0:54.15 Par Arvidsson (SWE) 1980
	2:06.68 Shinsuke Kyam (JAP) 1978	1:59.23 Mike Burner (US) 1976	1:58.21 Craig Beardsley (US) 1980
...dual medley	2:10.22 Tsuyoshi Yanagidate (JAP) 1978	2:07.17 Gunnar Larsson (SWE) 1972	2:02.25 Alex Baumann (CAN) 1982

EVENT	ASIAN GAMES	OLYMPIC	WORLD
Swimming–Men			
400 m individual medley	4:40.80 Kazo Tatsumi (JAP) 1978	4:22.89 Alexander Sidorenko (USSR) 1980	4:20.05 Jesse Vassalto (US) 1978
4 × 100 m free style relay	3:35.91 (JAP) 1978	3:26.42 (US) 1976	3:19.74 (US) 1978
4 × 200 m free style relay	7:49.75 (JAP) 1978	7:23.22 (US) 1976	7:20.82 (US) 1978
4 × 100 m medley relay	3:56.97 (JAP) 1978	3:42.22 (US) 1976	3:42.22 (US) 1976
diving (spring board)	629.26 pts Liu Heng Lin (CHI) 1978	905.025 pts Alexander Portnov (USSR) 1980	
diving (platform)	687.78 pts. Wu Kuo Tsum (CHI) 1978	835.650 pts. Falk Hoffmann (GDR) 1980	
Swimming–Women			
100 m free style	1:00.30 Sachiko Yamazaki (JAP) 1978	0:54.79 Barbara Krause (GDR) 1980	0:54.79 Barbara Krause (GDR) 1980
200 m free style	2:09.89 R. Bulakul (THAI) 1978	1:58.33 Barbara Krause (GDR) 1980	1:58.23 Cynthia Woodhead (US) 1979
400 m free style	4:31.35 Junie Sng (SIN) 1978	4:08.76 Ines Diers (GDR) 1980	4:06.28 Tracy Wickham (AUS) 1978
800 m free style	9:18.33 Junie Sng (SIN) 1978	8:28.9 Michele Ford (AUS) 1980	8:24.62 Tracy Wickham (AUS) 1978
100 m back stroke	1:06.74 Hisae Asari (JAP) 1978	1:00.86 Rica Reinisch (GDR) 1980	1:00.86 Rica Reinisch (GDR) 1980
200 m back stroke	2:23.12 Hisae Asari (JAP) 1978	2:11.77 Rica Reinisch (GDR) 1980	2:11.77 Rica Reinisch (GDR) 1980
100 m breast stroke	1:16.04 Chieko Watanabe (JAP) 1978	1:10.11 Ute Geweniger (GDR) 1980	1:10.11 (heats) Ute Geweniger (GDR) 1980
200 m breast stroke	2:41.01 Chieko Watanabe (JAP) 1978	2:29.54 Line Kaciusite (USSR) 1979	2:28.36 Line Kaciusite (USSR) 1979
100 m butterfly	1:03.56 Yasue Hatsuda (JAP) 1978	1:00.13 Kornelia Ender (GDR) 1976	0:59.26 Mary Meagher (US) 1980
200 m butterfly	2:15.79 Yasue Hatsuda (JAP) 1978	2:10.44 Ines Geissler (GDR) 1980	2:06.37 Mary Meagher (US) 1980
200 m individual medley	2:26.20 Yoshinimi Nishigawa (JAP) 1974	2:23.07 Shane Gould (AUS) 1972	2:13.00 Petra Schneider (GDR) 1980
400 m individual medley	5:08.34 M. Hirate (JAP) 1978	4:36.29 Petra Schneider (GDR) 1980	4:36.29 Petra Schneider (GDR) 1980
4 × 100 m free style relay	4:03.58 JAP 1978	3:42.71 GDR 1980	3:42.71 GDR 1980
4 × 100 m medley relay	4:27.16 JAP 1978	4:06.67 GDR 1980	4:06.67 GDR 1980
diving (springboard)	569.49 pts Shih Mei Chin (CHI) 1978	725.910 pts Irina Kalinina (USSR) 1980	

*denotes electrical timing, since all countries do not have facilities for this in Asia; records are as on 1-2-1982.

†unofficial, since marathon and walking courses vary a great deal

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Chennai and eGangotri

You don't have to be big to buy our telephone system.

Just smart.

The city
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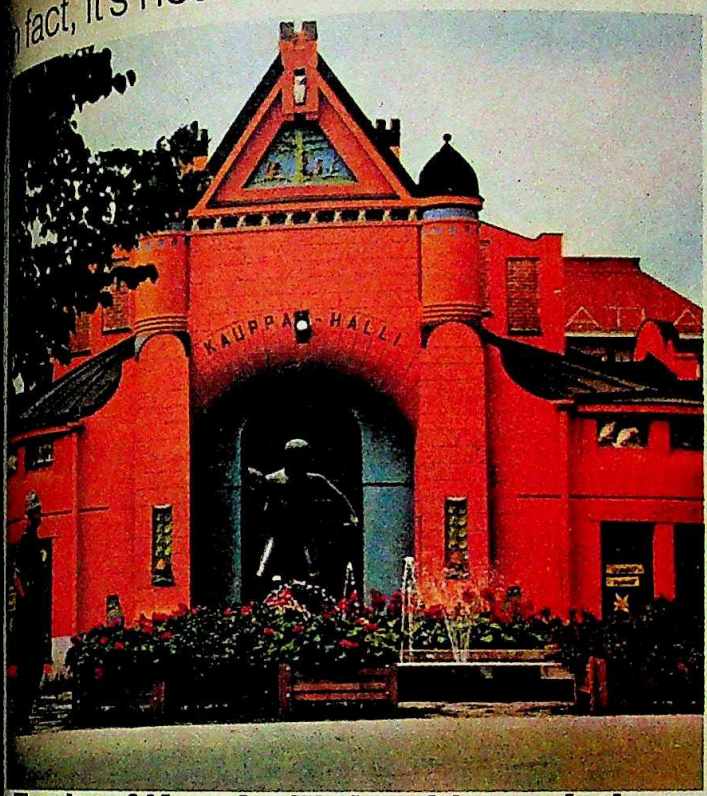
Kuopio isn't the biggest city in the world.

In fact, it's not even the biggest city in Finland—there are several other cities ahead of it.

But that doesn't mean they're ahead of Kuopio in the ability to think ahead.

Which is why, when Kuopio went shopping for a telephone system, they bought our System 12.™ 20,000 equivalent lines of it.

System 12 is a unique telephone switching system that's fully digital.



The city of Kuopio, Finland (population 75,000) just bought ITT's System 12.

And since digital transmission is the fastest, most accurate way to send data, it's essential that a telephone network be able to accommodate it.

Not just sometime in the future, either, but right now.

System 12 can. What's more, it handles voice just as well as it does data—in the same switch.

That means no complex interfaces or expensive side-by-side systems.

Exactly the sort of things that some telephone administrations are ending up with.

And thanks to System 12's fully distributed control it can grow or change as Kuopio does.

So ten years from now Kuopio will look just as smart. Maybe smarter.

SYSTEM 12 ITT

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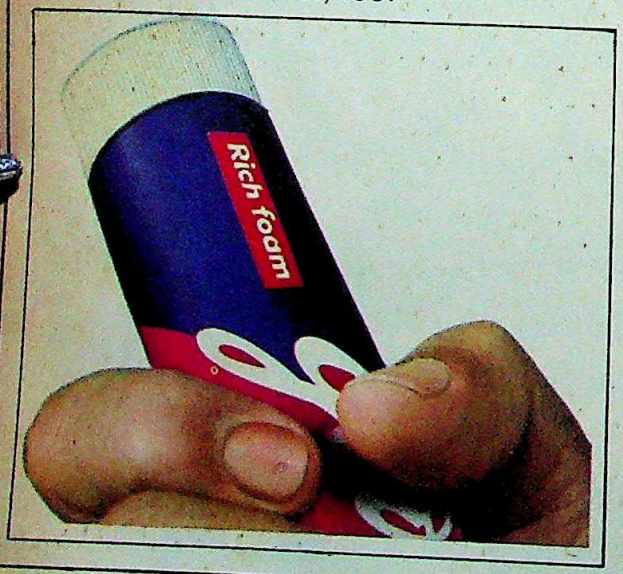
THE SHAVING GRACE:

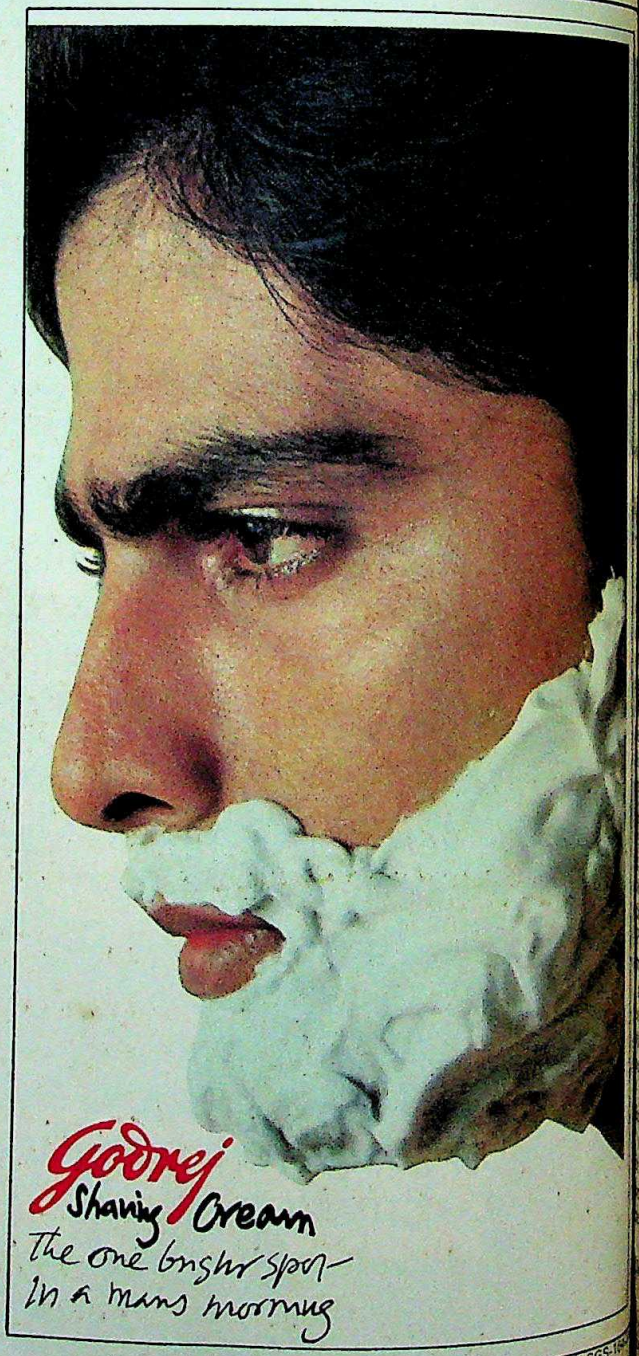
Every day, day after day. A man just can't get away from the routine of shaving.

Which is why he needs a saving grace in his shave—a dash of freshness, a touch of cologne.

That's the shaving grace—the refreshing touch of cologne in your shaving cream. Exclusive to Godrej.

A choice in menthol, too.





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LLING

Diplomat In The Dock

DIPLOMATIC passport bestows on its owner a lot of privileges, not the least of which is his freedom to walk freely past customs without having to open bags. A few members of the diplomatic corps have abused this privilege, bringing electronic and other luxuries into the country disregarding the 320 per cent duty. Sometimes they get caught and one of those cases was last fortnight when American diplomat Leon Wight and his wife Erlinda were detained for allegedly trying to bring in Rs 2 lakh worth of goods on the sly.

Wight, 53, of medium height and balding, is an accountant and works in the USAID section of the US Embassy. On November 3, in the early hours of the morning, he arrived at Bombay Airport on the Lufthansa flight from Hong Kong, accompanied by Erlinda, a petite Filipino who holds a Philippines passport. As luck would have had it, the customs officials were on the alert for two diplomats suspected of being couriers for a smuggling gang. When Wight and his wife picked up their four Samsonite bags from the conveyer belt, the officials noticed that the couple seemed to be having difficulty lifting the bags. They did not know at that time that Wight was a diplomat.

Diplomatic Discussion: Erlinda had walked through the green channel with her duty-free shopping bag but was stopped as she made to leave the arrivals hall. The first thing she said when confronted—"I am a diplomat's wife"—was not guaranteed to ease suspicions. Just then, Wight with his four bags in tow joined the discussion, confirmed what Erlinda had said, and began flaunting his diplomatic passport. According to the officials he said that he had been in the diplomatic service for 21 years, had travelled round the world but had never seen such behaviour. For a moment the officials were nonplussed.

However, they asked for Erlinda's passport, which showed her as a Philippines national. Wight insisted that, as his wife, she was also entitled to diplomatic privileges. Said an official: "By now it was evident that they were making a desperate attempt to get out. But Wight made a mistake. He declared that two bags belonged to his wife and the other two were his own, and he had no option but to agree to our request to open her bags for inspection." But Wight still insisted on his wife's diplomatic privileges.

Realising that to hold only the wife would lead to complications, and aware that to search the bags they would need the permission of the External Affairs Ministry, the customs officials suggested that Wight could leave without his bags, which would be released the next day when he produced a letter from his embassy that his wife was also entitled to dilomatic privileges. The couple left; the bags stayed behind.

By the time he returned, the ministry had already got in touch with the embassy which was embarrassed and could not but agree to a search. Gold was struck with the very first bag, and Wight broke down and talked. His story: two Indians, not named by customs, had accompanied the Wights to Hong Kong, had handed them the goods, and would have accompanied them back to India and received the goods from the American outside the airport. The Indians could not get seats on the Wights' flight and arrived a day later: predictably, customs found nothing on them.

Organised Gang: The crowning irony of the episode is that if Wight had said that the goods belonged to him, customs could not have done anything. But once he lost his nerve, customs had no difficulty in making him spill the beans on a well-organised smuggling operation. Although they knew that he had been to Hong Kong four times in the past few months, they had no way of proving that he had smuggled in anything else. Subsequent searches of Wight's residence produced a lot of documents containing names and addresses. The accountant had compulsively maintained records of all the transactions he had played a role in so far.

The authorities, still investigating, were keeping quiet. An American Embassy official says that "it would not be appropriate for me to make any further comment, as the matter is under investigation" and adds that they were working closely with the Indian Government to clarify the matter. Although the authorities do not admit as much, they would be content to have Wight declared *persona non grata* and leave the country.

The External Affairs Ministry is understandably concerned over the number of diplomats acting as couriers: 26 in the last three years, with the value of goods seized at over Rs 82 lakh. Only two months ago customs made their biggest catch in the form of General Timoteo Alvareng, Paraguay's ambassador to Taiwan and Ngo Vo, a Chinese resident of Hong Kong, transit passengers stopped with 18 kg of gold at Bombay's Sahar International Airport. The gold was worth Rs 30 lakh.

The American is one more added to the tally of Malaysians, Kenyans, Indonesians, Paraguayans, Nepalese and Russians. Customs hope that the latest haul will deter other diplomats from falling prey to smuggling gangs making full use of that elite diplomatic passport.

—ASOKA RAINA

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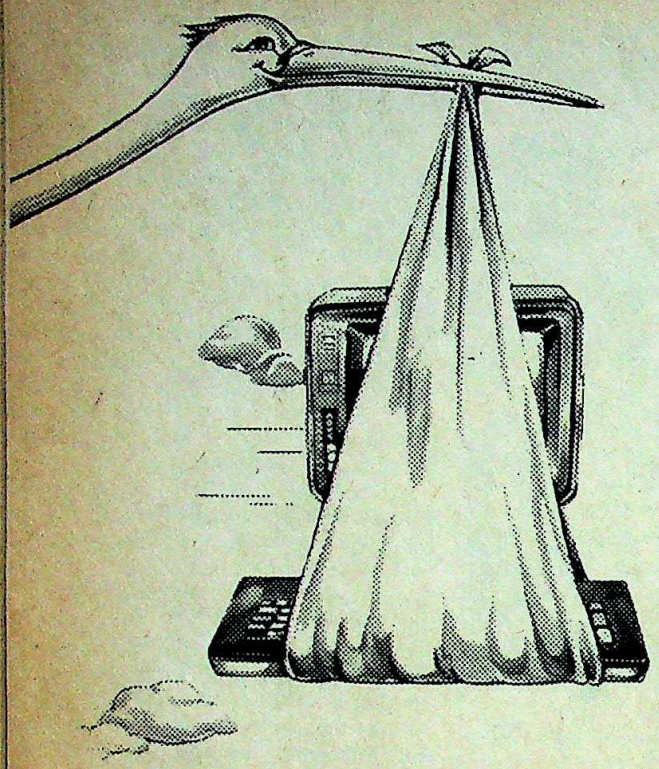

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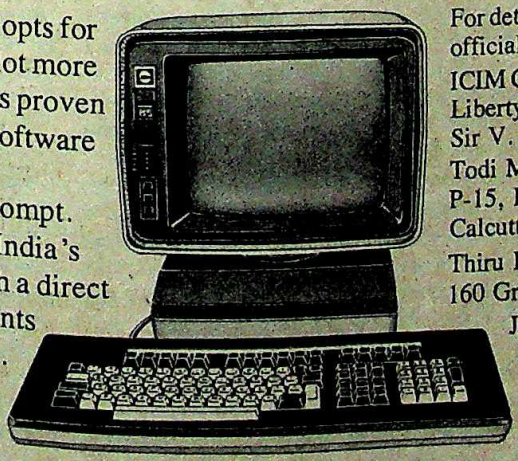

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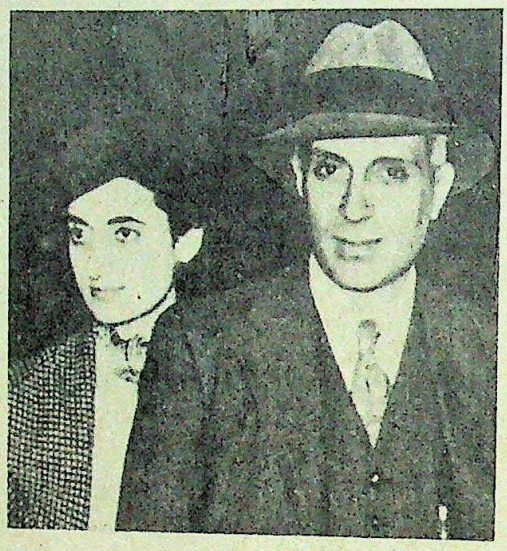
INDIRA GANDHI

'My Father Was Not My Mentor'



THIS week, on November 19, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi celebrates her 65th birthday. For 13 of those 65 years, she has ruled over the largest democracy in the world with varying and debatable degrees of success. It is, however, a reign that has assured her a comparatively prominent niche in history. But for all the volumes written about her, Mrs Gandhi still remains very much an enigma, not just to the outside world, but to the 700 million people she governs. Opinions on her are as varied as the country she rules. A shrewd, calculating politician; a ruthless enemy; an imperious empress; a megalomaniac; an Iron Lady. She is, in fact, much more, a bewildering complexity of characters that have paraded through her life at one stage or another.

There is also the other Mrs Gandhi, the charming, gracious stateswoman who emerges on her frequent forays outside the country, brilliantly plumaged and glib of tongue and taste. Finally, there is yet another Mrs Gandhi, the woman, the mother and the housewife. Of her many facets, the last-named is probably the only one where the real Mrs Gandhi comes through, where the woman in her overshadows the larger-than-life image. It is on occasions such as this, when Mrs Gandhi lets drop her guard and becomes, for an all-too-brief period, a human being.

Few people outside her immediate family have, however, had the opportunity to view her in that form. One outsider is Bina Lalwani, the international businesswoman who interviewed Mrs Gandhi recently. The interview came about after a social meeting of Mrs Gandhi in London where she had gone to inaugurate the Festival of India. Lalwani had a brief private meeting with Mrs Gandhi in London where she was fascinated by the interest Mrs Gandhi took in totally feminine things like ornaments and clothing. She recalls Mrs Gandhi being genuinely concerned about the Indians living abroad and the kind of image they should project. "Once I got over the initial awe, I discovered that here was a perfectly regular woman, an aspect of her personality that has really been overlooked," says Lalwani.

Determined to project this largely hidden side of the prime minister, Lalwani asked for an interview and it was promptly granted. Earlier this year, Lalwani finally interviewed Mrs Gandhi at the prime minister's house, an interview that stretched into minutes during which the subject-matter was basically what Lalwani had envisaged; Mrs Gandhi the woman. Excerpts from the interview.

Q. ***Starting with your teenage years, while you were ensconced in the freedom movement and politics, what happened to the desires every young girl goes through? Did you suppress them or did they never arise?***

A. They never arose at all. There was no room for anything except the fight for freedom. I had no girl-friends, only boy cousins. Well, I had school friends, but... I always hated gossip, the type which was known as feminine chit-chat. I continue to dislike it. I played games, I liked things like climbing trees and... things like that.

Q. ***And did you wear western dresses like all young girls?***

A. Well, we had no choice as we wore only khadi and that time it was extremely thick, so you couldn't even do much by way of designing. We had to be very plain. Wearing khadi was a badge of honour. It was something one was proud to do. Of course, in between, I was in school in Switzerland.

Q. ***What happy moments do you recall of that time?***

A. (Laughing): I don't know. I was happy to be with my parents. I didn't see very much of them so I was very happy when my father was there and out of jail. All very close and I was always happy to go to the mountains.

Q. ***As a young lady, did you ever aspire to be head of the country?***

A. Certainly not. I'd never dreamt of that. There was no question, you know, as we didn't think we'd be free in our lifetime.

Q. ***Other than your father, who would you consider your mentor?***

A. I don't think my father was my mentor.

Q. ***You are completely self-structured?***

A. No, I'm not self-structured. I take from other people but then you have to um... I mean you are taking something all the time, not necessarily from a person or a known person. You are taking from everybody.

Q. ***Who are your heroes?***

A. All the people who fought for freedom were my heroes. I mean, that was the sort of story I liked reading... freedom struggles and so on.

Q. ***Was there any woman who played an important role in your life as a child?***

A. No, except my mother. I was 9 when she died. And she was very young. She was 36 and she died of an illness.

Q. ***Did that change your life much?***

A. Well... I don't think it changed my life. I think sorrow does something to you inside... but it can't really stop

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I think perhaps had she not died, perhaps I wouldn't have married. It time to take that decision.

Your romance with Feroze Gandhi? did it begin? Was it here in India meet him?

Yes, in my home town. He saw me was 13-14 and he proposed to me was 16. He had been proposing to consistently till I agreed. I was on the of the Montmartre.

Was there any opposition from family?

Well, there was some, not be- he was a Parsi, but because he from a different background. some of the older members thou- wouldn't be able to support me my we... I had been living.

But you managed to get around?

There was no question of gett- and. I have always done what I to do.

Did your parents ever have any ions for an arranged marriage?

No. On the contrary, they were I wouldn't and I was sure wouldn't marry anybody some- selected.

Was he the first man in ?

Yes, he was the only man life, then or ever. I shared most personal moments with

And how about your child- relationship with their father?

It was very good. Well, both in boarding school passed away.

With such an active life, one call you a standard ?

Yes, I did everything for dren. I didn't let anybody touch all. I cared for them much more mother I know.

What advice would you have for mothers because it is such a situation?

We have an advantage in India we do have more servants than have in other countries. It's not the the middle class. And most people families so that is a cushion- where children are looked after people are looked after. We then, mothers, shouldn't feel frustrated. certainly think that if a woman has a child into the world, she has a to the child.

How was your relationship with mother-in-law?

We didn't stay anywhere near her had a good relationship with her. My husband never wrote to her and she said the first time I've news of what's happening is since he got married. She lived in Allahabad and afterwards we moved to Delhi and Lucknow for a short while. I brought the family closer in a way. Once he got into politics, he was very much cut off, so his mother especially did not understand what was going on.

Q. *In motherhood, can you recall what may have been your most satisfying moment?*

A. I had a very satisfying feeling when my elder son was born. I really felt I had achieved something.

Q. *Would you have liked to have had a daughter? And was there any sibling rivalry?*

A. I wasn't at all bothered about it. I just wanted children. Well, I suppose there was a bit of rivalry. The younger always feels he can't do everything that the elder can. The elder always feels first he had all the attention, now there is someone else. This sort of thing. They were very good friends. They shared a lot of interests. My husband was very mechanical minded and was very very good with his hands, and both the boys too.

Q. *Are there many friends today in your life that you might count as childhood friends or are these newly acquired?*

A. No, I have my old school friends and college friends.

Q. *What a lot of women would love to know about you is: how fashion conscious are you?*

A. No, not all. No, I like to see people well dressed. I have discussed fashion with fashion leaders as I know some of them. I feel people should always look their best. If by fashion you mean the changing fashion, I think a person must decide what is his or her style. May be when you are young, different styles do suit you but as you grow older and make your personality, then you have to do something that builds your personality rather than what happens to be the whim of that season.

Q. *Well, who selects your sarees and jewellery, hair-styles etc?*

A. Somebody brings them for me to select. It used to be my secretary but now I don't have one. Sonia, my daughter-in-law, gets me whatever she thinks I'll like.

Q. *How many sarees do you have?*

A. Indian sarees are not like dresses because I still have some that belong to my mother. So you have these things, you cut them up and do something else with them. I usually wear a saree till I simply can't, much to the despair of my family. My father used to do the same. Anytime I removed something which I thought was much too old he'd say, "Where's that particular one, who has taken it away?" So I'm the same now, I'm afraid.

Q. *What kind of garments do you feel most comfortable in?*

A. I like wearing all our regional costumes, and I usually do on a Sunday or something. But I don't think I should wear it to the office for instance.

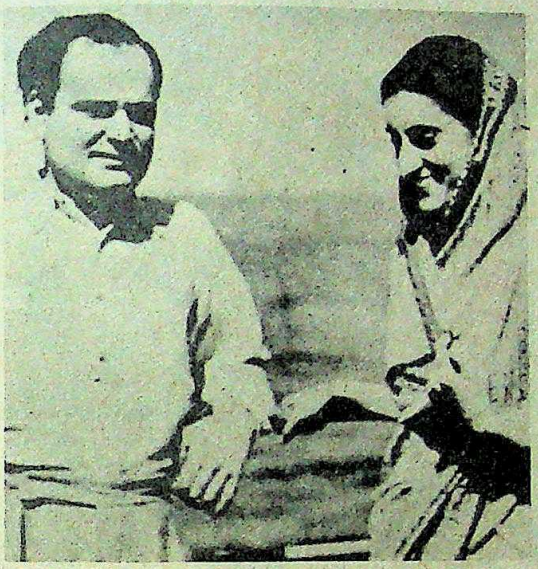
Q. *What would you consider your favourite pastime?*

A. Reading, of course. But walking in the mountains, really, because I do so much eye work and I read while I am working. If I'm working in the day, I read at night and so on. So for me it's everything. Because when the boys were small we sent them to the mountains for two months in their summer holidays and we always camped in the wildest possible places as far from anybody else as possible.

Q. *Would you wear pants or salwars or what?*

A. I'd wear salwars...as well as jeans, though lots of women wear sarees.

Q. *When was the last time you cooked a meal?*



Feroze proposed to me when I was sixteen. He had been proposing to me consistently till I agreed. I was on the footsteps of the Montmartre.

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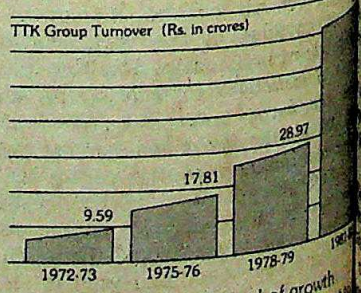

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A. I've never cooked a meal. Well, I was taught when I was a little girl my grandfather was still alive and I cook for him as an exam, a kind of cooking test. All I can cook is an egg.

Q. *It is said that you love the theatre.*

A. I love the theatre, I like good

Q. *Is there no weakness in your life you would like to overcome?*

A. Lots of them. I would like to know how to cook, for instance. I think it is a great weakness not to know to cook when the need arises. Also that I am quite happy eating fruit and raw vegetables. I don't think I serve. I wish I could sing.

Q. *While at Shanti Niketan, did you teach you to sing?*

A. They did, but I don't think I enjoy singing. I did dancing at that

Q. *In this country of gods, do you have a favourite one?*

A. No, not particularly. Ultimately my religion, God is a presence all it is not a picture or a symbol, you want that only if you can't reach the abstract and you feel you need something. Then they say that you see it in this form or that or any form you'd like to for yourself. I have no particularly routine toward religion. When I was a child my parents the Gita and Ramayana and And my father and mother talked to me about philosophy and other religions and how religions have the same basis brotherhood, love and so on.

Q. *Can you shed some light on marriage, dowry, divorce?*

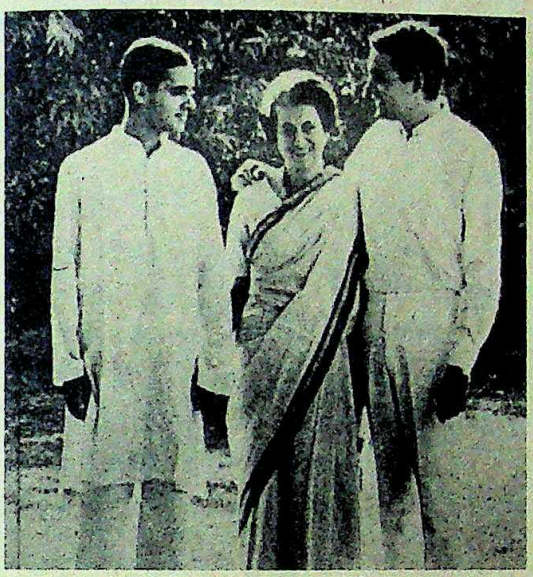
A. I don't think divorce is a here. We hardly have much divorce here.

Q. *Do you think divorce is avoided because it's taboo?*

A. I don't think it's taboo. It is true most girls are brought up to make a success of their marriage. In the cities, they do get separated or divorced. But if this, what does that mean? It means they have not made an effort. How can you get anything in the world that is worthwhile without making an effort?

Q. *Sometimes a girl may try as hard as she can, but an in-law may come in the way. One marries into families rather than households, unlike in the Western world.*

A. Oh yes, you have many more divorces, say, in the United States. Do you think those women are happy? They don't live in the way we do and yet I've read number of books written by divorced women and the net result is a kind of brittleness. They are very happy to be rid of the man and in one case she just goes away because she feels she must have her own life, and not because she is unhappy with the married life. But she's read so much (it's supposed to be a true story), but she says she felt that everyone says that women must be themselves, must do their own thing, must lead their own life



I did everything for my children. I didn't let anybody touch them at all. I cared for them much more than any mother I know.

and just for that she leaves her husband.

Q. *You don't want to give the title?*

A. I never remember names.

Q. *You have said that you're in the office not as a woman but as prime minister. Therefore, do you feel that women's cause may have suffered? This seems to be the impression with a lot of women.*

A. No, it's not true. On the contrary, when I was defeated in the election, a lot of women felt that they had been demoted and a lot of men treated them as such too. In households, the men said now we would put you in your places, that sort of thing.

Q. *You do relate to women's problems?*

A. I don't accept it. I relate to it in the sense that I am concerned with any individual being able to develop his or her personality to the full. And I think that if women are not allowed to do so, it hurt men just as much because it diminishe the society as a whole. I'm intereste in women not because I'm a woman bu because a woman forms half the huma race, so what happens to her is important t human beings as a whole.

Q. *However, one would think that i India, a woman's role is definitely the on that takes a back seat and they suffe on its account?*

A. No, not necessarily. India is land of contradictions, so you hav the whole range on both sides. An throughout our history, women hav occupied important roles and nobod has thought it strange that they have.

Q. *It is quite incredible! I te my friends in America that we have woman leading a nation that is so larg and yet we've been...*

A. But you don't have to say tha it's only the prime minister. We hav women chief ministers, we have wome at the village levels who get elected t the chairmanship of the village cou cils—it's all accepted.

Q. *It is a land of contradiction and the disparity is really great. Isn't where women in such large numbe suffer? Let's look at the dow problem, for instance.*

A. Well, but they happen some parts, in very small parts the country, mainly in the north.

Q. *Doesn't south India ha dowry problems.*

A. Well, among certain com munities. I don't know if it much more than before or th it just gets more publicity. I' afraid, I think, part of it is t society, the *nouveau riche* societ Well, we are trying to strengthe the laws but basically it has to be soci consciousness. If society itself feels stron ly enough to just say that they won't tol rate this, I think that this will be the on way to end it.

Q. *You travel so much. Do you ha a favourite country.*

A. I think that would be dangero (laughing). Well, I enjoy almost any pla I go to because I like seeing place although being prime minister puts o in a bit of a prison. I have such a fu programme.

Q. *What's your favourite cuisine?*

A. Well, there are a lot of Indi dishes I like. In each cuisine there something I like. Oh, I love Chinese to but then I don't like specialities like, sa shark fins or bird's nest and all that...

Q. *If you were to live your life all ov again, would you want to do it differently?*

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A. Well, one really can't say. It depends on what circumstances one is born in. And suppose I was born when India was free, obviously I would have had a different life.

Q. *Did you enjoy every bit of that hard experience?*

A. It's not a question of enjoying. I think it makes for a better person. The more you go through that is what builds you as a person. I mean, when I'm walking, I inevitably choose the more difficult path, the steeper path and. . .I don't like walking on a straight road.

Q. *How do you cope with hardships? You've lost so many dear ones in your life since childhood and two years out of office, I'm sure those were hard times?*

A. There were no hard times of being out of office, but there were hard times because we were harassed so much. As for losses in my personal life, those painful experiences take some strength from within and give strength.

Q. *Can you share that strength?*

A. Sorrow you can't share. You can share joy, but you can't share sorrow.

Q. *So you have to suffer your sorrow entirely alone?*

A. Everybody must. Nob[illegible] bear your burden for you and [illegible] ultimate analysis, each person [illegible] no matter how close others are [illegible] got to face your problems you[illegible]

Q. *Would you be able to c[illegible] few people in your life who stood [illegible] while you went through that?*

A. No, I managed entirely [illegible] own.

Q. *While in office, which w[illegible] the most formidable problem th[illegible] would like to overcome?*

A. Um. . .there's really one pro[illegible] which is the economic backwardn[illegible] the country. Everything else is a[illegible] of that. My father was asked [illegible] years ago, when the population was [illegible] less, about how many problems he [illegible] and at that time he said 460 m[illegible] because that was the population of [illegible] Now it's 683 million as of the [illegible] census.

Q. *How about going to a rest[illegible] or walking in the streets and thing[illegible] that?*

A. Yes, abroad one can, for ins[illegible] in London.

The more you go through, that is what builds you as a person. I mean, when I'm walking, I inevitably choose the more difficult path, the steeper path and. . .I don't like walking on a straight road.

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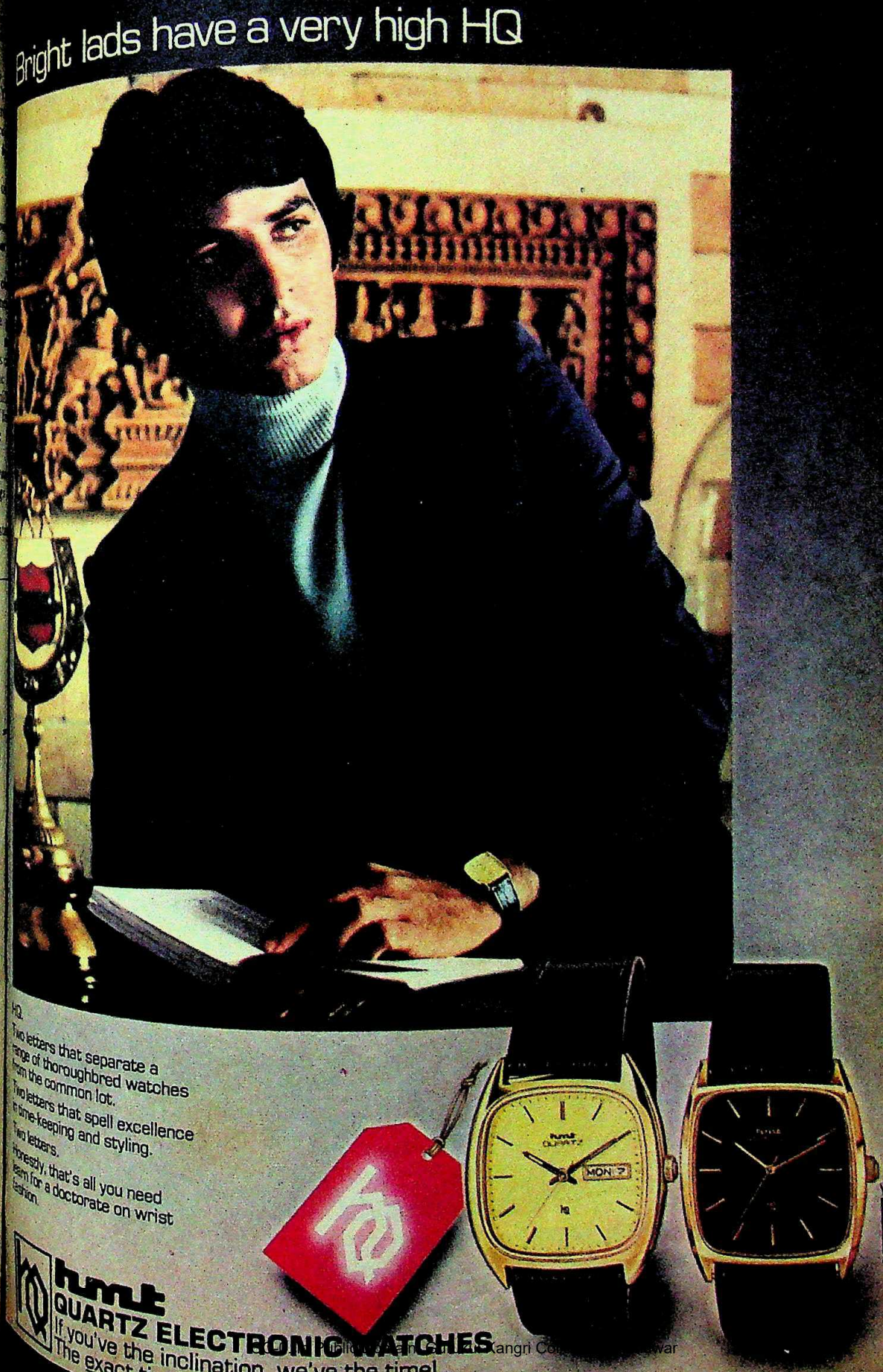
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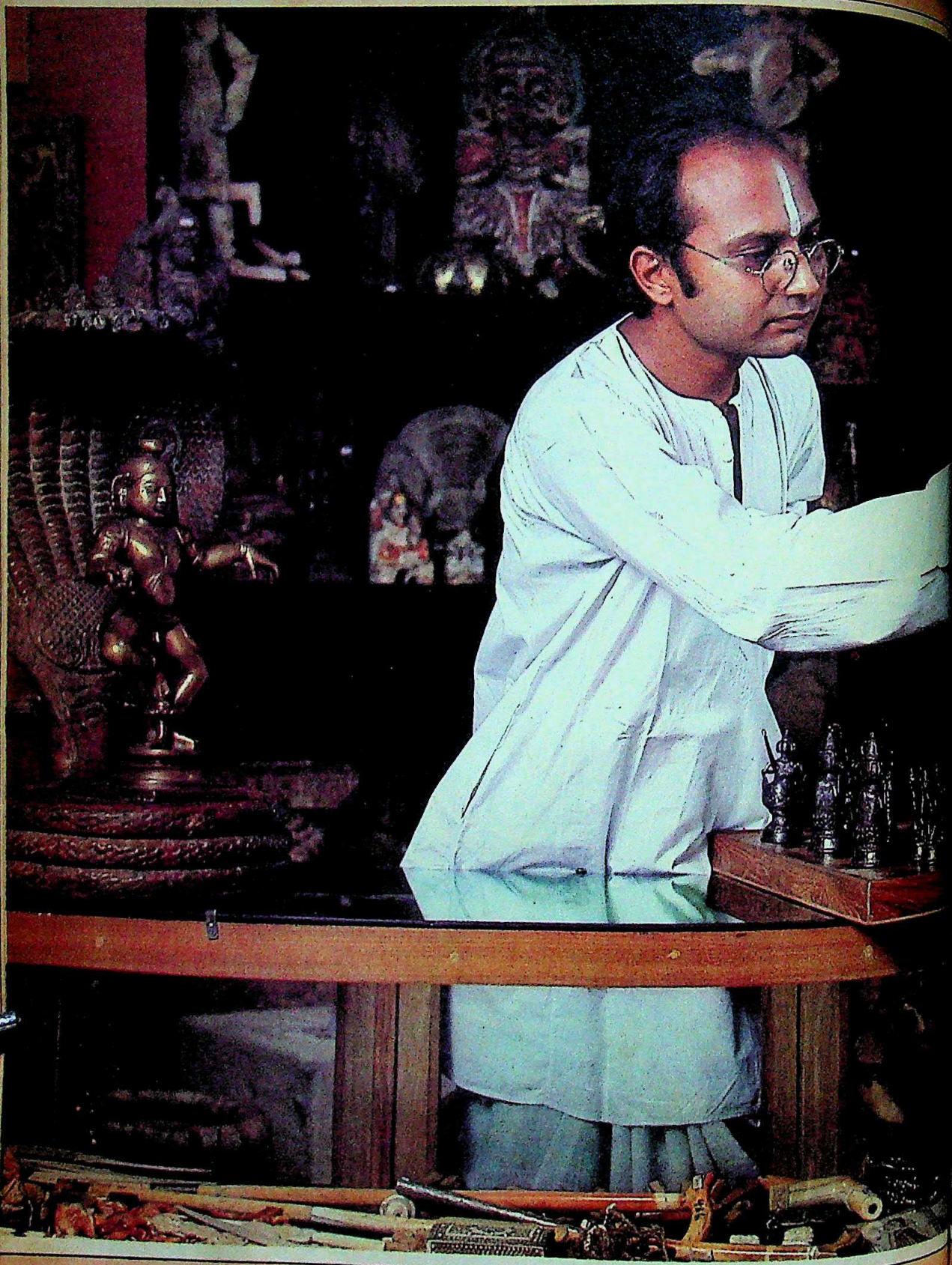

Sometimes, in the flawless lines of a tiny sculpture...you can recognise the unmistakable touch of a master craftsman.

Featured here: an antique chess set cast in bronze, by the craftsmen of Bastar.

The suit: subtle stripes in copper tan, set off by a deep umber waist-coat. Unmistakably...Digjam.

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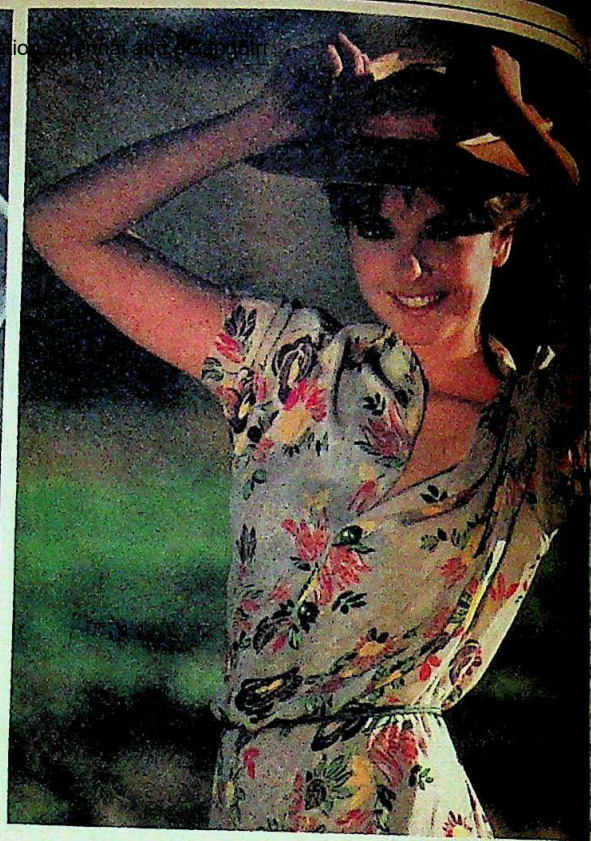

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...use Célèbre

...ys from the colonial epoch ...to be surfacing in Tamil ...where the most unusual of ...is being drawn through the ...contestants: the Government ...versus a three-year-old Madras-...called Skills, of no particular ...ology or clear-cut mandate. ...sedition.

...is not the first to have this ob-...grave charge flung at it in Tamil ...police there seem to make a ...their total lack of success in ...charge stick in a court of law ...ding. But Skills, which is cur-...ing on the development of low-...unication and media techniques, ...st, and has moved the state's ...for protection. In ...it has picked up a ...of sympathy from ...legal minds, and ...ld well set a legal ...

...versial Raid: The ...was catapulted ...news last August with ...raid on its pre-...sportedly conducted ...entire battalion of ...though the police ...a handful were in-...The raid was meticu-...records and papers ...The raid was also ...unpleasant: accord-...members of Skills, the ...headed by an of-...'Q' branch of the ...Police, which investigates ...activity, and the policemen mere-...a search warrant and broke into ...without allowing the people ...read it.

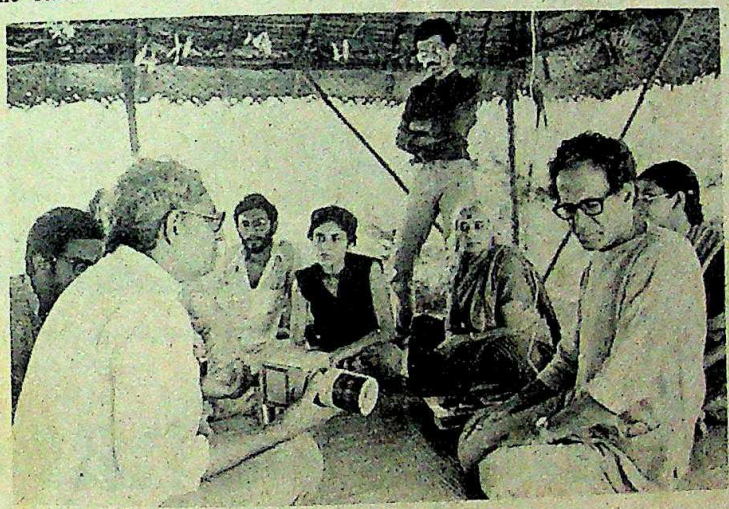
...hending trouble, Programmes ...Sadanand Menon and ...Chandralekha, in whose indi-...the warrant was allegedly ...successfully applied for anti-...bail in the metropolitan ...court on August 16. But the ...attached was their mandatory ap-...in court every tenth day. In a ...development, the police refusal ...the FIR in court was endorsed ...G. Maheswaran of the Madras ...Court who ruled that neither the ...nor the public have any right ...the FIR. Startlingly, Skills stood ...for sedition under Section 124A of the Indian Penal Code (IPC).

In consternation, Menon and Chandralekha subsequently filed a writ petition in the Madras High Court, seeking a writ of prohibition restraining the state police from taking any further steps to investigate the charge of sedition. Basing themselves on the absence of prima facie evidence to warrant such a probe, the petitioners submitted that Skills was a cultural and artistic group and hardly an extremist gang or something of that ilk. The police are, however, resisting this move.

Implications: Sedition is a serious charge which the IPC defines as an attempt "to bring into hatred or contempt or excite disaffection towards a lawfully established government by words, spoken or written, signs or visible representation". But even the British, who had incorporated Section 124A which deals with sedition into the IPC in 1898, had introduced an explanatory proviso which qualified that "comments expressing disapprobation of the measures of the Government with a view to obtaining their alteration by lawful means do not constitute sedition". In 1962, a ruling of a five-judge bench of the Supreme Court made sedition even more difficult to prove. They ruled that creating disaffection towards the Government through mere words does not constitute sedition in the light of the fundamental right of freedom of speech and expression guaranteed by the Constitution. There must be incitement to public disorder for a sedition charge.

Most lawyers think that sedition is almost impossible to prove and it "has been proved only in a handful of cases," as a top-ranking criminal lawyer of Madras, N.T. Vanamamalai puts it. More pertinently, the Peoples' Union for Civil Liberties plans to go to the Supreme Court on the right of the public, and in particular the respondent in a criminal case, to see the FIR lodged with the police.

Profile: A seven-member group, Skills had registered itself under the Tamil Nadu Societies' Registration Act in July 1979. It is a distinguished collective of artists from diverse fields—writers, painters, dancers and designers. Its core group consists of its president, Dasharath Patel, who is a nationally renowned designer from Ahmedabad's National Institute of Design, and a recipient of the Padma Shri; Chandralekha, the motive force behind the group, who is an internationally famous Bharat Natyam dancer and a noted creative writer; and the left-oriented Menon who has been a free-lance contributor to leading national dailies and periodicals after a two-year stint as sub-editor in the *Indian Express*, Madras.



Patel (extreme left) with other 'Skills' members: making legal history

Ever since its formation, Skills has been concentrating on imparting inexpensive communication techniques to voluntary education and literacy groups, particularly those working in the villages and backward areas. Periodic workshops are part of the regular Skills scene, and the organisation has so far trained over 50 groups from all over the country on an inexpensive screen-printing process. With a Rs 5 lakh grant from the West German agency, Bread for the World, Skills has even set up a small studio on its premises for doing research on low-cost alternatives in screen-printing and audio-visuals. An interesting visual communication aid that Dasharath Patel has evolved from the Skills cultural laboratory is a hand-made torch-operated slide projector, which costs less than Rs 10 and can be turned out in a couple of hours.

Despite official secrecy, INDIA TODAY has learnt from reliable sources that the FIR charges the group with exaggerating the need of the poorer socio-economic strata of society, thereby making them jealous and disgruntled. Menon and Chandralekha have been charged with inciting the weaker sections "to be disloyal to and develop feelings of enmity towards the democratically and lawfully established Government". The case is certain to make legal history.

—S.H. VENKATRAMANI

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PRAMOD PUSHKARNA

Mrs Gandhi bids Zia and his family goodbye: overcoming mutual suspicions

INDO-PAKISTAN RELATIONS

Giving Amity A Chance

THE SUBLIMINAL sense of history (however minor) in the making had perhaps bestowed the occasion with far more than it deserved. Yet, in political and historical terms, there was no denying that last fortnight's all-too-brief meeting between Mrs Gandhi and Pakistan President Zia-ul-Haq—the first organised summit between the two countries since Simla in 1972—shattered more than just the ice. Mrs Gandhi and Zia had met briefly in Salisbury two years ago but this was the first time that they had met officially in a minisummit in an attempt to iron out the main wrinkles that have warped relations between the two neighbours. Whether they succeeded or not will be for future history to record, but the very fact that they agreed to a tête-à-tête, particularly at a stage when mutual suspicion over the arms flow into the two countries has been on the rise, was in itself a giant step.

Both Zia and Mrs Gandhi had carefully prepared themselves for their mini-summit. In charm, they nearly matched one another. They smiled, and laughed together; there was neither ice nor acid in Mrs Gandhi's voice. During the exchange of pleasantries, which consumed just about two minutes, Zia said he regarded her "like my elder sister". The talks were focussed on bilateral relations. Issues like Afghanistan and the forthcoming non-aligned conference were touched upon.

Relationships: Zia, who opened the formal talks, reportedly assured Mrs Gandhi that living in peace and amity with India was a fundamental objective of his policy. He realised that the cleavage between Pakistan and India could not be mended by dramatic strokes of diplomacy. The issues that divided the two countries meshed with their domestic affairs and indeed with their respective psyche[illegible] if he wanted to move quickly, he [illegible] face domestic obstacles as much [illegible] Mrs Gandhi; therefore a cooperat[illegible] tionship had to be built step b[illegible] peace being the first essential step.

The Pakistan President to[illegible] Gandhi that he knew that there w[illegible] erences between his and her percep[illegible] the events in Afghanistan since De[illegible] 27, 1979. Pakistan, however, must [illegible] peace with its neighbours includ[illegible] Soviet Union. He added that in h[illegible] Pakistan had finally started mov[illegible] wards a political settlement of the [illegible] problem, which he felt was the o[illegible] to restore peaceful relations betwee[illegible] istan, Afghanistan and the Soviet U[illegible]

Pakistan, however, would not s[illegible] the fundamental principles of its s[illegible] Afghanistan, one of which is that a [illegible] cal settlement must be such as [illegible] enable the 2.5 million Afghan refu[illegible]

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...ce. The arms Pakistan would be ...ves the United States were meant ...to give the Pakistani armed forces ...of self-confidence. It would be ...ness on Pakistan's part to think ...er war with India. On the ... Zia reportedly added, develop... the region and the world made it ...for the two to live in peace and ...There was, he said, no alternative.

...nce: According to sources, Mrs ... welcomed Zia's peaceful ...ly sentiments and said ...fully shared them. India, ... had some genuine diffi... understanding Pakistan's ... No one had so far ...er a satisfactory answer to ...tion why Pakistan, having ... Indian proposals for a ...pact for 30 years, suddenly ...up with that offer in the ...of 1981, especially when ...Agreement ruled out war ... the two countries. The ... of highly sophisticated ... aircraft to Pakistan naturally ...concern in India; Pakistan has ...driven India to spend a lot of ...on arms against its wish, transfer... resources from development to ...

...e did not doubt the sincerity of ...sire for peace with India. But she ...that a no-war pact would not put ...kistan relations on a higher level ...present. The two countries should ...the Simla accord and move to a ...threshold of amity; hence her pro... a joint commission at the min... level and her offer of a treaty of ...friendship and cooperation. She did ...understand why Pakistan was shying ...from a friendship treaty. Nor did she ...Pakistan's hesitation to set up ... commission until India accepted its ... a no-war pact.

...Gandhi also reportedly said that ...that Pakistan had its own sec... problems. She had been assured by ...Soviet leaders that the Soviet Union ...committed to the independence and ...integrity of Pakistan. She said ...there need not be the slightest fear ...India would ever harm or injure Pak... adding that a strong, stable and pro... Pakistan is entirely in India's ...

...Gandhi is understood to have ...that it was a matter of great happi... to India and to herself that the broad ...of Pakistan as well as most of the ...wished to live in peace and ...with India: this was a major ...change which every Indian welcomed, for India had the warmest of feelings for the people of Pakistan.

Bilateralism: According to sources, Mrs Gandhi said that in the Indian draft of a friendship treaty, both countries are required to mutually abjure the right to place bases or facilities at the disposal of a third power. She understood that there was a strong popular sentiment in Pakistan in favour of this mutual accord. It would not only strengthen non-alignment in the subcontinent but also remove a major source of tension and conflict in the South Asian region. It was also essential that India and Pakistan remained committed to bilateralism to settle their outstanding disputes and differences. Bilateralism, as incorporated in the Indian draft, did nothing more or less than protect the Simla accord.

The cleavage between Pakistan and India cannot be mended by dramatic strokes of diplomacy... a cooperative relationship has to be built step by step, peace being the first essential step.

Responding to Mrs Gandhi's formulation, Zia is reported to have affirmed that he really wanted the diplomatic negotiations to gain momentum. The two drafts—Pakistan's draft of a no-war pact and India's of a friendship treaty—had a great deal in common. Indeed it was a remarkable example of how similarly Pakistani and Indian minds worked on matters of peace and cooperation. Pakistan had certain reservations on two or three points in the Indian draft. He would suggest that officials of the two countries, at their next meeting, take up both drafts together and see if they could be fused into a mutually acceptable pact or treaty.

Meanwhile, as an earnest of Pakistan's desire to move in the direction of peace and cooperation, he agreed that the joint commission be set up at the ministerial level pending agreement on a peace or friendship treaty. He would also agree to the Indian view that the joint commission should be concerned with only non-political issues. Zia mentioned that he had just reached accord with China to set up a similar Pakistan-China joint ministerial commission.

Mrs Gandhi was pleased with Zia's statement. The conversation then quickly moved to the decision that the next meeting of foreign secretaries should be held in New Delhi before the end of December; that it would implement the summit accord on the setting up of the joint ministerial commission; that it would examine the two drafts of non-aggression pact and friendship treaty simultaneously; and that the two leaders would meet again in March to sort out whatever differences might surface at the December meeting of foreign secretaries. The foreign ministers were asked to draft a joint statement incorporating these decisions.

The talks then smoothly sailed to other shores. Mrs Gandhi reportedly remarked that she wanted the non-aligned conference in March to get along without undue strains. Unwittingly, India has been obliged to take over formal leadership of the non-aligned movement for the next three years. Quarrels among the non-aligned nations only weakened the movement and benefited those nations who thrive by exploiting the resources of the developing countries. She hoped that General Zia would render all possible help to make the non-aligned conference a success. Zia assured Mrs Gandhi of his best cooperation, and raised Pakistan's desire to return to the Commonwealth. Mrs Gandhi's response was reportedly not negative. She indicated that India's attitude to the question would be inevitably formed by the role Pakistan played at the non-aligned conference.

Medical Questions: Mrs Gandhi then raised the matter of Begum Bhutto's desire to go abroad for medical treatment. She said she had received a flood of earnest requests from all over the world to plead with the General that Begum Bhutto be allowed to receive medical treatment in a country of her own choosing. She was mentioning this matter entirely on humanitarian grounds, and it must not be misconstrued as an attempt to intervene in Pakistan's internal affairs. General Zia responded by saying that he entirely understood Mrs Gandhi's humanitarian concern. He too had received many cables and letters. But he stood firmly by his decision: Begum Bhutto would be permitted to go abroad for medical treatment only if medical experts certified that the treatment she needed was not available in Pakistan.

Zia left Delhi in the early afternoon of November 1, highly pleased with the success of his visit. Two of his aides stayed back in New Delhi for two days for further talks with the Indian officials. Before they departed for Pakistan, it was announ...

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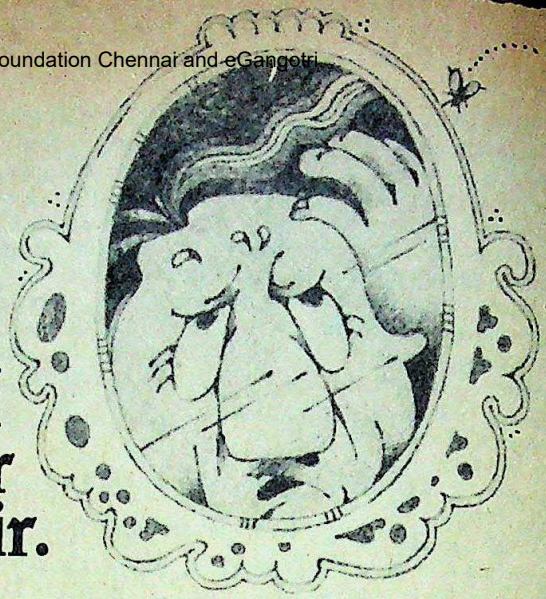

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the next meeting of the foreign se- would take place in New Delhi ber 23.

Indian officials pondered the result mini-summit, they seemingly deci- ation was the better part of di- External Affairs Minister P.V. Rao's statement to Parliament was brief and austere. He de- Zia's visit as "significant", an adj- deliberately stripped of enthusiasm As officials read rep- Zia's statements in Sou- Asia, old doubts gnawed at hopes kindled at the mini-summit. General Zia ously determined to over- self as the peace-maker in Asia. American support for Pakistan-India effort to imp- tions had a chilling effect Block. Said one wry offi- they just do not know how to we would do better if the left this business to India and Pakistan."

Holding Back: The Pakistan Presi- tion in South Asia that a solu- the Kashmir issue could be found the basis of UN resolutions and a threw buckets of cold water on generated by his talks with Mrs Didn't he know that India would allow the UN to meddle with issue? Commented a South official: "If Zia was trying to play home constituency, that's under- but he must realise that he can't cake of peace and eat it too." Foreign Ministry, however, refrained issue with Zia on the Kash- tion, hoping that the Kuala statement was a one-time indul- old-time subcontinental politics.

Zia discussed Afghanistan with leaders in South-east Asia, appeared in New Delhi whether trying to mobilise support for a resolution on Afghanistan at the conference. Reflecting Soviet the Communist Party of India *New Age* wrote: "Now Zia is to forge an Islamic linkage with the countries and it is certain that at summits Pakistan would in concert with them as well as Asian countries." This fear is by many Indians. But there is also that it would be possible to work consensus of non-aligned perspecti- the Afghan crisis. Said an official "We hope that Pakistan and India be at loggerheads at the non-alig- meeting."

A great deal will depend on what ground the foreign secretaries can gain in December in the subtle art of peace and amity, and what transpires at the meeting between the prime minister and Zia in Delhi in March. Remarked an Asian diplomat in New Delhi: "If December brings progress in the twin normalisation efforts—between India and Pakistan and between India and China—1983 will indeed be a good year for Asia. Hopefully, we shall also see a further improvement in Sino-Soviet relations. If that comes, a thaw in Sino-Vietnam relations cannot be far behind."

Reports suggest that very strong opposition exists within the Pakistani armed forces to a friendship treaty with India as long as the Kashmir issue is not resolved.

This optimism, however, is not universally shared. Strong negative factors do inhibit progress towards amity. Reports reaching New Delhi from political sources in Pakistan counsel caution in wrapping up a peace or friendship treaty with General Zia's martial law regime. These reports suggest that very strong opposition exists within the armed forces to a friendship treaty with India as long as the Kashmir issue is not resolved.

A source said that even among members of Zia's entourage there were signs of discord and of lack of coordination. The Finance Minister, Ghulam Ishaq Khan as well as Zia's Chief of Staff, General Arif, reportedly had strong reservations on a treaty of friendship, shared by at least one prominent member of the foreign service who accompanied the Pakistani leader. Indeed, when at the meeting of officials, Pakistani representatives were insisting that the next session of the foreign secretaries examine the no-war pact draft rather than the Indian draft of a treaty of friendship, Zia himself was suggesting to Mrs Gandhi that both documents could be taken up together.

Widening Chasm: Although India must obviously deal with the person in authority in Pakistan, most of the political parties in Pakistan are clear that they will not accept any treaty concluded with India by the martial law regime. This may, of course, be simply a political stand for there is popular sentiment in Pakistan for peace and amity in the subcontinent. Yet the political divide between the martial law regime and the people is wider than ever, and Zia is more isolated from the top army brass than ever before. It is entirely possible that his departure, when it occurs, may be in a palace coup. Zia's political failure is writ large on the Pakistani landscape and he seems to be aware of it. In a rare moment of introspection, Zia conceded during his visit to Kuala Lumpur that "even I have not been able to give a (political) system" to Pakistan.

These reports sharpen the Indian dilemma. Nobody knows how stable or unstable the Zia regime is, whether it will fall tomorrow or last through the decade. There is no charismatic political leadership in Pakistan that can unite the political forces. Zia's blind hatred for the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) is steadily driving the most popular political force in Pakistan to extreme radicalism.

The younger leaders of the PPP, especially the children of the late Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, are vowing revenge on Zia if they can get him. There have been attempts on his life. One, last year, was a near miss. Some of the generals view the emerging situation in Pakistan with concern, and this concern is shared by at least a section of policy makers in Washington.

Fighting Spirit: Diplomatic sources in New Delhi in close touch with Pakistani affairs say that Zia-ul-Haq has an uncanny sense of political survival and that each major diplomatic move he takes is related primarily to the survival of his rule. His effort has been to gain legitimacy through external linkages. "If Zia has told Indira Gandhi that he sincerely wants peace and amity with India, he must have persuaded himself that this is essential for his political survival," says one source.

Whether Pakistan and India conclude a no-war pact or a friendship treaty, there is no possibility of either lowering its military guard in the near future. "It will be idle to hope that India's or Pakistan's military spending will decrease with the conclusion of a no-war pact or a friendship treaty," said one defence expert.

The question that weighs most with Mrs Gandhi is whether India would not risk the wrath of the political forces in Pakistan by concluding a pact or a treaty with the martial law regime. Nobody knows what precisely Mrs Gandhi's thinking is on this crucial question. But the question divides not only top policy makers in South Block but even foreign policy advisers to the prime minister.

—BHABANI SEN GUPTA

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...d For Thought

...Y "Raj Karega Khalsa" has ... resounding through Indian ... but one can hardly expect to ... in Oakland, California. Last ...ker Pal Singh, a visitor from ...ed his voice in anger after ...d service in a restaurant in ...Seven after Singh and his four ...d settled into their table at the ...wood Restaurant for what they ...ld be a quiet Sunday dinner ...4, the manager of the restau... Linsz ordered Singh to "take ...ff your head or leave", refer... turban the Sikh was wearing. ...ered the waitress not to serve

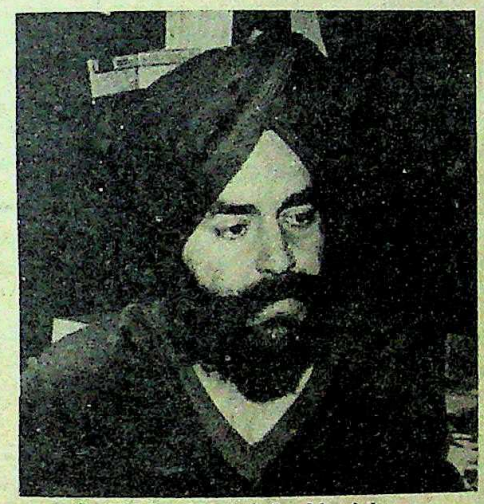
...said he explained to the mana... turban was not a hat but was ...s religion and culture and that ...r was in no position to ask him ... Linsz then reportedly retor... don't want to take your ... go back to your country." ...refused to comply with either ...sz threatened to call the police. ...he would be happy if he called ...use he would like to report the ...self.

...ile, other customers in the ...reportedly got involved and ...sides. A black family actual... and left, saying they would ...t in a restaurant where such ...rimination took place. "We ...ll be back in the '50s'" the ...man fumed. Singh was taking ...es and addresses of witnesses ...police arrived. Linsz complained ...h was disturbing the peace in his ...by approaching customers and ...ir names.

...ing Peace: The police sugges... that he and his friends leave ...they could be arrested for dis... the peace on private property. ...his friends decided to leave, but ...out announcing that they would ...in court.

...the next week, Singh, in con... with his lawyers, sued Grotto ... Restaurant in Almedia County ...r Court for $600,000 (Rs 57 lakh) ...itrary, malicious and capricious ...that was motivated by religious ...ation".

...has maintained that he approa... ...h in a civil way and that he was ...ing on orders from the restaurant ...He pointed to a sign that informed patrons that they would have to remove all headgear if they wanted to be served in the Grotto. Singh, however, claimed that the sign was put up the day after the incident. Linsz retorted: "One of them in the turbans became quite rude and began to talk very loudly. We're a little old-fashioned but we feel it is common courtesy for gentlemen to remove their headgear. There are no exceptions. This includes, stetsons, berets, baseball hats, Madison Avenue felts, boaters, visors, helmets, ski masks, Apache eagle feathers, yarmulkes (orthodox Jewish caps) and turbans."



Singh: fighting for his rights

On the other hand, Singh fumed: "This has never happened to me before. I thought California was the most free place in the US. I can't believe I was actually turned away in Oakland, where there are so many ethnic groups." A spokesman for the Oakland office of the State Department of Fair Housing and Employment stated that Singh might have a very good case, under the Unruh Act which outlaws capricious and arbitrary discrimination.

In a later development the restaurant owners have shown an inclination to settle out of court. Singh and his attorneys have set the following four conditions for a settlement:

► The restaurant must reverse its policy of not serving men wearing headgear:

► The management should publicly apologise to Singh for refusing to serve him dinner:

► Singh should be invited back for a meal at the Grotto Seafood Restaurant so that he is assured that it will not happen again ; and

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► Damages should be paid to Singh, the amount being yet to be determined.

Singh is indeed determined to see the case right through to the end. "My heritage is my base. If I lose that, I'll go crazy. The spirit of the Sikhs will be gone. The very idea of my forefathers to create th[illegible] to fight injustice. It is a challenge [illegible] prove that I'm living and not dea[illegible] the point of wearing a turban if I [illegible] the courage to fight for it?"

—MADH[illegible]

JAPAN

Ravana Goes East

BANG in the middle of a concrete jungle, ringed by super expressways and multi-storeyed buildings, stood a colossal effigy of Ravana. The 15 m figure was brightly coloured, complete with 10 scowling heads and 20 threatening arms. The 14,000 sq m maidan in which it stood was festooned with banners and streamers, lined with stalls and at one end was the stage on which the Ramlila would be enacted. Everything about the festivities was normal—except that it was taking place in Japan's bustling capital, Tokyo.

That detail apart, it was Dussehra as usual. Two thousand people of all faiths—Hindus, Buddhists, Christians and Zoroastrians—had gathered, along with several Indian and Japanese dignitaries to watch the burning of Ravana. The programme started with 20 minutes of *kirtan*, which the audience was urged to join in. Dr Chizuko [illegible] bayashi, an authority on Indian [illegible] sophy, spoke of India as the sp[illegible] motherland of Japan as Buddhi[illegible] originated there.

The colossal effigy of Ravana in Tokyo: shared symbolism

Common Symbol: Ram[illegible] Swami Maharaj, president of th[illegible] Angeles chapter of the Interna[illegible] Society for Krishna Conscio[illegible] gave an explanatory speech [illegible] significance of Dussehra. The fe[illegible] probably the most appropriate [illegible] hold in Japan as there too the b[illegible] of an effigy symbolises the vanqu[illegible] of evil. The Japanese touch w[illegible] given to the food served to the [illegible] —it was packed in the local [illegible] boxes.

The festivities culminated [illegible] brief extracts from the Ramayana [illegible] enacted on the stage, ending wi[illegible] battle between Rama and Ravana [illegible] climax was enthralling, with R[illegible] running away in fear through th[illegible] past the audience to where the [illegible] stood. Rama in hot pursuit sh[illegible] arrow transforming the effigy [illegible] flaming column which exploded [illegible] dazzling fireworks while the [illegible] chanted *Raghupati Raghav Raja* [illegible] The evening was rounded off wi[illegible] film, *Ramayana*, dubbed in En[illegible] being screened.

K.K. Punjabi, the president [illegible] Shri Satya Sai Baba Centre in To[illegible] was the driving force behind the fe[illegible] as well as the sole financier of the [illegible] that cost roughly Rs 3 lakh. Bo[illegible] Jaipur, Punjabi comes from a fam[illegible] jewellers and runs a successful di[illegible] business in Tokyo. Apart from [illegible] actively involved in promoting [illegible] image in Japan, he has also fo[illegible] the Sai Baba Centre two years ag[illegible]

When asked why this celebr[illegible] had been termed a cultural event [illegible] jabi replied: "If you look at our c[illegible] ral history you will see that mos[illegible] ple festivals took place on the t[illegible] premises. Next to the temple the[illegible] always a big field or a stage for [illegible] and drama. So, religion and cultu[illegible] closely interlinked. One does not [illegible] where to draw the line." And [illegible] Dussehra festival is anything to g[illegible] the two spheres merged mos[illegible] cessfully in Tokyo. —MAYA KALA[illegible]

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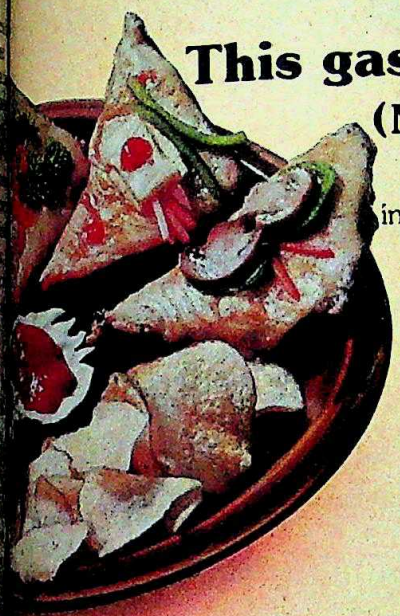

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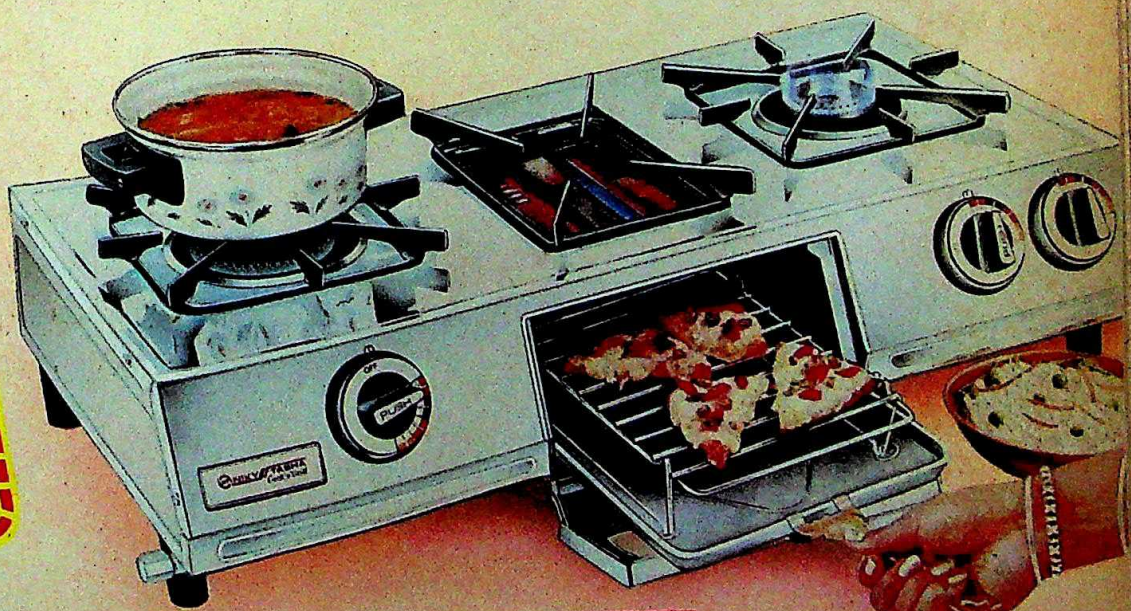

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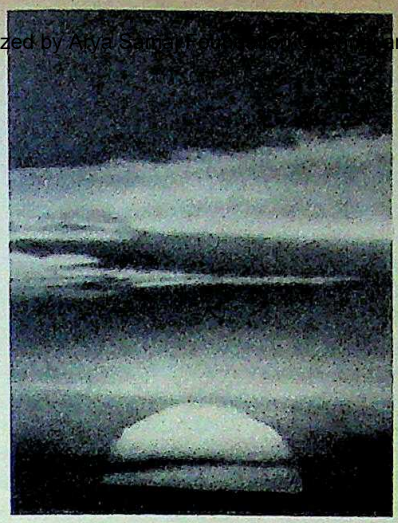

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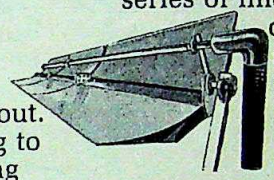

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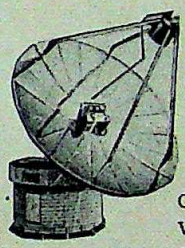

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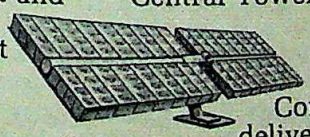

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FRANCOIS MITTERRAND

"Our Ties Have Strengthened"

EVERY morning at 9 a.m. a slate-grey Renault limousine escorted by a police car, pulls up before an 18th century house in Paris's Latin Quarter to drive its occupant to the ornate grandeur of the Elysee Palace. The occupant is President Francois Mitterrand, 65, whose post is considered one of the most powerful in the Western world. Assailed by critics over the years as a "Presidential monarchy", the post was invested with vast authority by the 24-year-old French Constitution tailor-made for General Charles de Gaulle.

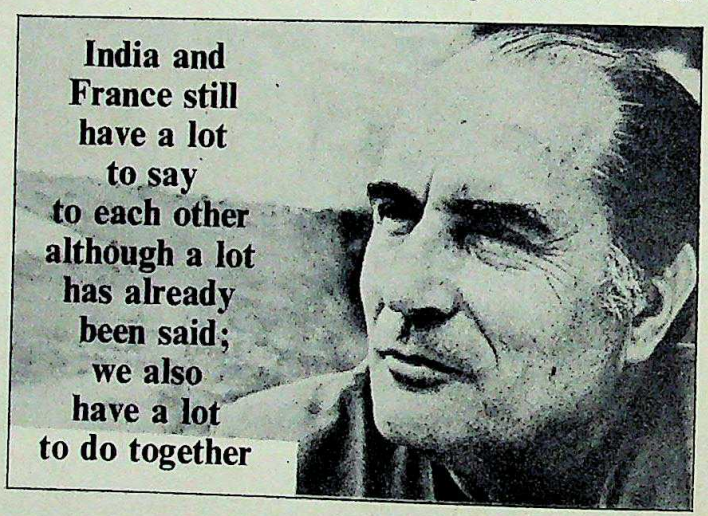
It is not that Mitterrand finds life in the baroque splendour of the Elysee inhospitable. On the contrary, the French presidency fits the country's leading Socialist like a glove. But characteristically Mitterrand prefers to live in his book-lined Left Bank home surrounded by works of Montesquieu and Gabriel Garcia Marquez, Chateaubriand and Saint-John Perse. He says: "A man loses contact with reality if he is not surrounded by books." Himself the author of 11 lyrical books, Mitterand is considered one of the most literary of French politicians.

A tenacious politician, who gained his first ministerial post 35 years ago in the aftermath of World War II and one who persevered with extraordinary resoluteness for two decades to become President, Mitterrand's personal popularity in this country remains high and has survived the buffeting his Socialist government has received. A man with a profound sense of allegiance to the Third World, Mitterrand seems to have struck a sound rapport with Mrs Gandhi and appears eager about his visit to India which begins on November 27. He will be accompanied by his wife Danielle, a leading human rights activist, who has energetically pleaded the cause of El Salvador's leftist parties here.

In an exclusive interview with Correspondent RAMESH CHANDRAN, *Mitterrand speaks of France's enduring ties with India and its determination to provide aid to the Third World. But the French President pointedly declined to comment on three questions: the controversial nuclear fuel supply to Tarapur; Indo-Soviet relations; and France's burgeoning arms supplies to Third World nations. Excerpts:*

Q. ***You are visiting India precisely a year after Mrs Gandhi came here. During this period officials in both countries have talked of striving to make Indo-French political and economic accords a model of "North-South cooperation". On the economic front government-to-government cooperation has dramatically increased: Mirage fighters, digital technology for telephones, aluminium plant, oil exploration—but actual trade between the two countries remains low. Do you feel we now have a "model" for other advanced and developing nations to emulate?***

A. Franco-Indian relations go back a long time. What can be more natural since both our countries have extremely rich civilisations and both share the same resolve for independence, freedom, progress? In the past years, ties between our two countries have strengthened considerably, especially since Mrs Gandhi's visit to France a year ago. This is due to the mutual resolve which is expressed at the very highest level by the leaders of the two countries.



I feel that the role of non-alignment played by your country is particularly important. Your country was one of the forerunners in this field and Mrs Gandhi continues to be one of its champions. I have not forgotten that India, which is in some aspects a developing country, is also a rich and developed country as far as culture, technology, agriculture and industry are concerned. We still have a lot to say to each other, although a lot has already been said, we also have a lot to do together still and we are ready to do so.

Franco-Indian political dialo[gue] also increased on all the main [...] Economic, scientific, technical and [...] cooperation is based on this. Is it a [...] for North-South cooperation? It is [...] me to say but I would like to su[...] fact that our dialogue is based on [...] between the two countries and on [...] cognition of interdependence and [...] rity. It is also based on efforts ma[...] our two countries: your efforts to [...] come development problems and [...] harness the scientific and techno[...] revolution.

Our message is that of two big [...] tries who jointly want to [...] tribute to the quest for a [...] just and more stable [...] national economic order [...] this message to be sprea[...] and wide it has to be [...] on great achievements in [...] culture, industry, sophis[...] technology and culture [...] is what we are trying to [...] in our bilateral relations [...] also, our two countries [...] trying to individually [...] this goal in their resp[...] areas. And in this fie[...] would like to praise the [...] played by India, under [...] Gandhi's guidance, in S[...] South cooperation durin[...] New Delhi talks in Feb[...] '82 which 44 developing co[...] attended.

Q. ***A year ago your governme[...] made a powerful case for generous su[...] to the Third World. In the post-C[...] phase North-South negotiations have [...] langorous progress. While France has [...] ed more committed than the US to [...] international financial institutions. [...] Americans seem to prefer private ente[...] multinationals with development pro[...] mes. What can be done to insil [...] urgency in this debate? There are [...] who argue that the pro-Third World [...] of France is gradually diminishing...***

A. I am surprised by your que[...] France still has the same resolve to p[...] an active policy as far as the new [...] national economic order is conc[...] How could it be otherwise? It is an [...] lutely necessary step given the inter[...] France. The shaky international eco[...] and monetary system is a great thr[...] peace. It undermines the stability [...]

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specially that of developing who are forced to be dependent food is concerned and who are particularly hard by the increased and the instability in raw ma- It is necessary to help the world and it is a question of justice enlightened self interest. And this is France is doing today.

I said at the summit meetings at and Versailles, this has led to the start international negotiations the "Group of 77" project whose proposals are now considered accept- all the Western countries.

have also stressed the importance, in of the financial crisis which international development pro- have to face. It is with this in that the French Government has utmost to maintain the resources International Development Agency increase the resources in Septem- Toronto, at the general assembly of International Monetary Fund and the Bank, and we will continue

This is of the utmost import- time when the developing debts represent a threat to some of them, but also entire international monetary And this is why, in this field French Government is do- best to find a solution. Firstly the "Club of Paris" and through the steps taken to multilateral risk guarantee whose main aim is to help countries to keep up market rates and have an to international markets. We are steps so that the North and the together can find a solution to the crisis. And in this field, the efforts by France and India go hand in It is a great pleasure to me to be to the continuing action taken by Gandhi in this field and I will be these matters with her once

France's foreign policy has often interpreted as a combination of idea- and realism. Is there an attempt on Government's part to mediate in con- before they become East-West con- offering a "third way" between superpowers?

A. France's foreign policy is based on historical role of a country which has important position among nations. It is on its geographical position, its vital and its philosophical ideas which been and nurtured in the last two and are known all over. Yet words mean nothing unless they are followed by acts. And France has remained true to its past traditions by taking a stand on the Afghanistan issue and also on the military imbalances whch exist in Europe as well as on the Geneva negotiations between the US and the Soviet Union. Peace depends on balance and we can only reach true balance through dialogue and by a common rejection of the arms race and of force.

France and the US are members of the same defence alliance and we share a great deal with the US with whom we have had friendly ties over a long time. But, within the alliance, France has always kept its sovereignty and its position of independent decision-making both in the military and political field. And, if necessary this means I can tell our American allies that we refuse to align ourselves on some of their positions. Typical examples of this are the Latin American question and the Soviet gas pipeline. For the French Government this does not mean "non-alignment" or trying to set up a third party between the superpowers. It just means that we feel it is fair to make the French Government's opinions heard in an independent way.

I felt the need to turn to Eastern philosophy as I grew older, this is no doubt because I found answers to some basic questions which I had not found before.

Once again this is what our two countries have in common in a very precarious world. Both our countries want to be heard and both, through joint or common action, are trying to find solutions to problems which threaten peace. India has a genuine non-aligned policy. And it would not be otherwise as this is what the leaders of India have always wanted.

Indian leaders have always been concerned about maintaining and acknowledging the sovereignty and identity of the country and have always been against any continuous confrontation between the two blocs. The leaders have always been champions of true independence and trust and peace between nations. France appreciates this stance which can explain the great value of the dialogue between the two countries and also underlines the interest of my trip to India, which I am extremely pleased to undertake in the near future following the gracious invitation extended by the Indian Government.

Q. ***Among the authors you have favoured include Chateaubriand, Balzac, Emile Zola, Gabriel Garcia Marquez, Julio Cortazar, Carlos Fuentas. One misses something here—have you found an Asian author or litterateur who made compelling reading?***

A. In my youth I used to spend hours reading Rabindranath Tagore. I also read a lot of modern Japanese literature and am still delving into Chinese classics. In fact Lao Tse is still very relevant today.

Q. ***You had once described yourself as purely a man moulded by Western culture and civilisation. Has Eastern thought or philosophy had any appeal to you?***

A. I felt the need to turn to Eastern philosophy as I grew older. This is no doubt because I found answers to some basic questions which I had not found before.

Q. ***You once wrote that politics is not the first in your order of priorities. That politics is the "servant of science" and the "humble interpreter" of philosophy, that it does not have the "creative virtue of art". As someone who holds the post of one of the most powerful presidential institutions in the world, is there time for reflective thought, introspection?***

A. Except when I'm travelling, I keep all my evenings free for reading, meditation and 'non-political' conversations. In the last 25 years, I've practically cut out on 'evenings out', I've kept my time for living, so to speak.

Q. ***In* The Wheat and the Chaff, *you had written you did not believe in fate or in "inevitable disaster". There are certain people who would like to interpret some of the ills confronting us today as 'predestined'. Have you always been motivated by this sense of realism?***

A. I believe in strength and in the fact that man can shape his life if he learns to keep in step with history and if he learns to distinguish the different structures of society. This has to be learnt.

Q. ***What memories do you have of India from your previous visits? Is there some corner of the country which has a special appeal, where you would like to go?***

A. I only know Bengal and the contrasts to be found there. During this trip, part of my curiosity will be satisfied. But to 'know' India, I wonder if time will grant me this good fortune? In any case, to get to know the Indians better will be an excellent starting point for me.

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PUNJAB

Campus Capers

PUNJAB University's peaceful quiet was shattered when its once docile employees, teachers and students went on a long protest aimed at curing the University's administrative section of its ills. For the last three months the university has witnessed nothing but demonstrations, dharnas, strikes and fasts bringing the workings of the institutions to a near total halt.

The protest has caused irreparable damage with the results of over 40,000 students delayed and students unable to seek jobs. A large number of students have also lost one full year and many have had to turn taking up odd jobs with hopes of higher education remaining elusive. Although the administrative officials admit to the delay in forwarding the results they are however reluctant to shoulder any responsibility. Said D.P. Verma, the university's registrar: "There has been no work since August 16, when the staff went on an undeclared strike. It was only in October that some of them returned and with the help of police we could open some cupboards to get marksheets to compile the results."

It was for the first time in Punjab University's 30 years of existence that officers joined the lower staff and paralysed its working. On August 16 when the demonstrations and dharnas started, the only functioning official was the registrar himself. Rumblings of protest started in January last, when the Punjab University Staff Association (PUSA) came up with a 56-point charter of demands among which there was a recommendation to constitute a study group to determine the ratio between clerks and assistants. The group, however was not constituted, and the administration chugged along at a slow pace. Said Dinesh Kumar, general secretary of PUSA: "The administration was never sincere and has been hoodwinking us."

Demands: Among the long exhaustive list of demands the PUSA has also asked for the removal of pay-scale anomaly between assistant superintendents/superindents on one hand and assistant/deputy registrars on the other. Apparently some junior officers were being paid more than their seniors, causing a great deal of friction in the ranks. Other issues like a five day work-week, better promotion avenues, more houses and allotment on the basis of service also feature on the charter of demands.

The administration paid little heed to these demands, inviting the wrath of the protesting students. PUSA was, in an effort to put a blanket over the protest, derecognised on October 4 and eight of its members transferred. Things began to move quickly as entry was prohibited to the administrative offices for protesting employees as well as newsmen. Services of temporary personnel were terminated and some employees suspended. The authorities were quick to allude that the strike was instigated by the communists who wanted to politicise employees and teachers.

Meanwhile some striking employees were lured back to work on the tempting offer of increments. While PUSA Chairman Prem Datt maintained that not more than 150 of the 950 employees, including relatives of some senior officials have rejoined, Verma put the figures at 250. Said Verma: "The process to normalcy is slow but sure and those who do not work shall not be paid." While PUSA leaders maintained that they were not on strike but merely protesting since the authorities wanted a written undertaking not to participate in any trade union activities, they were not coming to office. Exclaimed Dr Ram Chand Paul, the vice-chancellor of the university: "We cannot be blackmailed."

The protesters were, however, in no mood to suffer criticism Dr Paul. Said Dr Sant Parkash Choda, president Punjab University Teachers' A "For eight long years we have autocracy of Dr Paul. He has university as his personal estate misused autonomy to favour his boys."

Stagnation: A large section 600-strong teacher community of iversity agrees with Choda. Said Soch: "Those who joined as lectur tinue to stagnate even after two de teaching. Readers have remained for years. There are no rules to go re-employment of retired teachers cited cases where lecturers from departments have remained in the post for as long as 15 to 18 years number of 50 *ad hoc* lecturers mained temporary even after 6 to of service. Choda alleged that P brought outsiders with no teaching experience. He cited the of a retired official from a defence ratory who was re-employed as p in Physics and was provided acc dation, although it was the due senior teachers. Others allege that posts have been filled by a favour who earn remuneration from more one job. In addition there are al posts which, have been kept vacant in teaching departments and the aut have a stock answer—they have be able to find the proper people.

Meanwhile, Dr Paul locks hi his office with a dozen armed po keeping guard outside. Said he: why the campus is in turmoil. T chers and employees think that I ning the last year of my third te they want to snatch maximum fr Well I can give what I have, but cisions rest with the Government they have to provide the funds. I c plead their case."

—GOBIND T

(From left) Dr Paul, Das, Kumar and Choda: lessons unlearnt

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UNIVERSITY

otes Of Discord

LHI University is one of the few the country to possess a full-fledged faculty of music. But for now, the Music Department has ...ted by a clash between the *shast-*...rammarians) and the *kalavidhs* ...ctory). At the root of the controv-...the dilemma of whether university ...of music ought to possess formal ...mal qualifications, or qualify pu-...the basis of being traditional ...ces.

...April 1979 the University Grants ...ion (UGC) issued guidelines ...ing that music teachers should idea-...ess academic qualifications, or be ...nal or professional artistes with ...mendable achievement" in their ...Delhi University, however—unlike ...well-known music departments at ...Hindu University, Visva-Bharati ...Santiniketan and Calcutta's Rabindra ...which accepted the UGC ...—the issue was slowly passed th-...the Academic Council (AC) to the ...Council in June last year, when ...back to the AC for amendment.

...filled Vacancies: Last month a ...set up by Vice-Chancellor ...Singh provisionally upheld the ...delines with regard to professors' ...ders' posts. But the impasse continued, and the professorial posts remained unfilled—in Hindustani music for two years now, and in Carnatic music for six years.

At the storm's centre was sitarist Debu Chaudhuri, 47, who recently completed a three-year stint as head of the Music Department and dean of the Faculty of Music and Fine Arts. Chaudhuri joined the department in 1960, when it was started, and insiders say his promotion to professorship is being held up by the present department head, S. Shukla.

A well-known performer, Chaudhuri is a traditional musician who studied under Ustad Mushtaq Ali Khan, the doyen of the Seniya *gharana* (school). In contrast, vocalist Shukla ostensibly fits the academic bill with an M.A. in Hindi, but his musical training extends only to a diploma from the Bhatkhande Sangeet Vidyapeeth in Lucknow.

The continuing controversy has also meant a drop in overall faculty performance. Against an ideal of six students to a teacher, the ratio is often five times as much, and individual attention is impossible. As many as eight of the 18 teachers in Hindustani and Carnatic music continue in *ad hoc* part-time appointments, with their jobs always in jeopardy.

Chaudhuri (left) and Khan: upstaged by academics

Says Chaudhuri: "The result is that students emerge with theoretical knowledge and very little practical sense. Many of them cannot even tune an instrument." Worse still, the students are predominantly women who take to music as a last resort, and, complain teachers, drop out when they get married. Serious students of music prefer to study under traditional gurus, disdaining the 'collectivised' teaching in the university.

Few Openings: In any case, says Chaudhuri, music degrees are not job-oriented—only a handful of the many graduates from the department have so far flowered into concert musicians. Elsewhere in the country, too, musical training has never reached exceptional levels. Apart from the Indira Kala Vishvavidyalaya at Khairagarh in Madhya Pradesh, which is the only "university for music" in the country, the Bhatkhande Vidyapeeth in Lucknow, the Gandharva Mahavidyalaya in Bombay, and the Prayag Sangeet Samiti in Allahabad confer Sangeet Visharad diploma.

Asad Ali Khan, 44, symbolises the uncertainty caused by Delhi University's diffidence towards music teaching. An acknowledged exponent of the *rudra veena*—itself a dying instrument—Khan has been an *ad hoc* lecturer, earning a consolidated salary of Rs 750 per month, since 1973. He studied under his father Sadiq Ali Khan at Jaipur, but discovered that times had changed and that he could not avoid a regular job in order to survive.

"The only reason I am continuing in this state of tension," says Khan, "is because I want very much to teach. In any case, what does the term 'scholarly' mean with regard to music? I would think it means a deep and thorough knowledge of music, including its theoretical aspects. And traditional training has always combined practical and theoretical knowledge."

But the sad truth is that India's traditional musicians are a dying breed. Says Khan: "Not all of them can subsist on performances, and if even teaching jobs are denied them because they lack academic qualifications, their only prospects are despair and penury."

Three years back this was brought home to Delhi University when Yunus Hussain Khan, an accomplished vocalist, gave up the *ad hoc* lecturership he had held since 1962 and moved to Santiniketan. "Today Yunus Khan is a professor at Visva-Bharati," says Debu Chaudhuri, "and all because some short-sighted rules were stuck to."

—CHAITANYA KALBAG

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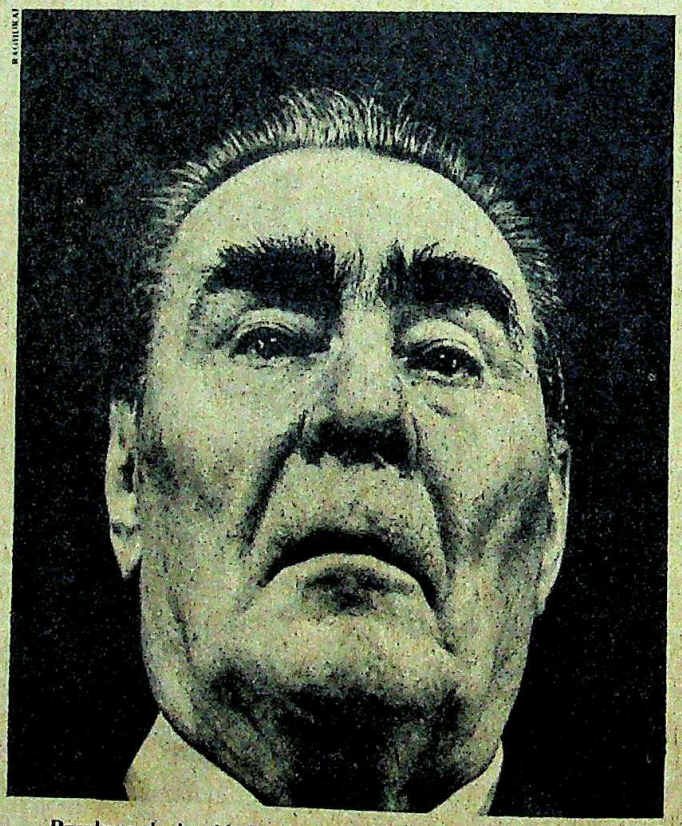
USSR

Death Of A Titan

HE DIED much later than Americans thought he would and quite before his own people expected his giant figure to fall. With his death on November 10, an epoch came to its end not only in the Soviet Union but perhaps in the entire world. For Brezhnev's death cannot be compared with the political demise of an American president. The Soviet political system is remarkable for its stability and continuity. Brezhnev remained at the helm of Soviet affairs for 18 years. He presided over the Soviet Union's transition from a superpower to a global power, and the world's from cold war to detente. He witnessed the passing of four American presidents from the White House and of one from life; he also watched China pass from the era of Mao Zedong to a less convulsive and more prosaic era of revolutionary pragmatists. Now, with Brezhnev no more, major changes are likely to happen not only in the life of the USSR but also to the entire tangled web of world politics.

The changes won't come suddenly. The leadership transition in the USSR will be smooth and orderly. Brezhnev has not been in the best of health for more than five years, and during this time, while he remained at the helm, he and his colleagues in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) politburo carefully laid out the norms as well as the style of political succession. He is the third topmost Soviet leader to die in harness; both Lenin and Stalin breathed their last while still in office. But if the death of Lenin in 1924 and that of Stalin in 1953 left a temporary leadership vacuum, Brezhnev's death will leave none. It was one of the crowning achievements of the man that he gave the sensitive issue of political succession in the Soviet Union an aura of legalism as he did to the whole fabric of Soviet social and political life. He lived long enough to watch with tearful eyes the death and burial of lifelong comrades like Alexei Kosygin and Mikhail Suslov. Perhaps the richest tribute to him came after his death when the people of the Soviet Union quietly but sincerely mourned his demise. Brezhnev was the first leader whom the Soviet common man saw as one of his kin.



Brezhnev during his last visit to India: a man of the people

Effective Leadership: The 18 years Brezhnev led the Soviet Union were years of steady progress and stability. It proved to be one of the longest period of effective leadership in contemporary history and certainly one of the most fruitful. These 18 years made the USSR, if not the world's leading power, at least an equal of the United States. They brought about a considerable social progress in a climate of peace and order. The living standard of the Soviet people steadily improved. The use of terror as a weapon of social control receded into distant memory. The legalism gave order and stability to the steadily improving [illegible] of Soviet life. And the vast Soviet landscape became dotted [illegible] crimson hopes of orderly evolution.

Not that his performance was always bright and there were no dark patches. Brezhnev assembled a leadership which firmly at the centre of the CPSU political spectrum, shunned [illegible] cal transformation as consistently as rigid conservatism. The result that problems which cried out for structural change [illegible] ned basically unresolved. For instance, decentralisation of [illegible] sion-making or delegation of [illegible] leadership and responsibility [illegible] local managers of industry [illegible] agriculture. Or lifting the [illegible] weight of the dual bureaucracy—the party and the Government bureaucracies—from [illegible] political economy.

With massive imports [illegible] technology and management tools from the West. But [illegible] could modernize Soviet [illegible] and make it more productive. But he could not lift [illegible] agriculture from the throes [illegible] structural crisis. In 1964 [illegible] Khrushchev had to step [illegible] from the CPSU leadership [illegible] rily because his grandiose [illegible] cultural programmes had [illegible] berserk. In 1982, Brezhnev [illegible] in a year of colossal agricultural slump in the USSR [illegible] the Kremlin to import [illegible] million tonnes of grain. Brezhnev drew some [illegible] tion from three quarters [illegible] the wheat crop proved [illegible] substantially better than [illegible] can estimates. Second, [illegible] mounted a nationwide [illegible] paign to increase food [illegible] tion, giving agriculture [illegible] priority in the 11th five-year plan. And third, his [illegible] could turn down American offers to sell 30 million [illegible] wheat over and above the 6-8 million tonnes the Soviets [illegible] ged to buy each year under the existing wheat sale [illegible] with the United States.

Brezhnev's achievements are too many to be counted [illegible] short space of a columnist's requiem. In 1962, he had [illegible] ched Khrushchev pull out Soviet missiles from Cuba [illegible] USSR lagged behind the United States in strategic [illegible] power. Years before his death, Brezhnev had the satisfaction [illegible] watch Americans bemoan their own lag in strategic [illegible] power in comparison with the Soviet Union. And a few [illegible] before he died, he told the world in his last major speech [illegible]

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would not lose strategic parity whatever the size of the current US military build-up. His successors probably keep his promise, giving it the topmost priority political and economic programme.

ING Brezhnev's leadership, the Soviet Union emerged truly global power. With Castro enthusiastically sup- 20,000 Cuban troops, the Soviets helped revolutio- Angola and Mozambique change the political colour of southern Africa. Brezhnev extended massive military North Vietnam in the last years of the Vietnam war, Hanoi finally to crush the combined forces of South and the United States, and reunify the country. And went still further to lend military support to the intervention in Kampuchea. In the shifting dramas in East, Brezhnev had his moments of high success and He minted the Brezhnev doctrine to intervene in the crisis in Czechoslovakia in 1968, but exercised great cau- dealing with the Polish crisis of 1980-82. Perhaps the most external act during his time was the Soviet military in Afghanistan in the small days of 1979.

at home and in dealing with the world, Brezhnev, then, remarkable mix of caution and boldness, of great conti- sudden surprising change. The crux of his leadership team work. Eighteen years of leadership might have him an expansive cult of personality. This was not allo- happen. Nowhere in Moscow or Leningrad did life-size of Leonid Brezhnev look down upon Soviet men and with the permanent face-lift of a Great Leader. He came

party or state leaders. And there will be no intense struggle for power within the party leadership. A certain competition for power is built into all political systems. In the CPSU central committee and politburo too there will be competition and manoeuvrings, but a significant realignment will take time to emerge as it must wait for hundreds of high offices to be filled by younger persons in the course of the next five years as the ageing incumbants retire or die.

Whoever is elected secretary-general of the CPSU or president of the Soviet Union, a collective leadership of all members of the politburo will rule for at least a year, when a clearer profile of leadership will probably begin to emerge. During this period, the USSR will certainly adopt a tough posture with regard to the United States, facing the Reagan White House eyeball to eyeball. Perhaps, the new leadership will carry forward the foreign policy Brezhnev sketched in his last speech on October 27—detente with China, and closer ties with Western Europe. That new policy had been decided upon by the CPSU leadership after 18 months of foreign policy reappraisal. It is likely to be pushed now with vigour which couldn't have come from an ailing Brezhnev.

Friendship with India will remain a cardinal principal of Soviet foreign policy, and one of its topmost priorities. However, with Kosygin, Brezhnev and Suslov gone, there will be none in the politburo except 74-year-old Gromyko and the younger Defence Minister Ustinov who could be described as India hands, with close personal ties to Indian leaders. Boris Panomarev, an alternate member of the politburo and an ideologue, who will now be made a full member, is well versed in Indian affairs. But he has sat in only one summit session between Brezhnev and

With Kosygin, Brezhnev and Suslov gone, there will be none in the Politburo except 74-year-old Gromyko and the younger Defence Minister Ustinov who could be described as India hands with close personal ties with Indian leaders.

as the head of a collective leadership; so he remained said, though, after Kosygin's death, he had made himself of the Soviet state and general secretary of the CPSU. was a very powerful man, but far, very far from said. In fact, there were numerous occasions when his were criticised by his colleagues in the CPSU politburo. To one example, his *Westpolitik*—policy of detente with the States—came under publicly opaque attacks in the '70s Shcherbitsky and others. Just two days after his from the US in 1973, *Pravda* printed an anonymous and worded article reminding its leaders of the evils of the personality and the need for the principle of collective On one occasion, Brezhnev told a Soviet audience, I am pursuing here has been unanimously approved Central Committee. That means I have 15 million party million *Komsomoly* (young communists) and 250 people of the USSR behind me." Indeed under Brezhnev, decision-making involved direct and indirect participation segments of people, and large bodies of non-official involved in the making of Soviet foreign policy.

that he is gone, will the Soviet Union change? Any change in the domestic and foreign policies of the Soviet will inevitably affect the course of world affairs. In what directions is change likely to come in the near future?

Unchanged Apparatus: What will not change is the political of the Soviet state. The CPSU is a deeply entrenched which will not be shaken by the death of individual Indira Gandhi and is not personally known to Mrs Gandhi.

Slow Change: Internal policies will probably change more slowly. The new leadership will keep agriculture at the forefront of problems to be urgently resolved, but structural change in political and economic administration may have to wait for the arrival of a younger leadership toward the end of this decade. In dealing with problems within the Soviet bloc—Poland, for instance—the post-Brezhnev leadership is likely to be more accommodating to the demands of the East Europeans, harder on ideological matters, and tough with the West, especially the US.

Many Americans will regret that Ronald Reagan allowed Brezhnev to die before the two superpowers could restore at least a semblance of detente. Brezhnev had committed himself to his *Westpolitik*, refusing stubbornly to play the Soviet Union's China card. In the last two years, Brezhnev's *Westpolitik* steadily withered in the face of the pugilistic policies of the Reagan White House. Brezhnev was persuaded, perhaps reluctantly, to woo Western Europe and China to isolate the US from its principal allies.

If his successors pursue this policy with greater vigour, as they are likely to, the loser will be the United States if not in the short run, almost certainly in the long run. Many US experts on the Soviet Union realise that the Soviet system is capable of much greater economic and social achievements if outdated and suffocating controls are lifted and individual and group initiatives are given freer reign. This will probably happen as the Brezhnev generation of leadership ends and passes into history. The death of Leonid Brezhnev signals the beginning of that end.

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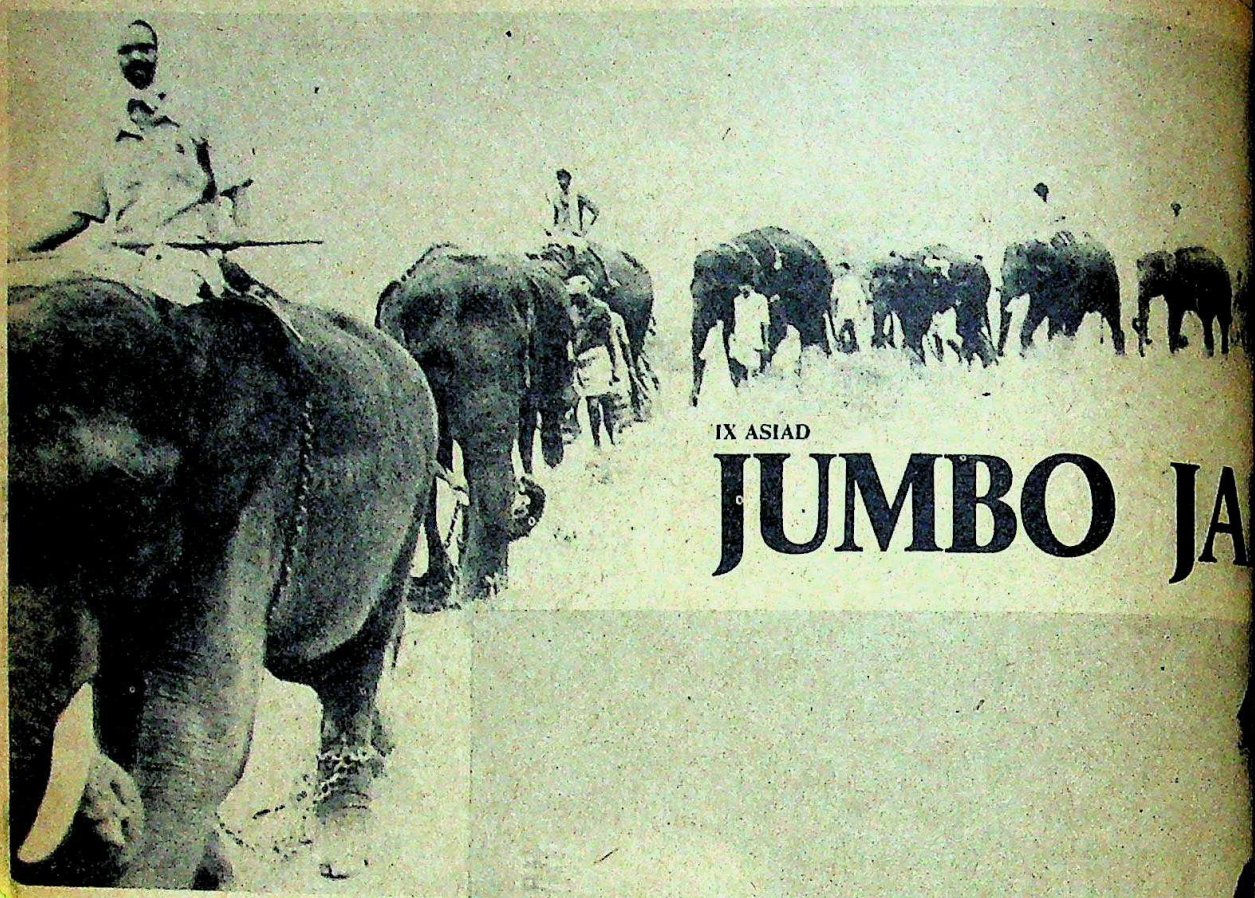

IX ASIAD

JUMBO JAD

THE JOURNEY was unique. Rarely had such careful plans been laid out and passengers ferried with so much care. Kerala's Chief Minister K. Karunakaran flagged off the 28-wagon train on its 3,011 km journey to the capital from Trichur in Kerala on November 1. On board were 34 elephants specially chosen to be part of the pageant at the opening ceremony of the Asian Games. Also aboard were 264 men including 112 mahouts, 80 standard-bearers, six veterinarians and 21 policemen. When the journey ended on November 8 at Tughlakabad station, exactly 164 hours later, the Railways also hauled its cargo, it seemed, with infinite care, clocking an incredibly slow speed of 18 km an hour.

The elephants are from Kerala's temples, the forest department and from private owners. The largest number of nine belong to the Sri Krishna temple at Guruvayur. Standing and facing one another in 13 open wagons, the eight undertens were taken in two special box wagons. This includes the smallest 750 kg calf Pushpa, 3, Nisha, 4, five-year-old Sunitha and seven-year-old Rashmi. "The seven-day stand-in was an ordeal for ani-

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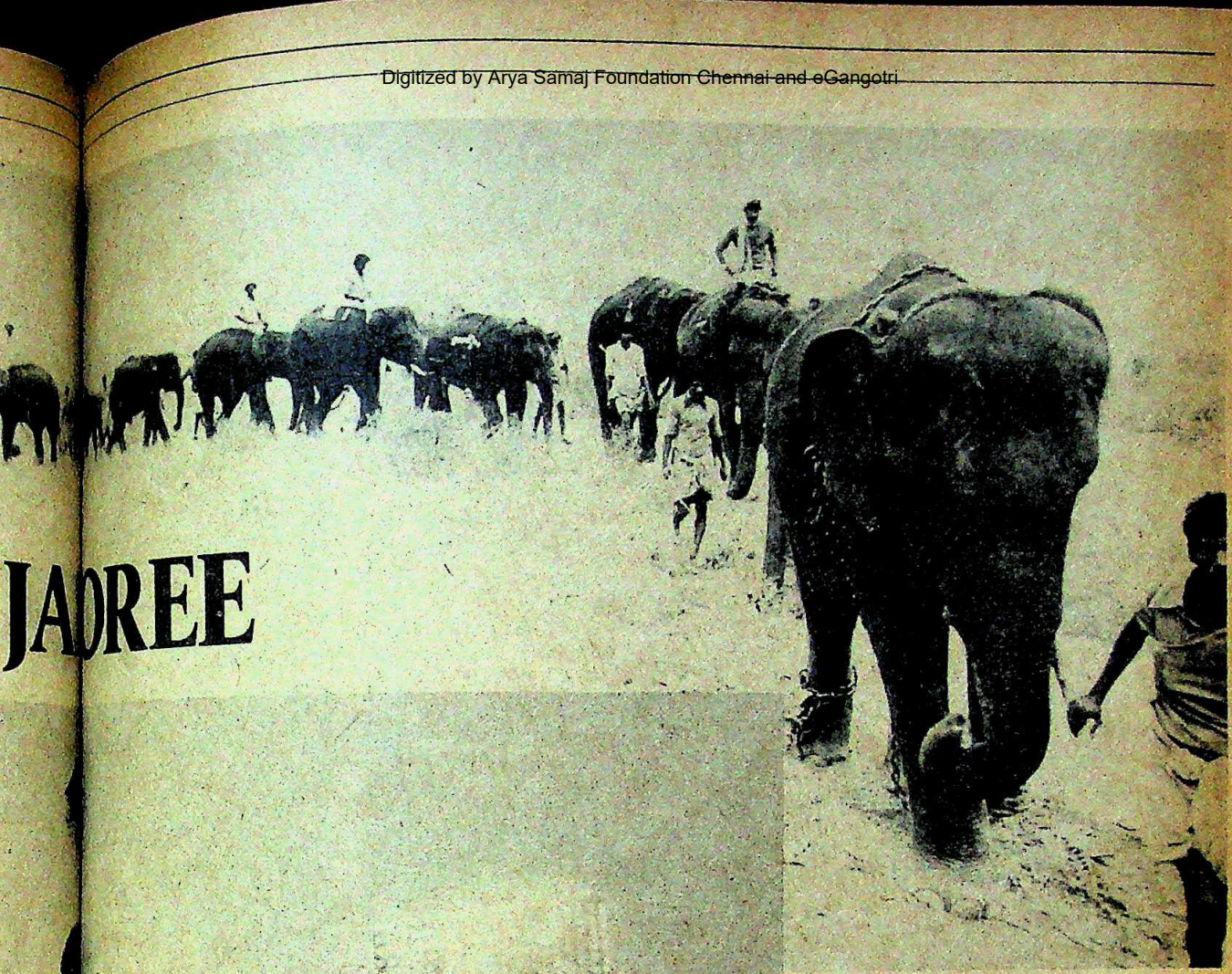
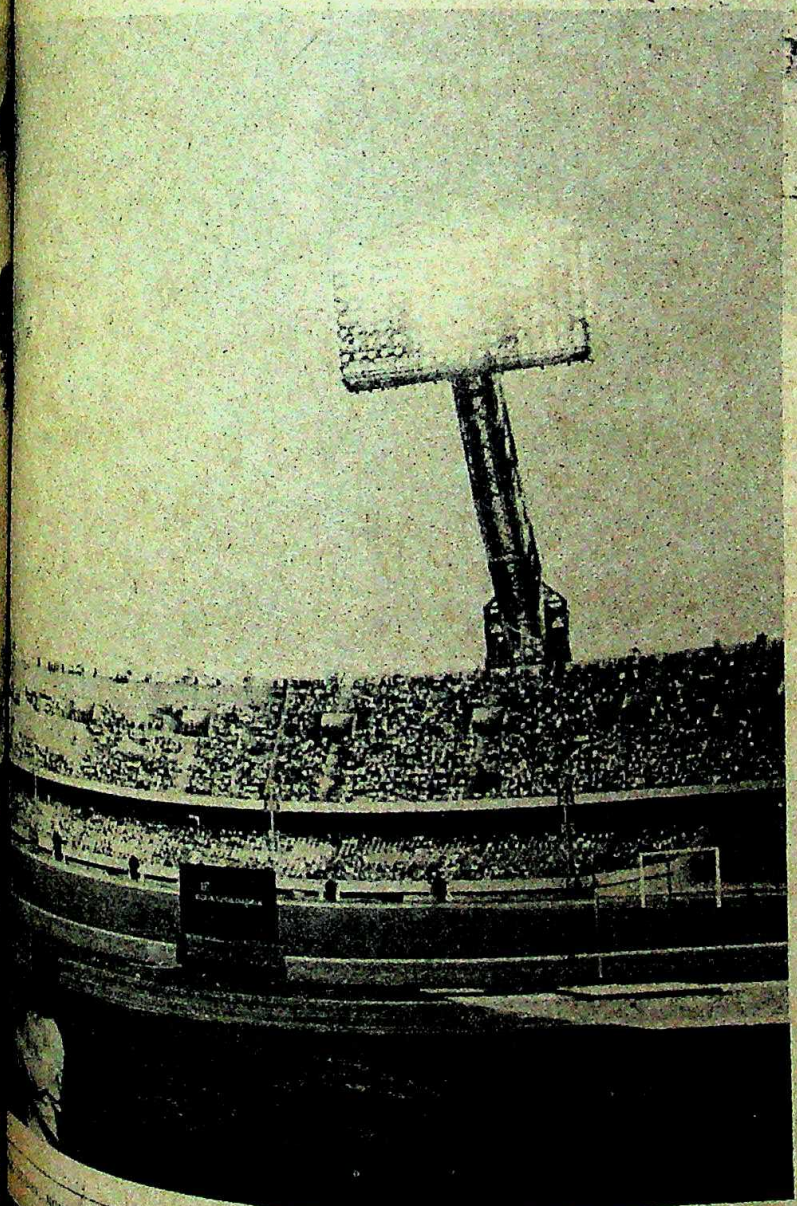
JADREE





The elephants stretch their legs after a tiring journey and (left) all dressed up for the Games

mals, normally used to walking several kilometres a day," said mahout Narayanan. But the patient pachyderms had enough refreshment: four wagons full of water barrels and another three wagons stacked with palm leaves, provided daily sustenance. In the process each elephant ate 250 palm leaves and drank about 100 litres of water a day.

"Only four elephants managed to sleep on the journey and eight were so terrified by the travel that they had to be given sedatives to soothe their nerves," said chief veterinarian and coordinator K. Chandrasekhara Pannikar. Long hours of standing can still lead to swelling of their legs and sometimes indigestion. This fortunately did not happen. Added mahout Chellappan: "At first the animals were scared but since it rained for two days on the way, they seemed quite happy. Soon they were so used to the travel that the taller tuskers ducked promptly each time the train neared a tunnel."

Circuitous Route: The jumbo express took a longer route skipping the Madras-Vijayawada electrified line for fear of the animals being electrocuted by accident.

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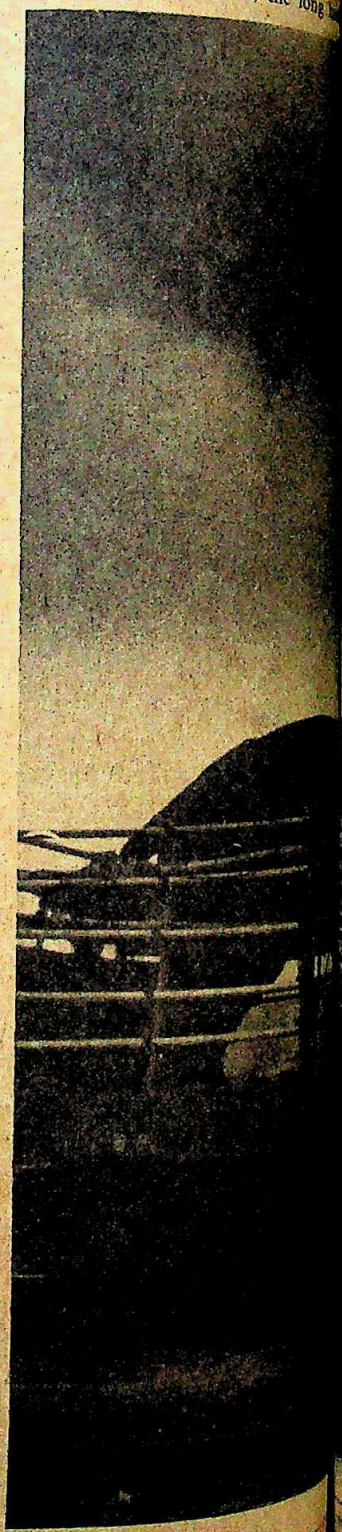
But at Nagpur, the station master
to allow the train to halt even
local reception committee with
and plantains waited for several
Railway officials argued that the
could have got excited, so the
shunted off to a siding. By the
reached journey's end, the long



A halt on the way to New Delhi and (right) two tuskers salute the rising sun

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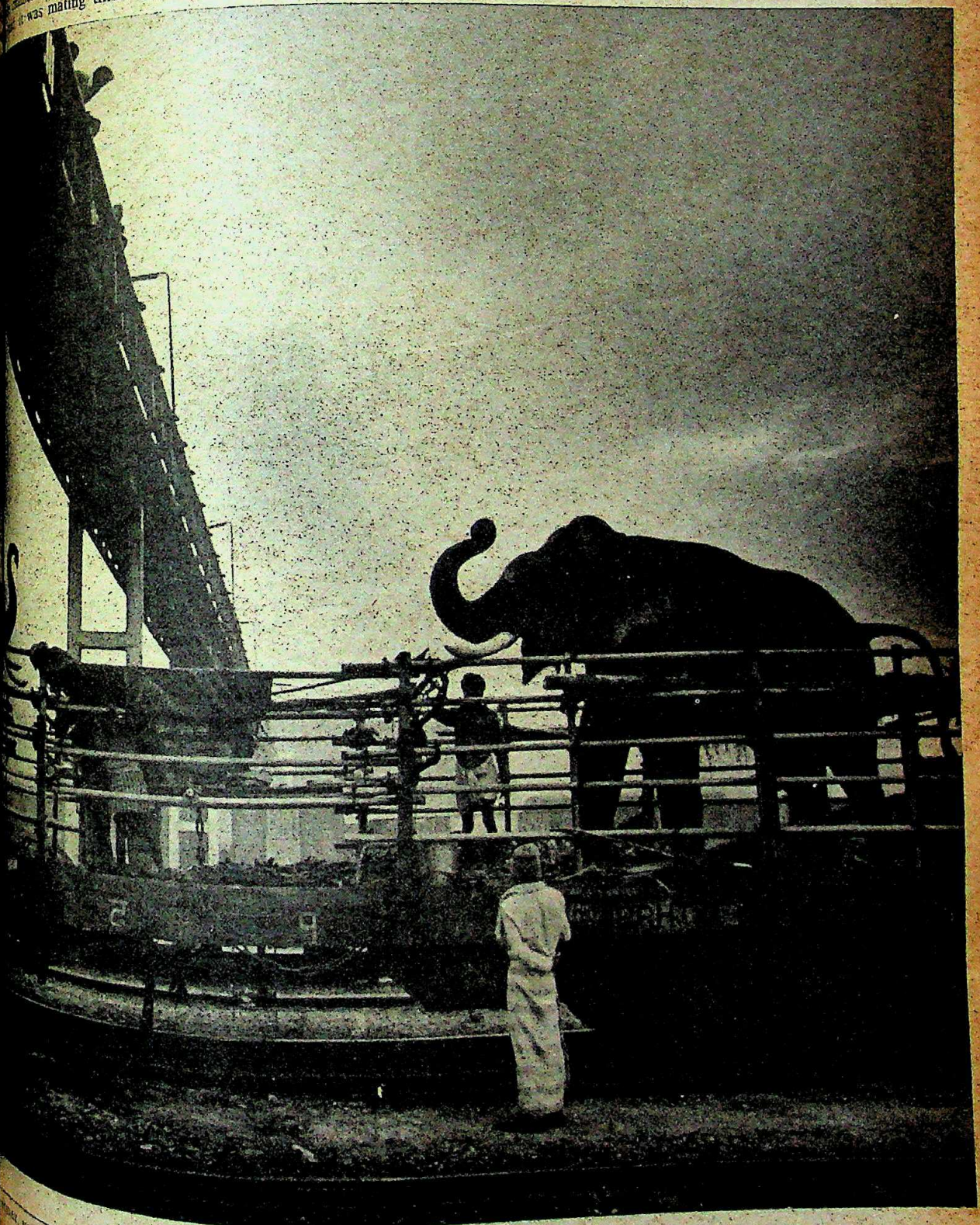
When the elephants were off for rehearsals, two were in the capital's Deer Park ...ed from Kerala has been hou... ...ral camp. They were, for ... of least, under sedation. And ...tained to trees because, their ... was mating time and nobody wanted to risk them getting worked up in a mating dance.

Whatever the reason, it was clear that the whole exercise had angered animal lovers who were concerned that the pachyderms had been cruelly confined during the long haul to Delhi. The big ones had less than a third of a meter on either side, and some were said to have developed swollen feet. Said Padam Parsad, honorary secretary of the Delhi unit of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, "It was prolonged hardship. Those responsible can be punished under the Cruelty Act of 1960." Others said the shipment of the elephants may have



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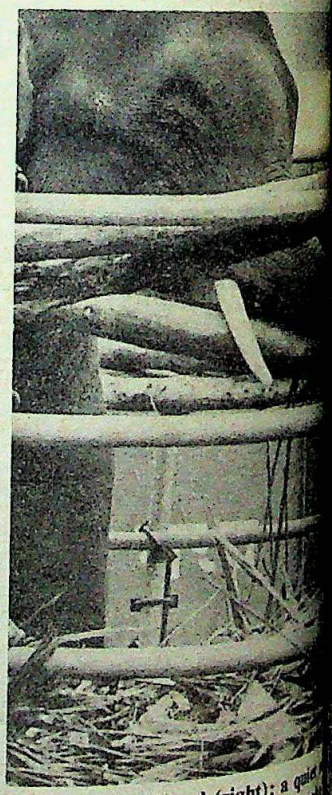
violated both the space requir
down by the Indian Standard
and the Railway Rules
transportation of livestock.

As with the actual Asiad
elephants too faced a six-man
committee of veterinarians to
in the team. Said Pannikar; "W
several districts and after sele
two elephants a trial run betwe
and Ernakulam at about the ti
Trial Games in Delhi." The
Government which spent Rs 3
the rail journey, and another Rs
on miscellaneous expenses, enr
Youth Congress(S) workers who
the train both at the start and
Secunderabad. Lok Dal leg
Janardhan Reddy, among others,
in front of the train protesting a
inordinate expense. Paradoxic
baby elephant Appu, originally
to be the star of the opening c
has been uncerimoniously brush
the carpet following protests a
treatment. The Kerala jumbo
however, is a result of a suggest
Minister Karunakaran made
Gandhi.



A keeper and friend (right); a quie
and (right) mahout enjoys a sm
perched on his placid charg

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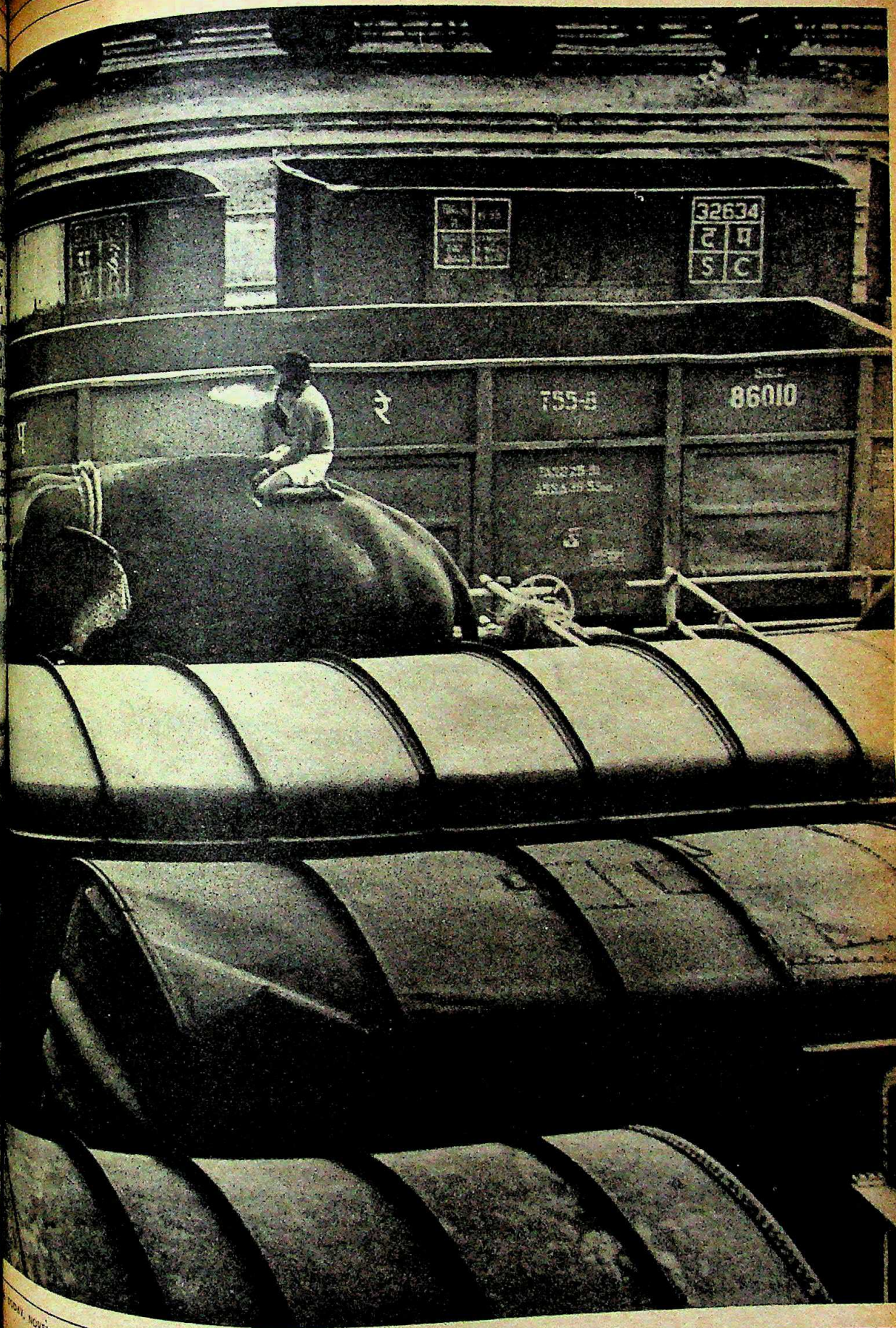

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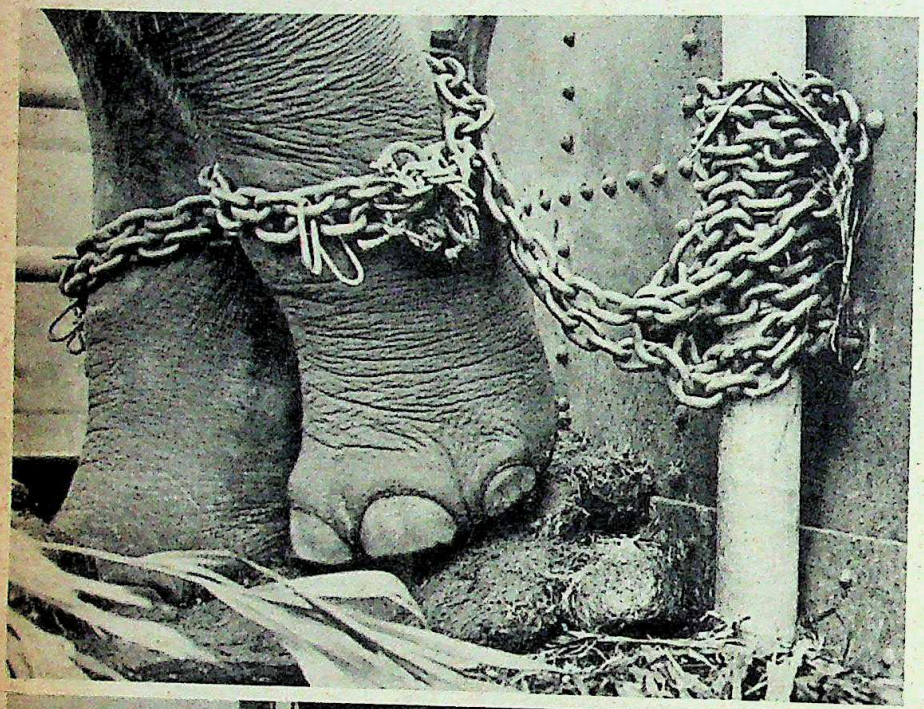
Of an estimated 5,000 elephants in Kerala, about 3,500 live in the wild. The remaining 150 are owned by various temples, and 1,350 by the forest department and private owners. The Guruvayur Dewasom has the largest number, 38, and the elephant dung supplies fuel for its staff quarters. Says Dewasom livestock supervisor P. Ramachandran: "We were to bring one more elephant, Ramankutty, but he broke the barricade as soon as he got into the wagon and therefore had to be sent back. Generally we lend elephants to other temples for a fee that could be anywhere between Rs 50 and Rs 700 a day, depending on the animal's size." The price of each elephant ranges from Rs 50,000 to Rs 1,50,000 and, in most cases, they are insured. For the Delhi trip the elephants have been insured for Rs 30 lakh and the mahouts and jawans another Rs 40 lakh.

Safety of the mahout is as as the elephant. Says the Kerala Owners Association Secretary Aravindaksha Menon: "For some ing elephants is a matter of pride ing out the animal it is possible both ends meet, but if the animal can be a huge loss. Work-elephants



After the chains (top) have been unfastened a baby steps out gingerly and then (right) it's a long walk to the camp

industry and sa
they work bett
the elephants d
from in a day
the Games cap
up 11 each o
each on the
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With the star
the *ullavattam* (F

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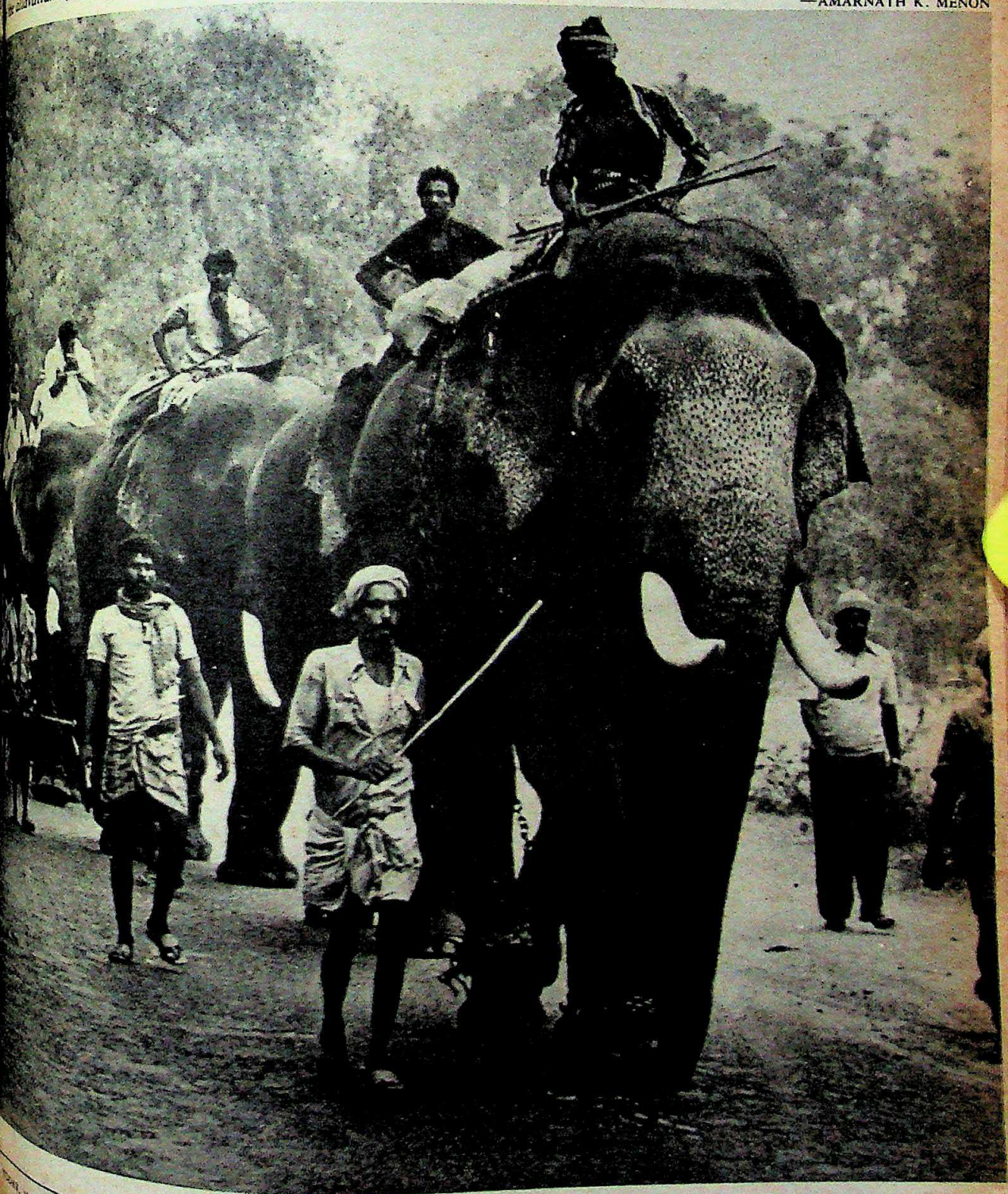
...ustry and saw mills make pro-
...they work better than employing
...e elephants do the work of ten
...men in a day."

...the Games caparisoned elephants
...up 11 each on the longer sides
...each on the shorter sides just
...the football field at the Nehru
... With the standard-bearers hold-
...*illavattam* (fans of peacock feathers) and the *venchamaram* (a furry fan made of yak tails), the many coloured, long-stemmed umbrellas will be exchanged at sunset like at the annual Pooram festival in Trichur.

The oldest elephant on the Delhi trip is the 50-year-old Kattumyna weighing 4,125 kg which has acted in four films. However, the most reputed of them all, the tallest—286 cm—Kuttikrishnan, 45, weighing 5,000 kg, from the Sankaramkulangara temple is being kept heavily chained. Says mahout Narayanan Nair: "No one, not even I, can go near it for it is likely to turn violent. It is his mating time." Other mahouts have other worries: will the elephants perform satisfactorily at the Asiad? Whatever happens, the return journey beginning on November 22 is likely to be lost in the din of the Games.

—AMARNATH K. MENON



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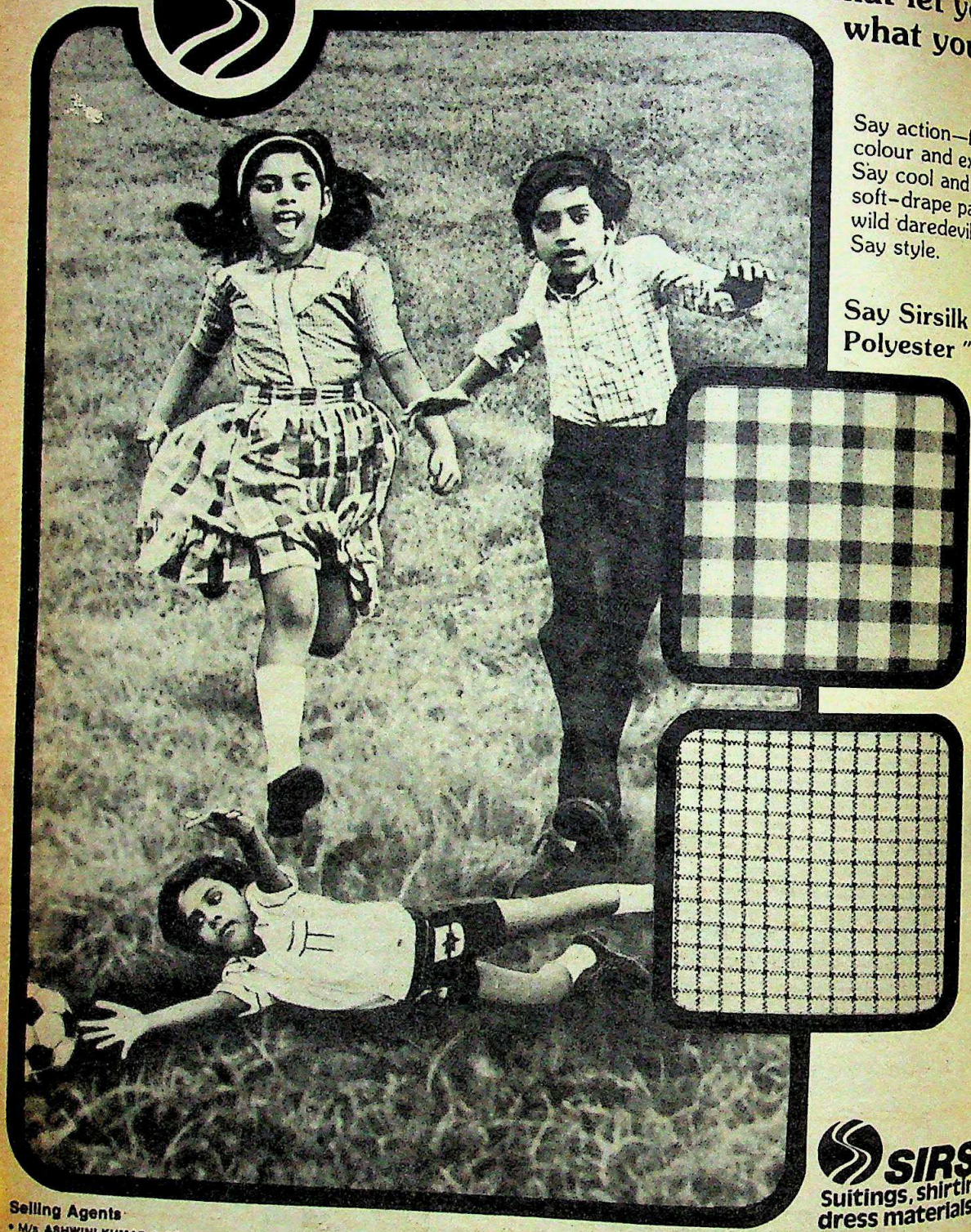

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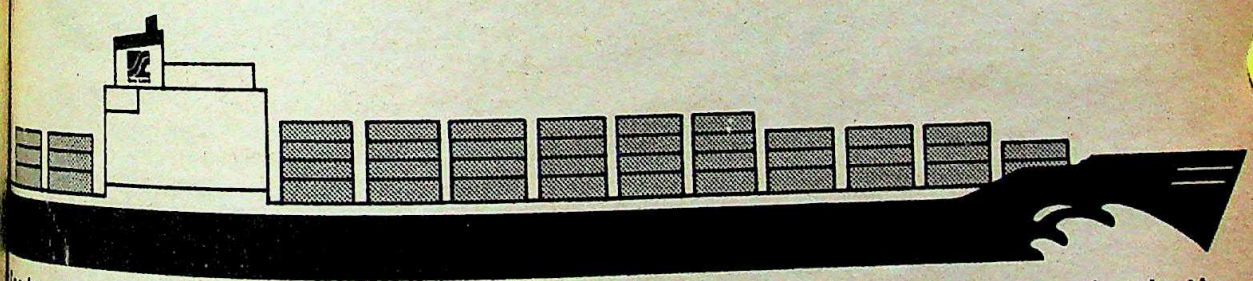

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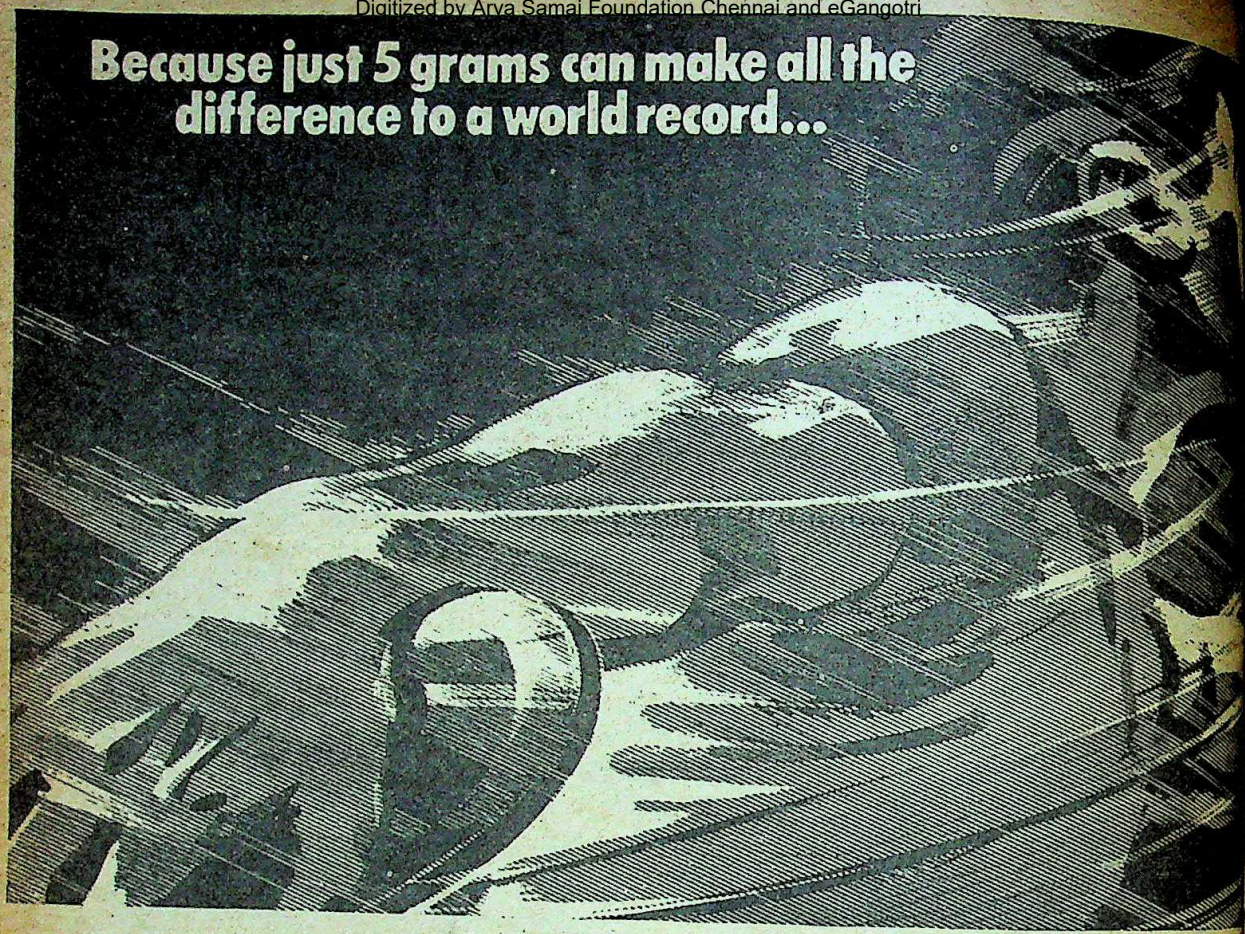

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THINKING BIG

MULTINATIONAL corporations and the large industrial houses do not, after all, seem very interested in promoting export-oriented ventures. Of the scores of proposals received by the Government for setting up units under the 100 per cent export scheme, only a handful so far have been from either multinational companies or large houses. The remaining applications have been from small and medium-scale enterprises. This confirms a trend noted earlier in the case of the engineering industry: smaller enterprises tend to make a bigger export effort, while the large units prefer to concentrate on the domestic market, exporting only a small portion of their turnover. This also deflates the criticism levelled against the 100 per cent export scheme, that it would give a handle to the large houses and foreign-owned companies to expand their empires.

TOGETHER

ERGER FEVER seems to be in the air. After the proposed merger between Mahindra & Mahindra and its ...er company, Indian Aluminium, it is the turn of ICI's ...iaries, which will all merge into one super-giant chemi... ...merate with diversified product lines. The companies ...re Alkali and Chemical Corporation of India (ACCI), ...and Fibres of India (CAFI), Indian Explosives (IEL) and ... Dyes and Chemicals (CDC). Both conglomerates will, ...merger, be catapulted into the category of the 10 lar... ...nies in the country, with sales of around Rs 350 crore ...rding to the ICI merger plan, ACCI shareholders will get ...res for every seven existing shares, CAFI shareholders ...four for five, and CDC shareholders seven for every ... shares.

...HAI STRIDES OUT

...DETERRED by internal rifts and in-house coups, the ...bhai group seems set on maintaining the blistering ...e of growth that has shot it into so much prominence ...years, taking it from the 23rd to the seventh spot in the ...of large industrial houses. The various divisions of Am...bhai Enterprises are now pushing ahead with plans to ...n a number of directions. The company's machinery divi...sing up capacity to manufacture a variety of machines ...by the textile industry. The chemical division, in turn, is ...its chlorine manufacturing capacity, while also starting ...ion line for new pharmaceutical items. Meanwhile, yet a ...ion, S.G. Chemicals and Pharmaceuticals (formerly ...), is also broadening its range of pharmaceutical ...to bring in new items of manufacture. And the sister ... Calico Mills, is setting up a new undertaking to manu...ical equipment.

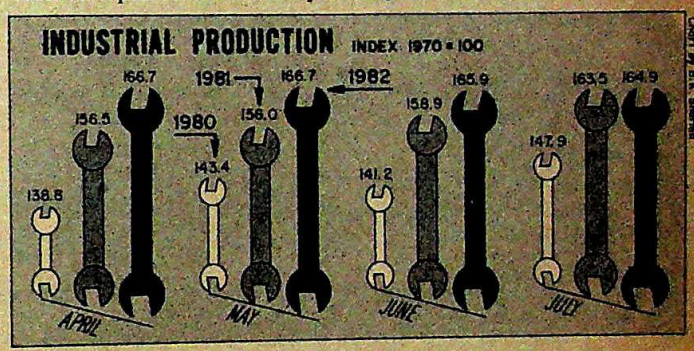
...AGE BOOM

...E MOULDED luggage industry seems to be set for an ...pansionary boom. Market leaders Blow Plast (makers of ...e top range of suitcases) have just got official clearance ... plans to treble production capacity from 500 to 1,500 ...nually. Meanwhile, the two other major manufacturers, ...al (the Aristocrat range) and Safari, got off the mark a ...ter, and are already well into their plans for doubling ca... ... The battle for a larger share of the rapidly growing ...e will obviously be well fought, with both Safari and Uni... ...ing to eat into Blow Plast's 60 per cent share of the Rs ...e industry.

OUT OF STEAM?

ALMOST IMPERCEPTIBLY, industry seems to be shifting into low gear. The early part of the financial year is normally a period of accelerated activity, after the trough in April. This year, however, April has so far been the high point! Each successive month has shown a decline in production.

In 1980, the industrial production index rose steadily from 138.8 in April to 147.9 in July. Last year too, the index rose from



156.5 in April to 163.5 in July. This year, however, the index has dropped, from 166.7 in April to 164.9 in July, the latest month for which figures are available. Though cries of recession still seem premature, warning has been served that industry might be running out of steam.

SCATTERING FERTILISERS

BOTH THE Tatas and Birlas are likely to get one fertiliser project each out of the six new gas-based plants scheduled to come up in Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan. The Birlas are likely to get the one in Rajasthan. The Tatas are trying to shift their plant from Bareilly (the site announced by the Government) to Moradabad district, by the side of the Ganges. Bareilly is said to be short of water, and therefore unsuitable. The public sector National Fertiliser will probably get the project in Madhya Pradesh, while two other plants in Uttar Pradesh will probably be bagged by the Indian Farmers Fertiliser Cooperative and Indian Explosives. There is, ironically, no taker yet for the fourth plant in Uttar Pradesh, though the DCM group has shown some interest.

Meanwhile, the state Government is toying with the idea of taking on the responsibility for the project. Each plant will involve an investment of Rs 600 crore, and finding the money is not going to be easy. Initially, only two of the six plants were to be given to the private sector. But with fund constraints becoming a major problem, four of the six may finally go to private sector companies.

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FOREIGN INVESTMENT

Que Fera Fera

IF YOU go round the India International Trade Fair in New Delhi this year, and look for Tatas or Birlas, you will be disappointed. An industrial exhibition without Tatas or Birlas is almost like Hamlet without the prince of Denmark, but the absence of these groups is to an extent made up by the presence of Suzuki and others. The Suzuki car is the hottest thing on show though it will be years before it is on the roads and Maruti's history being what it is, it may not even come off.

Two years ago there was intense speculation that the Government which once spurned multinationals was courting them again. At least a large number of foreign companies and their representatives thought so. There were hints that the dreaded Foreign Exchange Regulation Act (FERA), was about to be revised, and once that was done, foreign money would begin to roll in. It is not clear who started the rumours about FERA but in Europe that year it was nearly always the first item on everybody's agenda—from highly placed advisers in the European Common Market in Brussels to bankers in London. Well, FERA is still here, and quite a few multinationals, particularly in drugs and chemicals, have been asked to reduce their equity and fall in line. But the procession of multinationals and their representatives continues unabated. My dog-eared diary last week carried a dozen appointments, nearly all of them with foreigners, including a banker from Paris, a TV team from London (which is, believe it or not, making a documentary on our car industry) and officials from a European chamber of commerce.

Nobody asked me about FERA this time but they did ask about likely business partners. One man had a long list of our business families—families, not companies—and wanted to know what they wore and ate, how close they were to the ruling party and how big their black market operations were. Nobody asked how their companies were doing as their research departments back home had done all the homework. One particularly industrious chap had a family tree showing how the Birlas were related to the Kanorias and the Singhanias to the Poddars and the exercise was so thorough I wouldn't have been surprised to be told that he had taken the help of the CIA in doing it.

Needed Exposure: Nothing may however come of all this, and the multinationals know it. Neither Coca-Cola nor IBM are going to be back in India in their previous incarnations, and it is doubtful whether any of the other big names which make up the Fortune list of top 500 will ever make it to these shores. In a way, it's a pity. India could do with more exposure to the outside world and foreign companies provide just that. The difference between a top manager of, say, Hindustan Lever and his counterpart in, say, Modi Industries, is that the former is likely to have a wider perspective on things, including of course business, and is also likely to have wider contacts. And in an increasingly complex world, contacts can make all the difference.

It's all very well to export cashew nuts and mango juice and lemongrass oil but we are India, and it is time we really thought big. Big can also be beautiful.

Those who have a soft corner for foreign capital—and their number seems to be increasing—fall into three categories, not counting the fourth, namely the companies themselves. There are those who maintain that self-sufficiency does not mean shutting out foreign enterprises. There are others, like Finance Minister Pranab Mukherjee, who argue, with some logic, that if you want to sell abroad in Western markets, it is easier to do so if you do the marketing through their own companies who know the markets better and who are in any case operating on their home ground. The third category consists mainly of technocrats who fear that transfer of technology is virtually impossible without some capital attached to its tail. The fourth category—foreign companies themselves or their local representatives—believe that poor countries are poor because they are short of capit[illegible] they—foreign companies—bring [illegible] tial investment, they help make [illegible] and therefore should be welcome.

But this is not exactly how [illegible] themselves see it. Our economy [illegible] reached a stage where it saves mo[illegible] invests, the gap being possibly as [illegible] 3 to 5 per cent of national incom[illegible] is saved but not invested is, of cou[illegible] sumed—thus adding to inflationa[illegible] ures—or finds its way into eco[illegible] useless savings like gold and silver [illegible] good deal of the surplus is 'black' [illegible] up in conspicuous consumption. [illegible] for instance, no money for such [illegible] steel plants—the Government h[illegible] going, hat in hand, from door to do[illegible] the Orissa steel plant—while there [illegible] the money in the world for five-star [illegible]

What India lacks—and has [illegible] ever since the mid-1960s—is not [illegible] but the political will and the ma[illegible] capacity to turn savings into inve[illegible] We also lack the do-how to turn [illegible] into capital. Without this political w[illegible] entry of foreign capital would at [illegible] counter-productive, and at worst, [illegible] nary and harmful.

Less Dependence: Most foreign [illegible] panies which are now fat and pro[illegible] did not bring in money when th[illegible] came. The East India Company [illegible] paid-up capital of around Rs 1[illegible] —possibly about Rs 15 crore at [illegible] prices—and ended up taking ov[illegible] country with which it came to do b[illegible] But that was an exception. Compa[illegible] Colgate-Palmolive, Cheseborough [illegible] etc, are estimated to have brou[illegible] India no more than about Rs 10 la[illegible] though they must be now worth [illegible] than Rs 10 crore. India did depend [illegible] reign capital in the initial stages, [illegible] it came through private or gove[illegible] sources, either as aid or investment. [illegible] is not such an important factor now [illegible] certainly not a constraint on growth.

What is a constraint, however, [illegible] nology and also what Pranab Mu[illegible] calls foreign marketing. But does [illegible] of technology also mean import o[illegible] tal? Japan is a very good example [illegible] may not. Japan has achieved an eco[illegible] miracle without large injections of [illegible] private capital into its economy, s[illegible] so, that less than 30 years after the [illegible] the war which virtually destroy[illegible] country beyond recognition, Ja[illegible]

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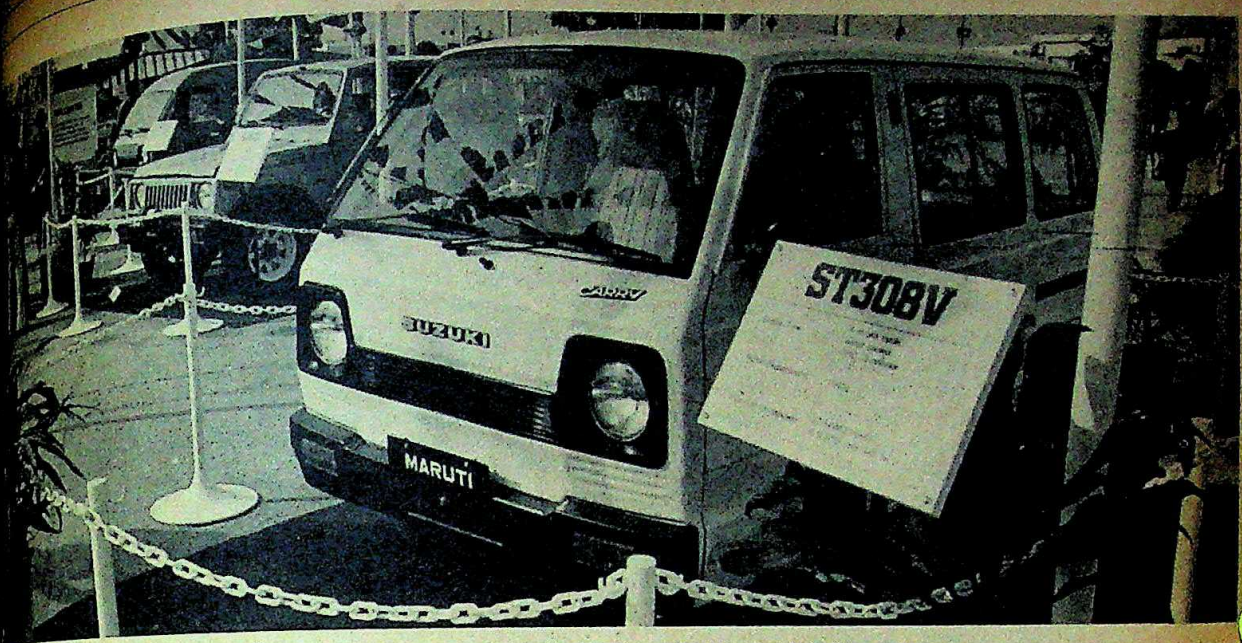

Suzuki vehicles on display: marrying Japanese technology with Indian enterprise

g private capital to Europe and At the same time, it was import- nology from the same countries, nese external account in techno- ng very much on the deficit side. one of the very few countries, pos- e only one, which has been able e capital from technology; in fact, be said that it has imported gy, turned it into surplus capital now exporting both capital as well nology, as in the case of cars and

e Japan is Japan, a highly discipli- ety with substantial managerial, tional, scientific and engineering pable of rapidly adapting and abs- the best available foreign techno- ndia could be Japan if it had all skills—but it is a big if. India could mething else. It could use all these nd technology from abroad and its ghly educated and skilled labour and make an impact on the world , and of course its own economy. the case of Suzuki.

According to V.S. Krishnamurthy, Udyog's able top man, the ey would spend something like Rs core on the project in five or six by which time it would make cars, vans and jeeps at the rate of about a year, and all with an import less than, say, 5 to 10 per cent. uzuki company itself is bringing in million (Rs 23.75 crore) only as its share which is about one-seventh the project cost. But it is also bringing nology and top managerial skills, g an intimate knowledge of overseas marketing. Without that, the project simply would not get off the ground.

Profitable Liaison: It seems that many Japanese companies, and possibly others, are thinking on these lines. Toyo Engineering, which specialises in fertiliser technology and is said to have been responsible for setting up 10 such plants in India has set up a subsidiary company in this country to engineer similar projects in the Gulf and other foreign markets. Most of the planning and designing is done at the company's head office in Tokyo, but the detailed engineering and construction is left to middle-level Indian managers who operate from Bombay. The work-force will also be Indian. Indian workmen's wages in the Gulf are about a third of those of the Koreans and the Japanese, so the use of Indian work-force will be a big factor in getting contracts in that part of the world. The number of top managers from Japan will be very small, no more than, say, a dozen, and the entire work will be handled by Indians. After 10 years of such Indo-Japanese collaboration, there could be a profitable fall-out. Indian managers themselves could form companies on their own and handle reasonably big contracts, but technology will always be a problem, unless like the Japanese, they too develop their own research and development units.

I have a feeling that the Americans too are thinking on these lines but Americans are not as good as, say, the Japanese in dealing with Asians and they may end up making a mess of it. The Americans are said to be interested in setting up a battery of low-level managers in India and using their services through satellites. In a country where it takes hours to put through a phone call from New Delhi to Bombay satellites would end up gumming up the whole works. In India think big by all means, but think simple.

India too has to do its homework. How does it propose to meet the coming upheaval in world industry? The car industry which the Japanese seem to have taken over all over the world is only one instance of what can go wrong once things get out of control. The steel industry is also passing through something like a crisis and the British, for instance, where it actually began, are closing one steel plant after another, like a man switching off lights in his shop before going home. If India is an industrial power it must behave like one.

It should go all out to modernize its fading and outdated industrial establishment with massive imports of technology and finance, whether on the lines of the Toyo or Suzuki operations in India or some other pattern. And the time of industrial realignment among the major industrial powers is as good as any for a programme of massive industrial modernization and expansion.

I do not know why major Indian business groups have boycotted—a strong word—the Trade Fair. One would expect the likes of Tatas and Birlas to take the lead and establish economic presence abroad in a big way. It's all very well to export cashew nuts and mango juice and lemongrass oil but we are India. and it is time we really thought big. Big can also be beautiful.

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ITC

The Cement Coup

IT WAS a breath-taking company coup, stretching beyond the world of business into personal equations. Last month, financial institutions proceeded to sell over three-fifths of their 51 per cent shareholding in one of the strongest citadels of Tamil Nadu business, India Cements Ltd, to the large Calcutta-based conglomerate ITC Ltd, at six times the face value of the Rs 5 shares.

Quite naturally, passions were inflamed and sentiments hurt. India Cements was a bastion of local business, founded and run by one of the three large entrepreneurial groups of Tamil Nadu, which operates in and around Madras. The deal was about to come through at a time when two descendants of the company's original promoters, N. Srinivasan and K.S. Raman, were making a determined bid to re-enter it. They had made written offers to jointly buy up over 30 per cent of the company's 98 lakh shares of Rs 5 each at par.

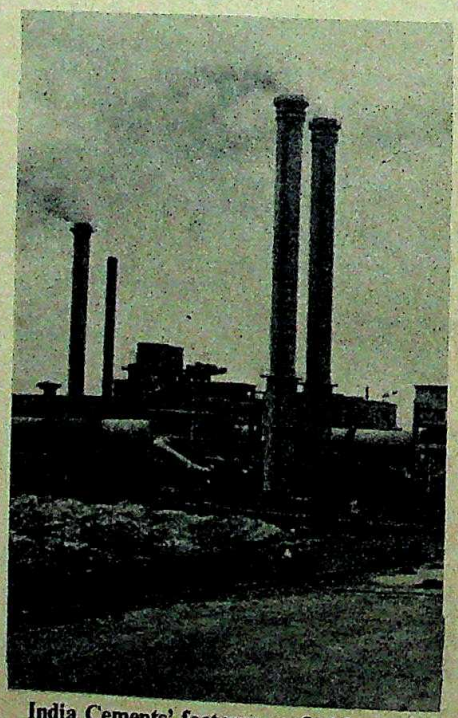
Petition: Predictably, Srinivasan was enraged by the ITC deal, and just as the share transfer papers came to India Cements for effecting the sale on records, he filed a writ petition challenging the transfer in the Madras High Court, and obtained an interim injunction staying it. The Company Law Board in Delhi has also directed that the share transfer be deemed "null and void" till it adjudicates on whether its prior permission was necessary for the deal. Under Sections 292 and 372 of the Companies Act and Sections 20 and 23 of the Monopolies and Restrictive Trade Practices (MRTP) Act, the board's permission is required for a company coming within the purview of the MRTP Act to acquire over 10 per cent of another company's shares. ITC comes within the MRTP scope and was allegedly seeking to buy 12.63 per cent of India Cements shares.

On paper, the applications for the share transfer were tendered by ITC, Pinnacle Investments Ltd, Summit Investments Ltd and Sage Investments Ltd. The contention of ITC before the Madras High Court is that the four are different companies, and that none of them was seeking to acquire more than 10 per cent of India Cements shares. It was, therefore, not considered necessary to obtain the permission of the Company Law Board.

Srinivasan's submission before the high court, on the other hand, is that Pinnacle Investments, Summit Investments and Sage Investments are wholly owned subsidiaries of ITC and, therefore, constitute a part of the same business group, thus necessitating the Company Law Board's permission for the purchase of the shares. "Therefore, even if the letter of the law has been superficially adhered to, the spirit has certainly, I think, been violated," the chubby 37-year-old Illinois University-trained chemical engineer said.

Shareholdings: It is interesting that proposed transaction, Life Insurance Corporation (LIC), Industrial Development Bank of India (IDBI), Unit Trust of India (UTI), General Insurance Corporation (GIC) and a few nationalised banks have not filed any affidavits in court. The total 98 lakh shares of India Cements holds 24,35,000, UTI 12,70,000, 10,50,000, and the nationalised 1,45,000. IDBI has lent substantial sums to the company.

ITC is determined to diversify into the cement industry after successfully venturing into the hotel business. Reliable stock exchange sources say it is already buying up India Cements shares in the open market.



India Cements' factory: profitable catch

The main issue before the co[illegible] however, merely the technical aspect [illegible] matter. "But even assuming the tr[illegible] tion was technically foolproof, wo[illegible] be right in disposing of the cont[illegible] shares of a south Indian company, [illegible] cularly one which has once again be[illegible] show encouraging profitability trend[illegible] the partial decontrol of cement in the [illegible] Union budget, to an outsider?" Sri[illegible] wanted to know. "Are we in for that [illegible] of a free market trading of shares, a[illegible] and-out capitalistic system?"

Things are quiet for the mome[illegible] the judicial front. But ITC, hell-bent o[illegible] versifying into the cement industry [illegible] successfully venturing into the hotel [illegible] ness, is already reportedly buying up [illegible] Cements shares in the open market, a[illegible] ding to reliable stock exchange so[illegible] "Nearly 10 lakh equity shares [illegible] already been purchased from the m[illegible] by the corporate company," a stockb[illegible] affirmed.

Renewed Thrust: ITC's interest [illegible] derstandable. The cement industry, [illegible] was in the doldrums till last year, s[illegible] looking up with partial decontrol. [illegible] Cements in particular, after ending [illegible] with a cumulative loss of Rs 3.78 cr[illegible] 1980–81, crossed the hump and m[illegible] net profit of Rs 9.67 lakh in 1981–82 [illegible] deduction of depreciation and interest [illegible] trenched so far in the process of we[illegible] nufacture of cement, the company is [illegible] also considering an ambitious progr[illegible] of modernization into the more pro[illegible] dry process kilns. A Rs 50 crore [illegible] ment in the modernization progr[illegible] will not pinch ITC's shoe, partic[illegible] in the context of the prospective [illegible] returns.

But there are political undercu[illegible] beyond the sheer economics of the [illegible] and ITC's stepping in is also not be[illegible] by observers to be totally unconnected [illegible] the internal feuds in the family triumv[illegible] that ruled India Cements before the [illegible] cial institutions. The arch-rivals are N. [illegible] nivasan and K.S. Narayanan, sons re[illegible] tively of T.S. Narayanaswami and S. [illegible] Sankaralinga Iyer, the two original p[illegible] ters of the company. Narayanan was [illegible] aging director and Srinivasan joint [illegible]

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...from 1970 to 1979.
...slowly developing rift between them ...during the period, leading to fre... ...sweeping and cataclysmic changes ...composition of the board of direc... ...1979, K.S. Raman, a brother of ...and former manager of the ...'s Talayathu cement factory in ...south Tamil Nadu has, ho... ...thrown in his lot with Srinivasan ...been making joint take-over bids ...Narayanan is reported to be the ...architect of the present resistance ...board of directors to Srinivasan's

...asked for his comments and ...Narayanan, however, categori... ...that he was not interested in di... ...India Cements. T.M. Thomas, the ...director of India Cements now, ...former general manager of Southern ...also called all queries about the ...a waste of time".

THE MADRAS Stock Exchange has been drawn relentlessly into the vortex of intense speculative activity ...market sparked by rumours that the ...institutions were going to unbur... ...themselves of their India Cements ...to ITC for no less than six times ...value. The Rs 5 share, which was ...around Rs 6 barely six months ...ing up to around Rs 20 in the ...ITC's entry into the fray.

...stock exchange couldn't care less ...passions being inflamed over ...company buying up a Madras ...the exchange is seriously concer... ...the protection of the interests of ...odd minority shareholders of ...pany in the face of a corporate ...purchase of its shares from fin... ...tutions," said E.R. Krishna... ...executive director of the stock ex... The Madras Stock Exchange ...the corporate company, that was ...buy up a controlling portion of ...ments shares from financial insti... ...to also purchase an equivalent ...of shares from the minority ...so that they were not depri... ...their legitimate share of monetary ...from a buoyant market," ...Krishnamurthy revealed. But the entire ...is now in court.

...the stock exchange sent a com... ...to the Union Finance Ministry ...that the Centre stipulate a ...conduct for company take-overs. ...to a copy of the communica... ...October 12 made available to INDIA ...take-over bids, as in the develo... ...stock markets, must be duly ...as negotiations reached finalisation to enable innocent minority investors also to take advantage of attractive market prices.

Hectic Trading: Spurred by intense speculation in India Cements shares and the sudden steep spurt in share prices, the stock exchange, on October 12, imposed a margin of Rs 2 per share on all purchases and sale of India Cements shares. Explaining the step, Krishnamurthy stated that a flare-up of hectic and frenzied market activity beyond even the control of the stock exchange machinery was, otherwise, likely to dislocate the settlement of contracts, impair broker-client relationship, erode investor confidence, and create unsettled conditions.

The drama of the proposed share transfer was hectic, feverish and frenzied. For two months now, ITC has been negotiating the block purchase of the scrips with LIC and IDBI at around Rs 20 a share, even as the market value of the share was only slowly climbing up from Rs 6 to Rs 13. Nothing was officially announced, however. Simultaneously, Srinivasan, who was removed from the joint managing directorship by the board of directors three years ago on charges of absenteeism and unexplained advances of nearly Rs 9 lakh, was also making serious attempt to recapture his position by buying up nearly 30 per cent of the shares along with Raman.

As the corporate company's discussions with the financial institutions hotted up during September, serious differences over the sale price of the scrips erupted between LIC and IDBI. While IDBI was disposed towards selling off the shares at the negotiated price then and there, LIC was in favour of holding on and bargaining for a higher price from ITC in view of the steadily rising market price of the share. But then or later, the sale meant mammoth profits for the financial institutions, which had bought the Rs 5 shares at a negligible Rs 2.50 per share.

SUBHA NEWS PHOTO SERVICE

Srinivasan: challenging the sale

Board Parleys: The count-down started on September 27, on which date the annual general meeting of India Cements was scheduled. Having staked his candidature, Srinivasan fervently hoped to be elected to the board. But it was a tumultuous meeting, and the Chairman, R.K. Hazari, former deputy governor of the Reserve Bank of India had to order polling on the issue, his own reappointment, and that of Kamaljit Singh, Dr M.V. Kamath, and S.Narayanaswami to the board.

Meanwhile, hectic backdoor parleys were reportedly on. The representatives of the financial institutions were originally expected to be neutral at the meeting, but there were reportedly last-minute telephonic instructions from Bombay for them to pitch in against Srinivasan's candidature. An infuriated Srinivasan went to the Madras High Court and obtained a stay of the announcement of poll results. The company, however, went in appeal to the Supreme Court against the high court's stay, and the results of the poll were ultimately announced on October 13. By then much more water had flowed under the bridge and the situation had changed.

"However, sources close to the present ruling group in the company see nothing wrong in principle in ITC's takeover bid. They see nothing wrong with the financial institutions selling India Cements' shares to a professionally managed corporate company and point out that the institutions will still be able to exercise control over the management of India Cements through ITC. After all, financial institutions hold 30 per cent of ITC's capital and have a number of directors on the corporate company's board.

The sources argue that by selling off Rs 5 shares for a fantastic Rs 30 per share without losing control over the company, the financial institutions will be able to net valuable capital to invest in starved but essential sectors like power and fertilisers.

Interestingly, nothing was officially announced about the negotiations between the financial institutions and ITC even at the annual general meeting. However, two days later, on September 29, the LIC board of directors met in Bombay and decided to push through the deal. The share transfer committee of India Cements met after another two days, on October 1, and decided to transfer the shares. By then Srinivasan had gone to court and obtained the stay of the transfer—but how long can this keep ITC away?

—S.H. VENKATRAMAN

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FOOD PRODUCTION

A Stagnant Revolution

THE GREEN revolution has been the country's best advertised success story, leading to the dramatic transformation from an international basket-case to a model held out to others by such critical institutions as the World Bank.

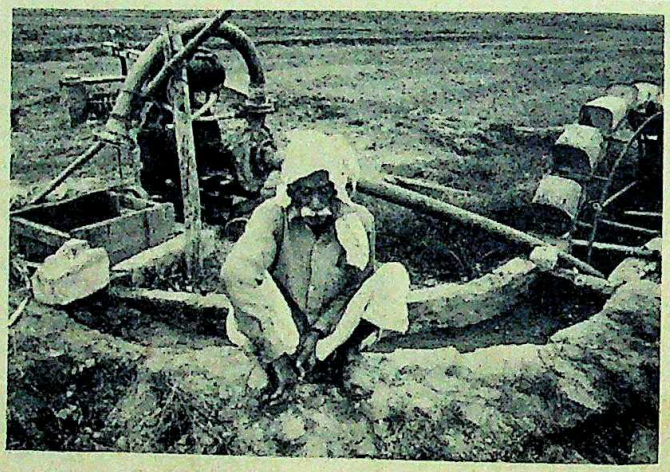
But gone suddenly is the buoyancy. Foodgrain production has not increased for three successive years. And this year, once again, production will be lower than the 132 million tonnes hit four years ago, in 1978–79. Meanwhile, there are over 50 million more mouths to feed.

No more, then, the proud talk of self-sufficiency in food. Instead, for the second successive year, the Government has been forced to import wheat. Purchases abroad of 4.75 million tonnes since summer last year have cost the equivalent of almost Rs 1,000 crore in dollars—at a time when the dollars themselves are desperately scarce. Food has suddenly become a major national problem.

"I'm worried, but not pessimistic," says Bimal Jalan, chief economic adviser to the Government. That refrain is repeated by numerous other economists, agricultural scientists, planners and bureaucrats, all of whom point out that the country's unrealised agricultural potential remains enormous. But on numerous fronts, the danger signals stare the country in the face.

Crucial Indicator: Fertiliser consumption is a key barometer of agricultural progress. And the situation was once tickety-boo: consumption grew annually by a handsome 19 per cent in the four years to 1978–79. Since then, however, the growth rate has slumped to less than 6 per cent, with R.K. Talwar, managing director of the Indian Farmers' Fertiliser Cooperative Ltd (IFFCO), forecasting that consumption will grow this year by no more than 3 or 4 per cent.

One major deterrent in the way of greater fertiliser use has been a sharp increase in prices: no less than 60 per cent in the last two years. And fertiliser accounts for a fifth of the cost of farming. Other input prices have gone up less sharply, but everything from tractors to seeds has become more expensive. And the farmer feels the pinch. Grain prices have failed to keep pace, and the farmer simply does not have the incentive any more to put in the maximum inputs and effort. Says Purshottam Batra, who runs a large farm at Mustafabad, near Ambala in Haryana: "Wheat cultivation used to be very profitable some years ago. But now I barely recover my costs."



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In an effort to correct this situation, the Government has been repeatedly raising foodgrain procurement prices. The wheat support price, for instance, has been raised from Rs 117 to Rs 142 per quintal in the last two years. And T.N. Dhar, member of the Agricultural Prices Commission, asserts that every care is taken to give the farmer a remunerative price. But Dhar also concedes that the farmer's profit margin may have declined in recent years.

Technological Stasis: Agricultural technology is another worrying factor. The green revolution breakthrough achieved in the mid-1960s with the lopment of miracle seeds that enab matic increases in crop yield. But man than Nobel laureate Norma laug, hailed as the father of the gr volution, expressed his worry on th ject during a recent visit to India. have joined the growing chorus o cern. The Bombay-based *Econo Political Weekly* editorialised about the "exhaustion of technical p lities" and warned that "unless the technical breakthrough our food output may have entered another s period".

Many eminent agri ral scientists are not so mistic. Says K.C. S dean of agriculture G.B. Pant University of culture and Technolo Pantnagar, in west Utta desh: "Even without ne rieties of seeds, it is very to add 100 million ton our production by 20 The average yield today very low, and there is difference between w possible for the farmer duce and what he is a getting from the existing ties of seeds."

Sharma's view is by a cross-section of sc at Pantnagar, who feel agriculture is not losing mentum. But they also that a new technologica kthrough will be some coming. Says Mahinder plant physiologist at P gar: "There has been progress in recent years. And a lot versities are working on this. But say we are on the verge of a breakth

MOST official spokesmen underplay the negative preferring to point out food production has not increased years in a row, the most important is simply the weather. With the Indian farming still dependent rains, the monsoons remain all-im for a good crop. And 1979–80 s worst drought in living memory.

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GILBERT ETIENNE

Hard Facts

GILBERT Etienne first came to India 30 years ago. Being Swiss, he was soon doing the inevitable: working for a watch company. But the Government stopped imports of watches, and Etienne shifted to other pursuits: learning Hindi in Paris, for instance. Since then, Etienne has been a frequent visitor, staying for various lengths of time in India's villages, and travelling close to 50,000 km by road across the country.

The result now is an eye-opener of a book just put out by the Oxford University Press, that will not make the experts happy. For *India's Changing Rural Scene 1963–79* challenges practically every bit of accepted wisdom on the green revolution, and much else.

Etienne: seeing is believing

Has the green revolution made the rich richer and the poor poorer? No, says Etienne, the poor have improved their lot in areas where there has been agricultural progress.

Is it true that the small and marginal farmers have not been able to afford the inputs for increasing crop production? No, he says again. Tika Ram, of Mirpur village in west Uttar Pradesh's Bulandshahr district, inherited only half his father's land, but gets more grain from his one acre than his father did from two, because he uses fertiliser and high-yielding seeds.

Direct Reports: Etienne's conclusions are not based on second-hand statistics or reports. And he has contempt for the "rural development tourists" who make brief forays from their urban homes into the rural areas. He says, "I have followed a more direct method . . . to go and see what is happening with one's own eyes."

So he stayed in Mirpur village for some months in 1963–64, and went back 15 years later to study the changes. He did the same in villages near Varanasi, in Tamil Nadu's rice bowl of Thanjavur, and in Maharashtra's Satara district, and villages in Orissa, Assam, Rajasthan and Andhra Pradesh.

The result is a fascinating mosaic of real life situations that conflicts with the conventional wisdom. Farm wages have increased, for instance, in the green revolution areas, not in the backward regions. Employment opportunities themselves have increased in the more progressive areas, unlike in the stagnant ones. And the poor have got less poor in those areas were growth has taken place.

Is the green revolution turning red? Once again, the answer is no. The most bitter conflicts, as Etienne points out, have been in the backward areas: Telengana, Bihar, east Uttar Pradesh. And even these conflicts are far more complex than the classic class struggle: "There is conflict between high caste landlords and medium rising castes and classes, conflict between the latter and Harijans, between landlords and Harijans. In addition, small landowners . . . employ labourers to work on their lands while working as labourers themselves."

Family Fallacy: Etienne tackles other pet dogmas equally head-on: for instance, that it is the rural poor who have caused the population explosion. There is a table of poor couples in Mirpur, with the numbers of their children, living and dead. A Bhangi couple: three living, six dead; a Muslim couple: two living, seven or eight dead; a Jatav couple: one living, two or three dead. On average, the number of surviving children per couple is little more than three.

In sharp contrast, it was the landholding section which had far greater numbers of surviving children. Says Etienne: "The medium and upper farmers were the ones who had more children, not the poorer ones."

Etienne also questions the estimates of people below the poverty line, arguing that the calculations are made on mistaken assumptions, faulty statistical techniques, and often grossly incorrect facts.

Indeed, if anyone emerges without too much damage from the 215 pages, it is India's planners and administrators, whose growth strategy Etienne endorses. Calls for "drastic reforms" (meaning revolution) are "objectionable" because the possibility is so remote.

Instead, says Etienne, there should be more of the same: irrigation and drainage works, roads, plentiful supply of inputs, electricity, small industries and adequate drinking water supply. In short, a growth-oriented indirect attack on poverty.

—T.N. NINAN

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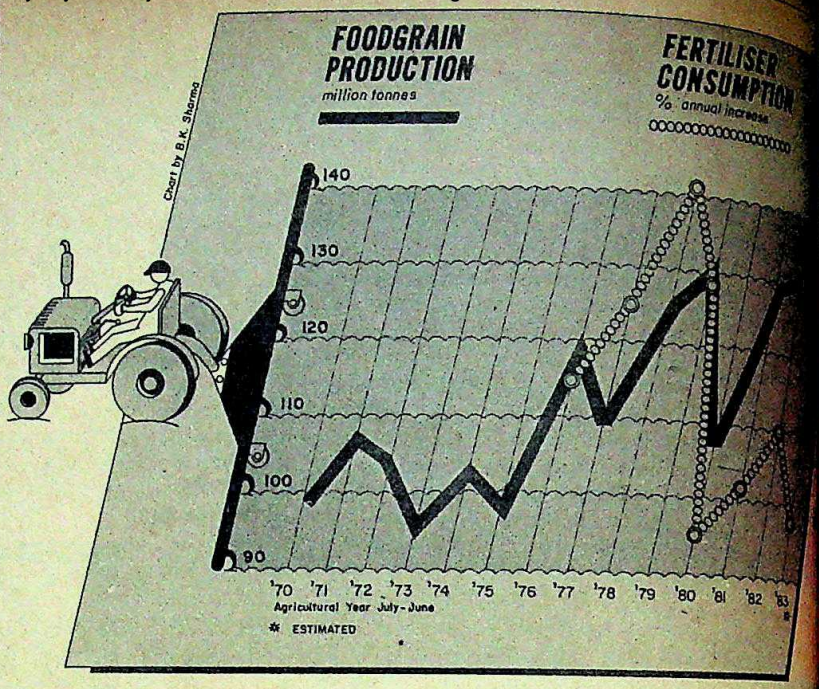

Agricultural scientists see the challenge of the future as that of developing seed varieties for an unfavourable farming environment.

variety of factors come in the way of rapid improvement: lack of drainage systems, slow progress on irrigation schemes, social factors including farmer apathy, and the fact that little increase is possible in the area under crop.

Major Constraints: Increasingly, both water and power are becoming major bottlenecks, despite the statistics portraying steady progress. Meerut district in west Uttar Pradesh, for instance is, according to the statistics, assured of irrigation in 98 per cent of its area. But a survey of 500 farmers by Pantnagar scientists revealed that some got no water at all, while numerous others got just enough water for one irrigation, when they needed four or five. In the state as a whole, 78 per cent of the area under wheat is claimed to be under irrigation. But the state Government itself confessed in a note that assured irrigation supply was available to only 6 per cent of the farmers.

The technological challenge is no less daunting. What have been developed so far are seeds and practices designed for ideal farming conditions: plenty of water, timely farming operations, an adequate supply of inputs, and so on. But the agricultural scientists see the challenge of the future as that of developing seed varieties for an unfavourable farming environment: seeds, for instance, that can withstand the "moisture stress" of deficient or e rainfall, and which are resistant and diseases.

Also required are high-yield in the crops that have been bypa the green revolution: pulses, for B.P. Pandya, senior plant breeder nagar, has done some pioneering pulses, and says that arhar (red pigeon pea) provides the bes Pandya has already developed ear ring varieties with a tremendous tential, which need no irrigation fertiliser.

Proper Utilisation: But for the diate future of Indian agriculture more important factor is get farmer to make use of the tech already available. Says Anand S chancellor of the Pantnagar U "The change in agricultural tech has been far greater than in the tions meant to bring about chang level of the farmer. The cooperat instance, are not working any be before. The same can be said other institutions vital for the far

In short, Indian agriculture need of a second wind. And the universal conclusion is that futu ses in foodgrain production can ved only with much greater effort been expended so far.

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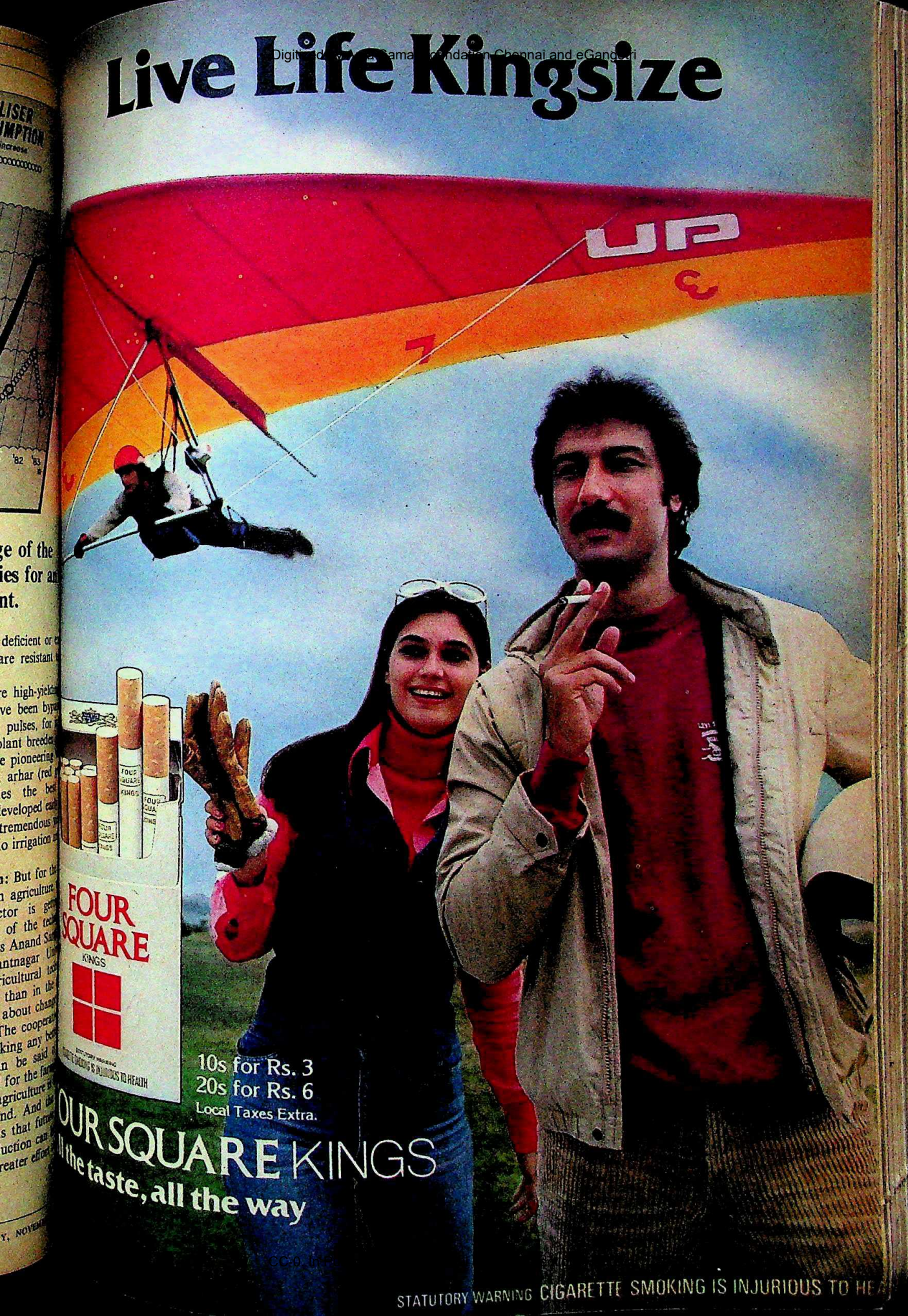

Who said Rajasthan is a desert?

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...true.
...00 sq. kms, and there
...y forested wildlife
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...bore, hills studded with
...in Ranakpur and Mt.
...ze palaces at Deeg to
...the romance of the rains,
...forts at Chittor,
...garh and Amber, and
...ces at Udaipur and
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Discover Rajasthan

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ACTIVE STOCKS

High 1982	Low	Close 17.9.82	Change on Fortnight
59.00	32.00	33.10	(0.65)
409.00	212.50	401.50	(6.00)
1,658.00	960.00	985.00	105.00
49.60	36.00	38.30	0.80
42.00	26.50	30.50	3.00
46.00	26.80	46.00	5.40
70.00	53.00	68.50	0.50
44.00	30.00	41.50	(2.50)
80.50	62.00	75.50	4.50
18.69	15.44	16.25	0.75
26.50	20.20	26.30	0.30
18.60	11.30	11.30	(0.40)
346.00	201.00	232.00	2.00
220.00	177.50	202.50	2.50
1,020.00	675.00	752.50	7.50
25.00	15.00	15.60	0.35
58.00	41.50	57.00	(1.00)
168.00	78.00	82.00	nil
16.20	11.65	12.30	(0.20)
44.50	31.31	36.31	1.53
24.30	18.30	21.75	(0.65)
21.50	16.50	18.75	nil
41.00	26.00	32.50	0.50
49.87	34.25	38.44	0.82
61.25	35.75	61.00	7.00
48.75	25.00	25.00	(1.00)
30.50	25.00	28.20	(1.80)
37.20	28.00	28.60	0.50
50.00	368.00	428.00	(2.00)
49.20	30.00	33.30	1.30
55.00	47.25	51.25	0.25
32.14	21.82	27.50	0.76
30.00	23.00	29.50	(1.00)
23.60	17.00	18.20	(0.40)
25.00	18.00	23.80	(0.20)
247.50	172.50	210.00	(7.50)
26.00	18.50	20.18	0.38
107.00	50.00	56.00	nil
35.00	26.00	28.50	0.50
36.10	26.20	35.60	(0.50)
165.00	87.00	89.00	nil
45.00	29.00	35.00	2.00
38.50	21.00	36.70	(1.60)
36.00	22.70	22.70	(0.10)
73.20	55.60	58.50	(0.25)
63.20	45.10	63.20	3.60
150.00	94.00	130.00	11.00
35.75	20.00	26.00	(1.50)
86.00	45.50	58.00	2.00
21.65	14.50	21.40	0.50
61.00	38.00	43.50	2.00
272.50	220.00	235.00	(2.50)
36.50	22.50	23.75	1.15
29.00	16.50	21.25	(0.50)
210.00	168.00	173.00	(2.00)
63.00	36.00	37.00	(1.50)
48.50	34.50	39.00	(0.10)
30.30	26.00	28.00	(0.60)
97.00	58.75	70.50	2.00
407.00	303.00	376.50	2.50
29.75	21.00	27.50	0.88
58.25	32.50	36.00	(1.00)
182.50	118.00	173.00	-9.00
35.65	27.30	33.40	(0.60)
52.12	41.37	46.50	0.37
66.00	34.00	43.00	3.50
16.80	12.60	16.00	(0.15)
31.50	19.00	20.00	(0.50)
61.00	45.50	60.00	0.50
429.00	272.00	273.00	(13.00)
757.00	367.00	396n00	2.00
70.75	35.75	37.90	0.40
28.10	23.90	25.20	(0.30)
33.50	23.50	26.00	1.25
291.00	228.00	276.00	1.00
26.50	18.35	20.50	(0.55)

THE MARKETS

Picking Up Rapidly

WITH the monsoon having played hide and seek all summer and the foreign exchange situation as bad as ever, it wouldn't be surprising if the economy was pervaded with gloom. But is it? The markets may have been behaving erratically, with a jump one day and a sudden drop the next, but most blue chips have been doing pretty well. In fact, the current index is only about 10 per cent below the year's best level. and slowly creeping up. Since traditionally, the markets do not really come into their own until after the festive season, mainly Divali, the trend so far could be misleading. It is a razor's edge kind of situation—a spot of bad news or false rumours and the prices could go tumbling down; a few bonus issues and they could shoot up. though this seems unlikely.

Satisfactory Situation: Businessmen are by and large happy with the way things are going and there is no shortage of money. Nearly all the big issues have been subscribed fully and the debenture market continues to be bullish. Even the textile strike in Bombay doesn't seem to have affected sentiment, though in the past whenever the textile industry sneezed the market went down with a severe cold. There is some talk of recession but most companies are doing well. with sales and profits above the previous year's levels though not in line with expectations.

Companies are also diversifying rapidly. Blow Plast, a leader in the hard luggage industry, is going into processed foods, seemingly a most unlikely diversion. But processed foods are picking up rapidly, particularly in the export market where sales have reportedly climbed tenfold in as many years, from about Rs 5 crore to Rs 50 crore. This sector tends to be neglected on the stock exchange but it has potential for growth—and profits.

Ashok Leyland which, like TELCO, has been rather badly affected by the credit squeeze, is said to be planning a new project in Sri Lanka. Mahindra & Mahindra's proposal for the takeover of Indian Aluminium—which is what the amalgamation amounts to—is likely to be struck in the courts for a long time. ITC has got away with its virtual takeover of India Cements, a real coup for a company which until a few years ago sold nothing but cigarettes. Its blue chip must be among the bluest on the market.

WORLD VALUE OF RUPEE

Country	Unit	Currency	TT Selling Rates(Rs)	TT Buying Rates(Rs)
Australia	1	As $	9.1401	9.0430
Austria	100	As Sch	54.2929	53.6982
Bahrain	1	Dinar	25.8424	25.6650
Bangladesh	100	Taka	42.3101	42.0034
Canada	1	Can $	8.0155	7.9253
Egypt	1	Egp £	11.4799	11.3957
France	1	Fr Frc	1.3476	1.3336
Hong Kong	1	HK $	1.4629	1.4457
Indonesia	100	Rupiah	1.4362	1.4457
Iran	100	Rial	11.2440	11.1625
Italy	100	Lt Lira	0.6681	0.6616
Japan	100	Jap Yen	3.5557	3.5190
Kenya	1	K Shilling	8.8862	8.8797
Kuwait		Dinar	33.3383	33.8967
Malaysia	1	ML $	4.1405	4.0956
Mauritius	1	Rupee	0.8674	0.8612
Nepal	1	Rupee	0.7335	0.7331
Netherlands	1	D Glds	3.4982	3.4632
Pakistan	1	Rupee	0.7817	0.7761
Singapore	1	Sing $	4.4233	4.4146
Spain	100	Sp Pt	8.3467	8.2694
Sri Lanka	1	Rupee	0.490	0.4656
Sweden	1	Sw Kr	1.3097	1.2956
Switzerland	1	Sw Frc	4.4155	4.3700
Tanzania	1	T Sh	1.0196	1.0123
Thailand	100	Baht	42.5412	42.1597
UK	1	Pound	16.2933	16.1472
USA	1	US $	9.7928	9.6991
UAE	1	Dihram	2.6606	2.6413
USSR	1	Rouble	12.9773	12.8771
W. Germany	1	DM	3.8090	3.7705

These rates were supplied by The Bank of Tokyo, Ltd., New Delhi and quoted between the banks on November 8, 1982.

ECONOMIC TRENDS

	Latest	Change on month
PRICES		
ET Commodity Price Index November 3, 1982*	249.8	2.3
Cereals	243.6	4.7
Chemicals	329.4	(8.7)
Industrial Fibres	172.5	(3.2)
Metals	344.0	(2.9)
Sugar	190.8	3.5
Textile Yarn	222.3	0.1
Vegetable Oils	292.6	8.9
Gold standard, Nov, 3 1982 (Rs per 10 gm)	1,740.00	20.00
Silver, .999 Nov 3, 1982 (Rs per kg)	2,695.00	85.00
SHARES		
ET hare Price Index Nov 3, 1982*	283.3	2.1
Cement	258.4	14.8
Chemicals	201.9	2.3
Engineering	386.4	5.4
Fertilisers	188.5	0.6
Man-made Fibres	408.7	(4.9)
Paper	440.4	(9.2)
Rubber Products	156.2	(3.0)
MONEY		per cent
Money Supply, Oct 1, 1982		nil
Bank Deposits		0.9
Foreign Exchange Assets		(15.4)

* 1969–70 = 100

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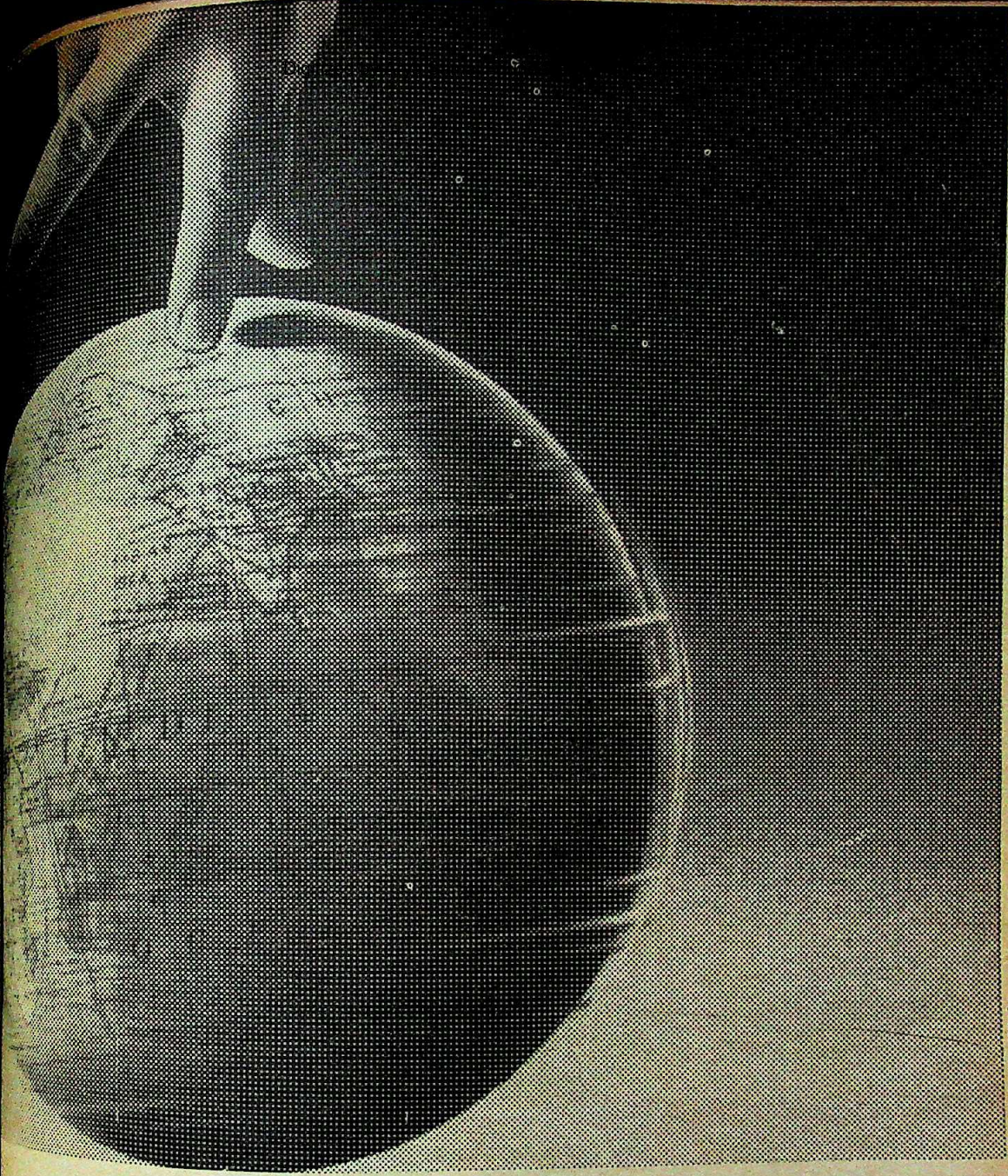

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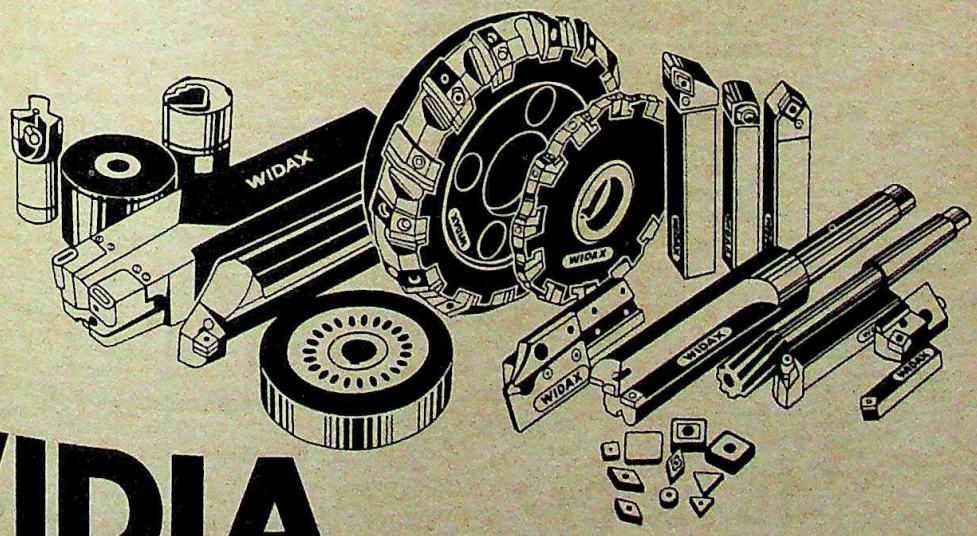

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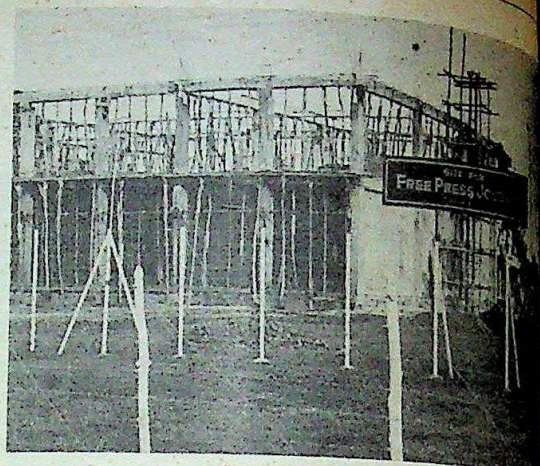

The foundation stone of the A Journals building (left) and complete *Free Press Journal* building

MADHYA PRADESH

The Fourth Estate

ANY GOVERNMENT offering land at throw-away prices to a select group of people must brace itself for a veritable blitz of criticism and angry editorials in the press. For the last 16 months however, the Madhya Pradesh Government has done just that and there is not even a whisper from the editorial writers—because they are part of the select group of people so honoured. Deliberately incurring a loss of several crores the authorities have been doling out land to newspapers and journals at prices as low as one-thirtieth of the market rate. Newspaper managements, far from turning away the offers virtuously, are grabbing while they can; as one journalist put it cynically: "*Jab loot machi hai, to faida kyon na uthain* (when the loot is on, why not profit from it)?"

The showpieces in the media give-and-take drama are two so-called press complexes: one in Bhopal spreading over 27.22 acres and another on the Agra-Bombay road in Indore which accounts for another 22.35 acres. Both complexes came into being in violation of the master plan for the cities. In Bhopal, among the 21 journals—and four new agencies— which have bought land in the complex are the *Nai Duniya* of Indore (with a print order of 140,000, the state's largest daily), the *Dainik Bhaskar-Aftab, Navbharat-MP Chronicle*, all of whom have got one acre each, the *Indore Samachar* with 0.9 acre and the *Dainik Satpura Vani* with 0.8 acre. In Indore, 16 journals and one news agency have been given land—among them Bombay's *Free Press Journal, Dainik Bhaskar, Indore Samachar, Navbharat* and *Vishwa Bhraman*, each with one acre; 12 plots remain.

Ridiculous Rates: The prices would make real estate dealers weep. In Bhopal, the press complex land was originally part of a larger commercial complex, for which more than 100 acres had been earmarked. In most cases land was auctioned in pieces ranging from 2,000 sq ft to 5,000 sq ft, and went at rates between Rs 60 and Rs 80 a sq ft. In a recent case, a 2,160 sq ft plot went for Rs 101.75 per sq ft. As against this, the newspapers walked away with their precious parcels of land for as little as Rs 2.30 per sq ft. In Indore, where land is dearer than in the state capital, the rate was only slightly higher: Rs 2.95 per sq ft.

Jagannath Mishra is discovering in Bihar that too much stick can have disastrous consequences. Arjun Singh appears to be doing very well in Madhya Pradesh with his carrots.

The events leading to the windfall started unfolding in July 1981, only a few days before Mrs Gandhi's visit to Bhopal. Five months earlier, the Bennett Coleman group of *Times of India* fame had applied for land for a new edition of the Hindi daily *Navbharat Times* (circulation: about 400,000), which currently appears from Delhi and Bombay. Another application later was from the Associated Journals group, publishers of the Co mouthpiece *National Herald*. In th the administration was unders helpful but there was some delay of confusion over whether the less than a km from the secr belonged to the Revenue Departme Bhopal Development Authority (BD

Swift Decision: But days bef Gandhi descended on Bhopal. Kapoor, director of Associated J himself dropped in. With gratifyin the allotment order for t to the group was quickly By a curious coincidence, t Cabinet met at the same decide that a press comple be established on land o meant for a commercial c as laid out in a master 1975. The Associated Journ was part of the complex sold—if that is the word group for a mere Rs 1 The Cabinet had earlier that land would be allo newspapers at Rs 1 lakh an acre ly Rs 2.30 per sq ft.

Today, Chief Minister Arjun and Housing and Environment Chandra Prabhash Shekhar com the idea for the complex germin cause of persistent demands fr press. However, the coincidence Associated Journals' claim being the same day as the complex cancel nied. Says a senior officer in the Department: "That was the first knew that a press complex was cards." During her stay in the Gandhi laid the foundation stone project.

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...ly, once the Fourth Estate in ...that land was going for a ...was a rush of applications, and ...ment's gesture to its bitterest ...ed a comforting response. ...is not always that an acre of ...bad for Rs 1.14 lakh when the ...is around Rs 35 lakh. As of ...more than 10 acres of the ...complex have already been ...newspapers for a mere Rs 10 ...whereas the BDA could have got ...Rs 3 crore.

...half of the 27.22 acres will be ...the rest is reserved for roads, ...lanes and the like. BDA offi... ...that the loss is colossal; says ...the cost of developing land ...electricity, roads and so ...than Rs 2.30 per sq ft."

Disregarded: Even as land was ...over for virtually nothing in ...Arjun Singh was winning ...friends and influencing powerful ...Indore complex was taking ...too, the master plan was ...land a site meant for educatio... ...put aside for the 22.35 acre ...The first in line here was ...Press Journal which intends to ...an Indore edition at end-1982. ...1982 it was given one acre ...at Rs 2.95 per sq ft "with ...to recover the cost of further ...". This could mean, at the ...rupee per sq ft, still ...

...the Indore Development ...) has not auctioned com... ...in the area, it is difficult ...the commercial value of the ...ever, residents of the area ...residential plots are going ...than 10 times the price of the ...of land.

...small dailies and weeklies ...fare too badly. Most of them ...plots of between 10,000 ...15,000 sq ft. In Bhopal, these ...worth Rs 6 lakh to Rs 9 lakh. ...that the circulation of most is ...5,000, this is not a bad deal at ...the Opposition, which in Madhya ...means the Bharatiya Janata Party ...keeping quiet. The BJP, in fact, has ...compromised by the allotment of ...the party organ *Swadesh*, which ...0.66 acre in Bhopal and 0.75 ...Indore. In any case, no political ...would like to question the deal and ...wrath of the entire press. Says a ...legislator: "If I raise a question in ..., no one will support me. Moreo... ...will be attacked for interfering with ...freedom."

THERE is no doubt that the basic objective of these deal is to bestow favours on the one section in the state which can damage the Government the most. However, Housing Minister Shekhar—who was himself a columnist for 15 years—has an answer to every question. Won't the press feel obligated to the Government, and won't this affect its much-vaunted freedom? "If we can give land to industries at even lower rates, why not to the press?" asks Shekhar. But land to industries is given in industrial estates, not in the city and, moreover, the master plan marks the plots as commercial area. Says Shekhar: "We have the authority to change the master plan if the need arises."

The minister has a very glib reply to the question why the land was parcelled out at a thirtieth of its market rate. "It is part of the 20-point programme to keep prices of land within reasonable limits. This is in keeping with that objective." He also says that the Government should give "reasonable support" to the press and says he would term the present concession "reasonable support". Ultimately, he says, the allotment has been done only to help the press, in good faith and without expecting anything in return.

Glaring Examples: However, there are instances that give the lie to Shekhar's good intentions. For one, *Dainik Bhaskar* and *Navbharat* already have their own premises in Bhopal; yet both have received an acre each. For another, the applications of both Bennett Coleman and Indian Express Publications have been turned down. If the Government wants to encourage only the state press, why were outsiders like Associated Journals and *Free Press Journal* given space?

Arjun Singh and Shekhar: Pampering the press

But the most glaring example is of the weekly *Shikhar Warta*, which received 0.70 acre (commercial value: Rs 21 lakh). *Shikhar Warta* suspended publication nearly 10 years ago. It received this gift because its publisher expressed a desire to resume publication and wrote a letter to that effect. The publisher, interestingly enough, is Vishnu Kumar Rajoria, a Congress(I) MLA from Hoshangabad district.

Also, a survey of the journals at the receiving end of such munificence shows that five of them do not receive state government advertisements. Advertisements are given to journals when two conditions are satisfied: firstly, the journal should have appeared for six months before it starts getting the advertisements. Secondly, it should appear regularly. And yet, five which do not satify these have received land. They are *Sagar Jyoti*, which has got 12,000 sq ft in Bhopal, *Shabda Shikhar* (10,000 sq ft in Bhopal), and *Apni Duniya, Suchak and Dainik Dopahar*, which have each received 15,000 sq ft in Indore.

Shameful Affair: The Government's magnanimity continues unabated—plans are now afoot for similar complexes in Jabalpur and Raipur. Meanwhile, Associated Journals is rather peeved over charges that it triggered off the avalanche of hand-outs. R.C. Choubey, its man in Bhopal—the group has just come out with the Hindi *Navjeevan* from the town—says that the Government has always provided government housing to journalists at nominal rent, so why, he asks indignantly, the furore over the land allotments. The crowning irony of the whole affair is an editorial in the October 11 *Navjeevan*—the paper is rarely seen in Bhopal—which bitterly criticises the indiscriminate allotment of land to all and sundry in the press complex.

The allotments cannot but rebound on the press in a state where only a handful of papers have any impact —such as *Nai Duniya* and *Deshbandhu*. Most of the others faithfully reproduce Government hand-outs. And *patrakar* —Hindi for journalist—is rapidly turning into a dirty word in the state, where the profession has been invaded by cheap, fly-by-night operators, touts and brokers, who will not stop at even patent lies to get what they want. The politicians do not hesitate to use the newsmen, and vice versa. In fact, in the present ministry, there are half a dozen ministers who claim to have been newsmen once. Journalism is increasingly seen as a stepping stone for a more lucrative career in politics. Public leaders and newsmen find it more profitable to arrive at an understanding rather than be at odds.

If there is a lesson—and shame—in the 'land grab' for the press, there is another for politicians hesitating between the carrot and the stick. Jagannath Mishra is discovering in Bihar that too much stick can have disastrous consequences. Arjun Singh appears to be doing very well in Madhya Pradesh with his carrots.

—SREEKANT KHANDEKAR

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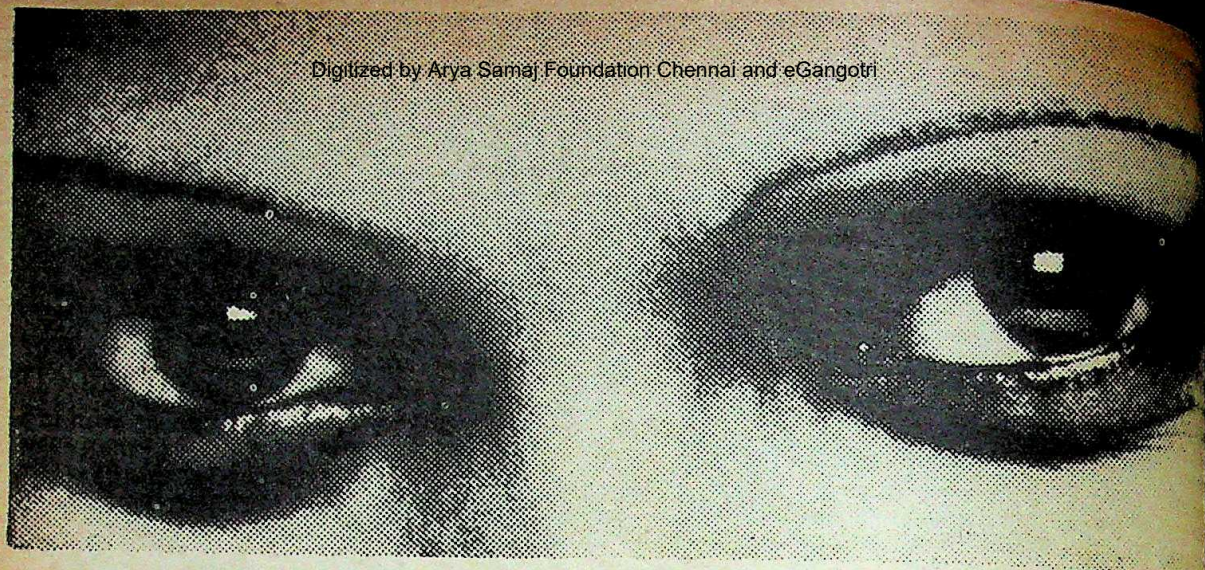

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Affair To Remember

...A, in the end, the ultimate ... last fortnight, when Ram Nath ..., the battle-scarred owner of ... Express and the paper's superstar, ... Editor Arun Shourie, finally ... a parting of paths, the divorce ...ment appeared on the front page ... Express—as a Press Trust of India ...ort. The incongruity was, if anything, ... symbolic of the manner in ... the feud between the two has simmered ... occasionally in public, for the last ... (INDIA TODAY, November 15).

... the rift exploded into the open ... rather lurid pages of *Surya* in ..., the two have stopped meeting. ... the exchanges, acrimonious but ... with grudging mutual admiration, ... in the form of published private ...dence, "off-the-record" inter- ... little-known magazines, and ... intermediaries.

... Days: Even the final break, ...ome, was conducted by proxy, ... anyone unfamiliar with the ...rings of the *Express*, almost ... It started with an exchange ... between B.G. Verghese, edi- ...of of the *Express* and Shourie, ...ter's return from Tokyo late ...

... two men sit in adjoining ... and there is only a plywood ... dividing them. It was obvious, ... that Verghese was really "a ... instrument" as Shourie puts ...Goenka's designs. Verghese's letter ...ding the unpalatable interview ... had given to *Celebrity* in which ... made some shocking even libellous ...ns about Shourie.

... an earlier editorial meeting— ... by Shourie, Verghese and six of ...-most *Express* staffers—Shourie ...ed Verghese what the paper ... to do regarding the interview in ... He pointed out that in the past ...ter had taken up the matter when ... were levelled against any member ... staff. This was no different. Ver- ...according to those present, stal- ... saying he would ask Goenka. The ... then sent Shourie when he re- ... from Japan, essentially stated that ... had sent a rebuttal to *Celebrity* ... it had already been discussed ... Goenka and an "understanding" had ...ed.

...ing Views: On November 3, ... replied in uncharacteristically pithy prose pointing out that their understanding of the "understanding" differed. He added that it was obvious that a different sequence of events was being put on record with the intention of making out that "I (Shourie) have violated an understanding".

The letters passing back and forth over the partition were, however, really not the issue but part of the official record; a record that would show that Shourie had violated ethics and undermined discipline and morale. Shourie's real crime, of course, was in being brutally honest about Ram Nath Goenka as well as the workings of the paper. There could only have been one result of that indiscretion and yet it dragged on, exposing more dirty linen in the process, only because Shourie was expected to resign and he failed to oblige unlike his many predecessors.

Shourie's real crime was in being brutally honest about Ram Nath Goenka as well as the workings of the paper. There could only have been one result of that indiscretion...

Verghese finally brought it out in the open during a brief meeting with Shourie when he suggested that the situation had become "untenable" and that the "parting of ways should be amicable". Shourie's reply to that was he had been brought in by Goenka and "with his (Goenka's) vast experience in these matters he knows best how to ask me to go".

Repeated Requests: Even then, it was obvious that Goenka wanted the hatchet job to be done by somebody else. His legal adviser, Gurumurthy, called up Shourie's younger brother in Bombay and requested him to ask Arun to resign, a request that was firmly but politely turned down. Then followed a string of intermediaries who called on Shourie with the same message: a bloodless parting of ways.

The envoys were all men of standing and stature, including Achyut Patwardhan, Jayaprakash Narayan's close confidant and friend, and V.L. Mehta, a prominent industrialist. All of them said that they had spoken to Goenka and had come to try and resolve the issue without any residual bad blood. Shourie, however, remained firm about his decision not to resign.

On November 4, Shourie returned to office in the afternoon where Goenka's "Dear John" missive was awaiting him. In it, Goenka made an obvious attempt to make out that Shourie had strayed outside his original brief and that he was essentially brought in for matters other than journalism, namely managerial responsibilities and that the letter written to Verghese, which *Surya* reproduced in full, cast aspersions on him.

He made no mention of his tirade against Shourie in the *Celebrity* interview but concluded by stating that "the present situation is unacceptable and unfair both to you and me, and the discipline and morale in the organisation". With that, the stormy four-year affair between Shourie and the *Express* came to a rather predictable end. Shourie's comment: "He seems to have disowned Gandhi's advice of not making a martyr out of anybody."

Quieter Role: Where does that leave the *Express* and Goenka? *Express* staffers are understandably concerned at what the future *sans* Shourie holds in store. For one, according to senior staffers, it has strengthened Saroj Goenka's efforts to assert herself in the organisation and added considerably to her accruing influence. But it also means that there are unlikely to be any more Antulay exposés, no Kuo Oil deals and people like Jagannath Mishra can breathe a little easier.

That, in the ultimate analysis, can only reduce the *Express* to just another morning paper instead of the powerful oppositional role it had acquired. *Express* sources are convinced that the paper will harden its anti-government line for a month or so before tacking back to more tranquil waters.

Shourie himself has no intention of joining another newspaper or periodical and plans to complete two books that he has been working on. His absence from the journalistic scene will be felt universally but nowhere more so than at the *Express*. It is, finally, a tragic interruption of a career that has been like no other in the field. The deliberate silencing of a man who is not just another journalist, but the most devastating chronicler of our times.

—DILIP BOBB

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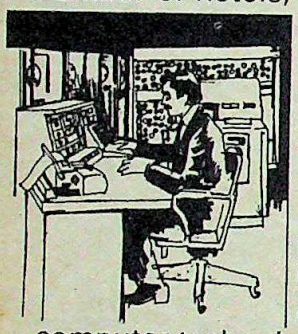

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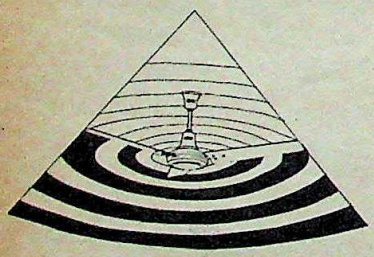

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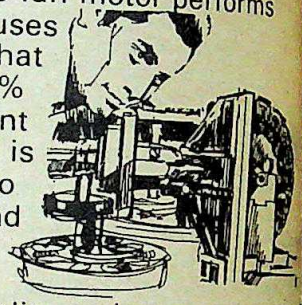

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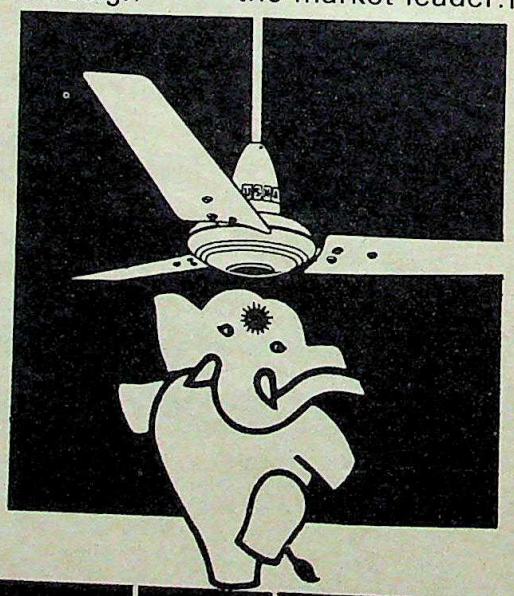

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Coming up

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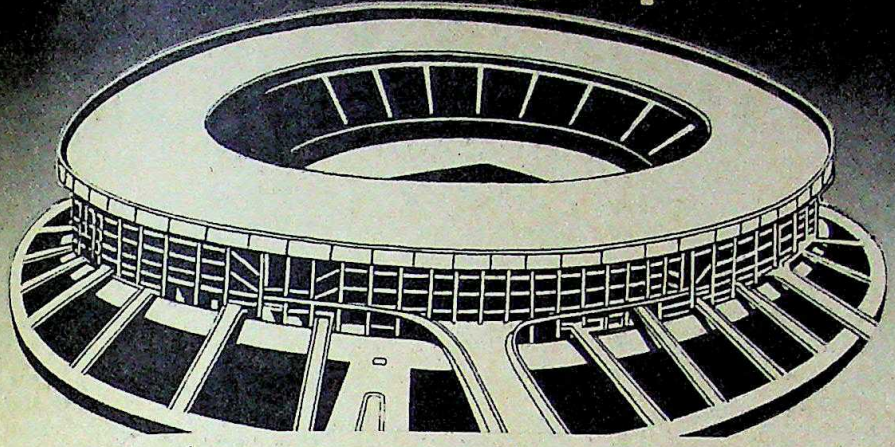

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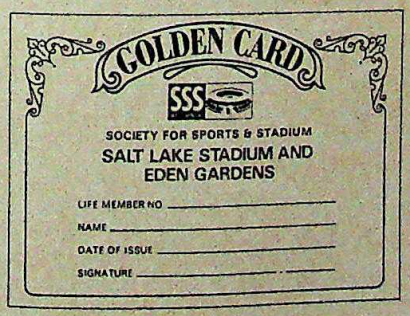

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In Search Of Gandh

WHEN Sir Richard Attenborough's $22 million (Rs 20.9 crore) epic Gandhi *is premiered later this month, and audiences around the world watch one of the greatest figures of 20th century history come to life on the screen, few will realise the personal crusade of the film maker in pulling the mammoth project through. For Attenborough the making of the movie has been a lifelong obsession, a struggle that lasted 20 long years before it successfully came to be filmed. Those years, and the seemingly impossible obstacles they contained, of obtaining the right political connections, of raising the finance and locating the best talent to make the film feasible, are now revealed in minute detail in a fascinating book by Attenborough called* In Search of Gandhi *(to be published in India this month by B.I. Publications in association with Bodley Head; 216 pages, 104 in full colour; Price: Rs 140).*

Beginning in 1962 with a series of coincidences—including his meeting with an Indian in London who convinced him of the possibility of a film of the Mahatma—Attenborough's saga of achievement is the stuff of contemporary history itself: legendary, colourful characters flit through its pages, each offering encouragement, providing distraction, even acting as deterrents to one man's faith in arriving at his own truth. Leaders like Jawaharlal Nehru, Lord Mountbatten and later Indira Gandhi who supported Attenborough's idea from the start; Gandhi's associates like Louis Fischer, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur and Madeleine Slade who provided valuable insights to the man; fund-raisers like Hollywood movie moghul Joseph Levine and the maharaja of Baroda who promised finance but later pulled out, and great stars of the stage and screen like playwright Robert Bolt and actor Sir Alec Guinness who tried to help but couldn't, are some of the names that populate the long-drawn-out drama behind the making of Gandhi.

Added to the story is Attenborough's own evolution as a film director—he was only known as an actor when he embarked upon the Gandhi project—so that, necessarily, much of this book is spun out with fragments of autobiography. The following extracts, connected with interlinking passages of narrative highlight the momentous meetings and events that went into the making of a film:

THE ORIGIN

I carried 'Panditji'—as I eventually came to know him—home in my arms. It was about half past one in the morning. I'd just come back from a charity art auction at Christie's where each supporter present had either donated a work of art or undertaken to purchase one.

I had always wanted an Epstein. They weren't easy to obtain at the time. It was 1962. The sculptor had died only recently and the market was not yet flooded with his works, as was to happen eventually.

When I'd received the catalogue it simply said 'A Bust by Epstein'—no mention of the subject. I bid for it. I think, if my memory serves me right, I paid £220. The bust cast in bronze, was of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of India.

I had no idea whatsoever of the impact that name and everything surrounding him and his country would have on my life over the next twenty years. On arriving home, I put Panditji on the table in the hall where he presided throughout remained of the night.

At a quarter past eight the following morning, ashamed to say, I was still in bed, the telephone rang and voice enquired with the utmost politeness if I was Richard borough.

'Yes,' I replied.

'Sir, my name is Motilal Kothari and I must see you.'

'But Mr Kothairi, it is rather early.'

'Yes,' he said, 'but this is a matter of great urgency.'

'But what is it about, Mr Kothari?'

'I cannot tell you over the telephone. It is regard undertaking of great confidentiality.'

So I said, 'Well, would you kindly ring my secretary three-quarters of an hour and I'll look in the diary and see we can arrange.'

Mr Kothari rang back at precisely two minutes past and we agreed that I should lunch with him at Bo Restaurant a few hundred yards from India House Aldwych a couple of days later.

That afternoon, Dennis O'Dell, a friend with whom worked on a number of pictures, got in touch with wanted to talk about my mysterious caller.

It transpired that for many years Mr Kothari had devotee of Mahatma Gandhi—as, indeed, had all his fam in common with Gandhi, came from the state of Gujarat the Mahatma was assassinated, Motilal Kothari felt he longer remain in India. He felt that almost the reason very existence and certainly a major part of his life's w been wiped out by Godse's bullets. With his English teacher wife, Dorothy, and their baby daughter, Sh decided—as was then his right—to live in London and jo staff of the Indian High Commission.

I arrived for lunch and Mr Kothari was already wa was very small, I would think not more than five feet. wide-jawed, almost moonlike face so typical of the Gujar was immensely gracious and greeted me with that most c of Hindu gestures, the *pranam*, placing his two hands to front of his face. We sat down.

He knew, of course, many of the figures sur Gandhi. He was not on intimate terms with the politic as Nehru, Patel, Kripalani or Maulana Azad, but did number of the English people involved—Horace A Madeleine Slade (Mirabehn) and Albert West who was first printer when he set up his original *ashram* in So during the early 1890s. He also knew Louis Fischer.

Fischer was an American and a remarkably sk grapher who had already written major works on Le and Roosevelt. His study of Mohandas K. Gandhi w my opinion, still is the best of all Western biographies extraordinary man.

I had to confess to Mr Kothari that I knew almo about India—no more than a schoolboy's smattering graphy—and I knew even less about Mahatma Gandhi did recall was the tremendous effect it had on people Britain when we learned he had been assassinated. I w four at the time. The only truly comparable reaction fifteen years later, on learning of the assassination of

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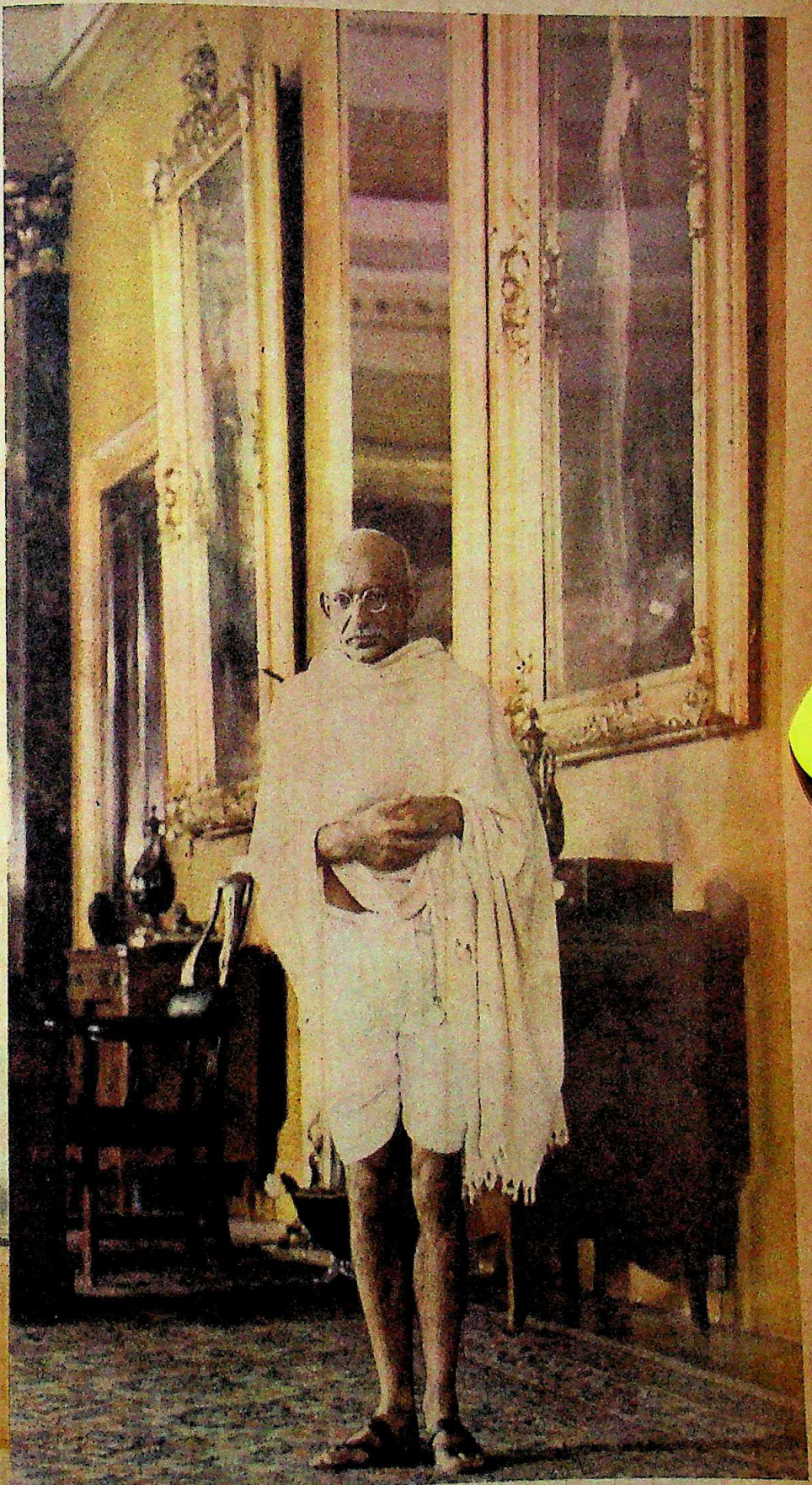
Kennedy, when by a strange
ce I was in Delhi. Like most
world over I will always vividly
how, when and where I heard
ing news. Gandhi's death had
e same impact on an earlier

Kothari told me about Gan-
ribed the Mahatma's ideas
ues and his own hopes of
them throughout the world. I,
ed to elicit why on earth Mr
ld want to involve *me*.

never directed a film. I had
recent years become a producer.
I was identified with a number
which could have led him to
ethically I might be drawn to
ect. But I had no reputation.
recent people had tried to mount
Pascal, Preminger, Michael
perhaps most important of
Lean. All had failed—or rather,
icular time, none of them had
off.

over coffee, Mr Kothari
would read the Fischer bio-
course,' I said. 'I'd be de-
ever, I went on to explain
had done so I couldn't possi-
her, in the first instance, I felt
making such a movie and, in
whether I would have suffi-
mination to surmount all the
that undoubtedly would arise.

*shortly after his meeting with
Attenborough started reading
graphy of Gandhi. He says he
enthralled" about the story of
human being who had shaken
with his advocacy and belief in
Then occurred what Atten-
the second of the coincidences*



In 1931 Gandhi (Ben Kingsley) arrives to visit the British viceroy in New Delhi (left) and inside the Viceregal Lodge

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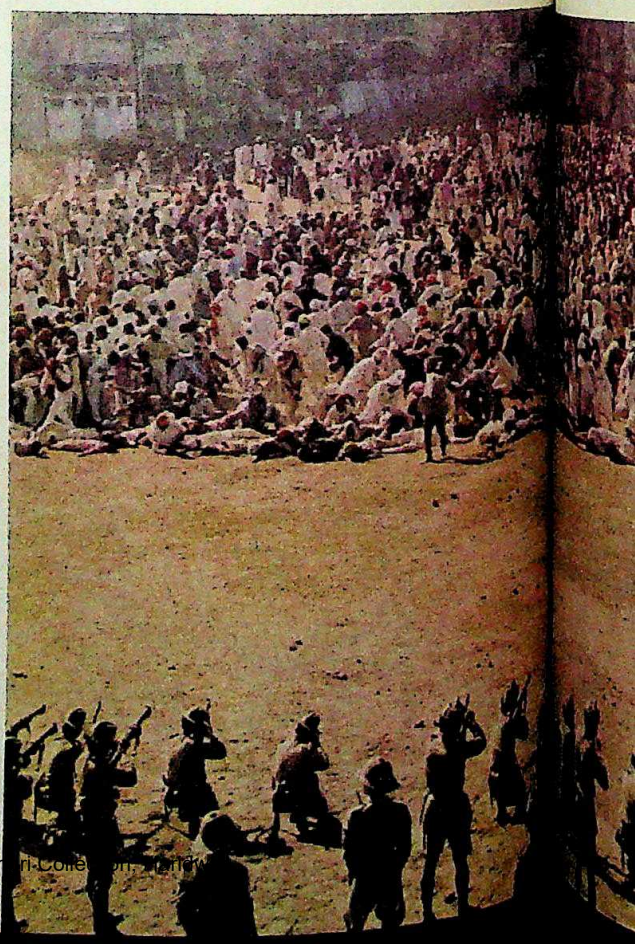
(Above) Gandhi arrives home from South Africa to a m
welcome; (left) three faces of Gandhi as young lawyer, e
revolutionary and freedom fighter; (below) the infamous m
Jallianwala Bagh, Amritsar



surrounding Gandhi. *Just a day after he called Kothari to tell him that he was captivated by Fischer's great work, he met Lord Louis Mountbatten, the last viceroy of India. Through Mountbatten, Attenborough obtained his first appointment with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, in the summer of 1963.*

MEETING NEHRU

Very often, when one is familiar with a famous figure by virtue of photographs or reportage, the actual person does not seem quite the same when you meet them for the first time. In this particular instance, my reaction was completely the opposite. Mr Nehru was exactly as I had expected; he was of medium height, dressed in his familiar jacket and trousers and his customary white cap. He had a most sweet face and gentle voice but my abiding memory is of his eyes—dark brown, compassionate, attentive, with the ability to convince you immediately that you had his absolute and entire attention.

He told us of his conversations with Lord Louis and repeated his feeling of pleasure at the possibility of a film on the life of Gandhiji—as he called him. He asked me how much I knew of him. I replied that I had read *Satyagraha in South Africa* and *My Experiments with Truth*, that I had dipped into *Mahatma*, the lengthy work by Tendulkar, and that I had also read the Louis Fischer book.

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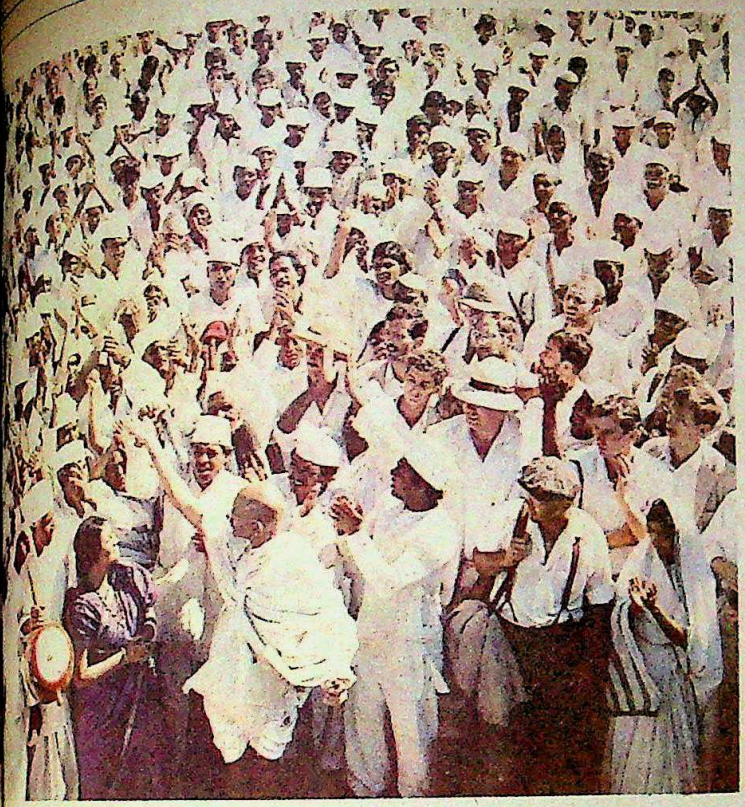

Africa to a
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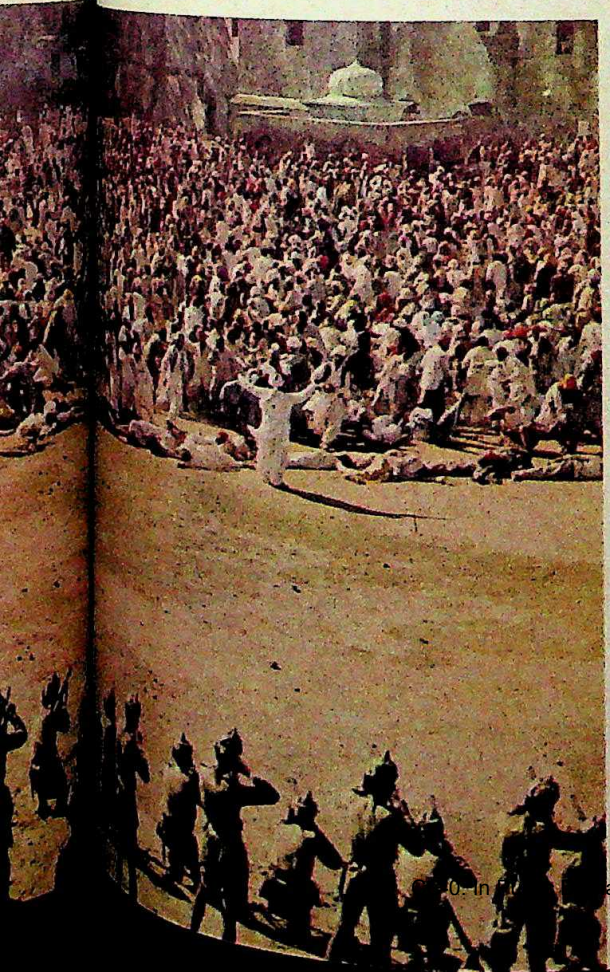
(bottom right) two views of Gandhi leading the Dandi March
(above right) Gandhi with mill workers in Lancashire



My impression was that he was not totally in favour of Fischer's biography. I was not quite sure why, although I believe, from subsequent conversations, it was Fischer's analysis of the Kashmiri problem which he found unacceptable.

He managed immediately to dispel any feeling of formality and encouraged me to talk freely about my enthusiasm and aspirations as far as the film was concerned. He was by no means reticent in condemning *Nine Hours to Rama*, the film, completed relatively recently in India, which purported to tell the events culminating in Gandhi's assassination. Fortunately, I had seen it and could voice my own anger at its evident distortion of truth. He enlarged on this particular theme in relation to our film. It was not the minutiae, the precise dates and times of events, which he felt were important. His concern was that the spirit and fundamental truth of Gandhiji's life should be apparent in all that we might attempt to convey.

He asked me to enumerate what I thought would be some of the highlights of the film. I mentioned several major dramatic moments in Gandhiji's life. Immediately Panditji launched into personal reminiscences, illustrating their particular impact upon his own life and that of his contemporaries and, ultimately, on the whole future of India.

He seemed convinced that the film, by simply telling Gandhi's story, could communicate the incredible worth of this man to millions of people and, indeed, reminded me that

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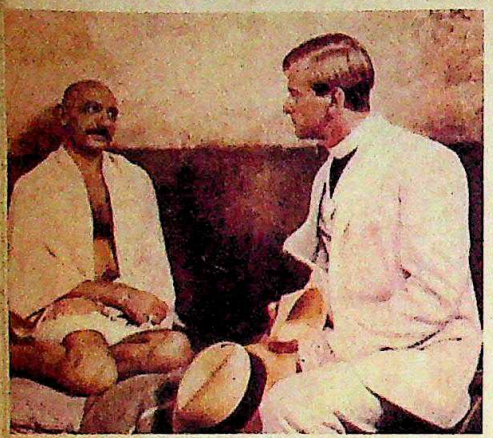
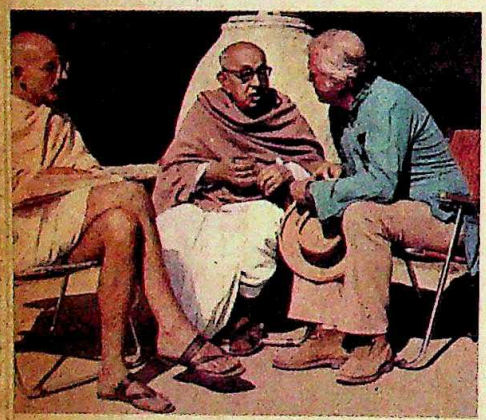
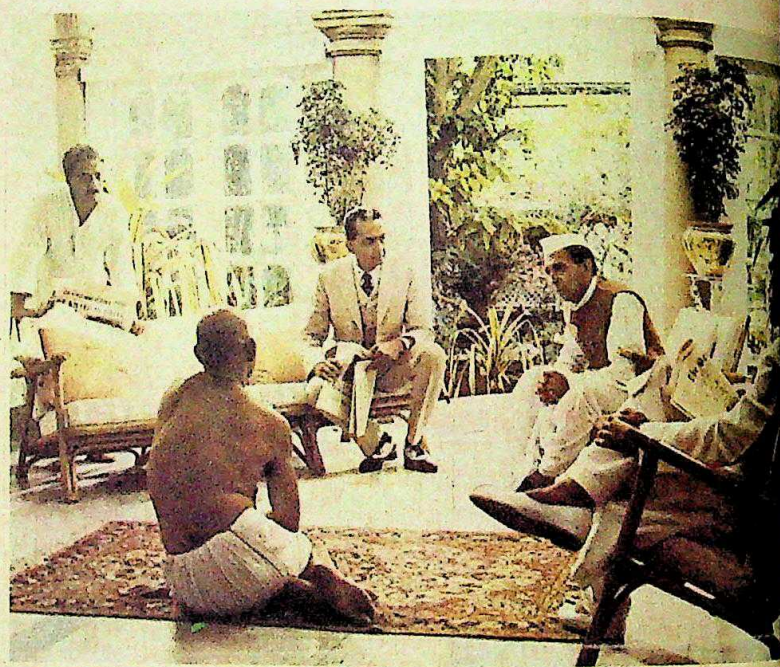
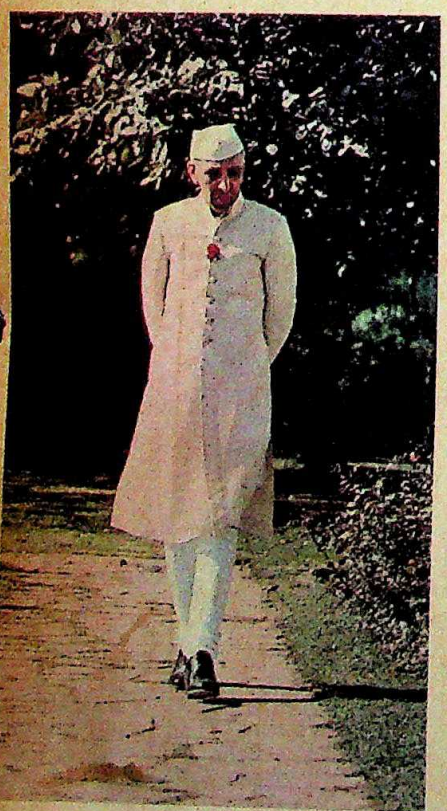
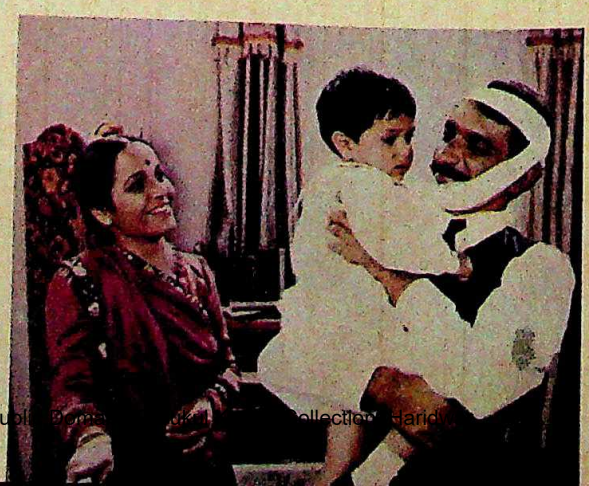


(Clockwise from left) Gandhi meets the missionary C.F. Andrews (Ian Charleson), Congress leaders Sardar Patel (Saeed Jaffrey), Jinnah (Alyque Padamsee), Nehru (Roshan Seth) and Maulana Azad (Virendra Razdan); with director Attenborough and Pyarelal Nayar, Gandhi's secretary on the movie's sets









(Clockwise from far left) Roshan Seth as Nehru; two views of Gandhi and Kasturba (Rohini Hattangady): in South Africa as a young couple and later in their Indian ashram

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himself, when asked about the message he wished to the world, replied, 'My *life* is my message.'

Bubbling over with excitement. We seemed to have been five or six minutes when I glanced at my watch and, to my was nine o'clock. I started to make a move—'What is it, you going? asked the Prime Minister.

sir, it's nine o'clock.'

yes, but we haven't finished,' he said. 'Do sit down.'

Finally he got up from his desk and took out an album photographs. Each one recalled some historic incident or private moment. I longed to have a tape recorder in secure for the future all these unique recollections that such magical life to a screenplay attempting to depict ities of these great men.

Prime Minister and I were by now on our hands and over more and more photographs when there was a the door. A secretary came in and, somewhat startled the Prime Minister in his usual place, he rather tly handed him a note. Mr Nehru glanced at it ting up. 'Yes, yes,' he said, 'yes, yes,' and the secre- We went on with our talk. Every moment seemed some new element which should be considered and when putting together the script.

not exactly certain how long I remained with the Prime I only know that it went well beyond my allotted time. to meet a number of people here,' he said. 'You must some of our officials and, of course, you must meet my He got up, went to the phone and rang what was his home.

sending the English actor and producer, Richard Atten- to see you. He's going to make a film about Bapu.'

quired as to whether we had a car. I replied that we said it should take us to his house, Teen Murti.

daughter will be delighted to see you and you must visit me again.'

MEETING INDIRA

Gandhi was in her middle forties with no sign, as yet, familiar white plume in her otherwise jet black hair. in the long sitting-room on the ground floor which on to the gardens at the back of the house with their rose-beds that were Panditji's pride and joy. She was a ent woman, moving with a perfect carriage and ex- dressed in a very simple sari. Although she, too, greeted the *pranam*, there was an unmistakable air of constraint. very, very shy. She asked me to sit beside her on one of low settees. The conversation was by no means as easy been with her father, but nevertheless she too expressed her interest but her enthusiasm for the idea of a film. Clearly had a considerable knowledge of cinema, not Indian films but also of those coming from Britain and United States of America.

asked if I knew of the Indian director, Satyajit Ray. By way, I was delighted to reply that I not only knew of thought that *Pather Panchali* was probably one of the finest pieces of cinema I had ever seen.

THE SCRIPT

By 1963, Attenborough met three people who had a significant role on the project: Horace Alexander, an English Quaker who knew Gandhi for the last 20 years of his life, Rani Dube, who became co-producer of Gandhi *and steered the project through the Indian bureaucracy, and Muriel Lester, who ran the Kingsley Hall community centre in London's East End where Gandhi stayed while in England for the 1931 conference.*

Gerald Hanley, a tall, craggy Irishman worked like a man possessed on the primary script for Gandhi, *which Attenborough was able to commission from a nominal advance of $5,000 he obtained from the Rank Organisation, the film-producing company in England. Much too long as the original draft was, it was also unable to persuade Alec Guinness to play the title part. Still, Attenborough was keen to show it to Prime Minister Nehru and his daughter Indira. Consequently, together with his wife Sheila and Kothari he returned to India to meet associates of Gandhi like Rajkumari Amrit Kaur and his second cousin Chaganlal Gandhi, a wizened old man in his eighties who continued to live in Gandhi's* ashram *on the banks of the Sabarmati in Ahmedabad.*

We returned to Delhi. Before leaving for the *ashram*, we had also arranged for a script to be delivered to Mrs Gandhi and both Moti and I went to see her to learn of her reactions. They were, I suppose, what one would anticipate. She thought it very good, as far as it went. She was concerned about one or two major elements which were not included. She felt that certain emphases were perhaps not as she would have chosen and she told us there were a number of inaccuracies. In general, however, she was approving and thought that the overall construction was eminently successful.

We then had a meeting with Panditji. On this occasion, we met him at Teen Murti, in the same room where Vala and I had first met Indiraji. We were very much aware of the pressures on the Prime Minister, almost overwhelming at this particular time, and I was most anxious that the meeting should not take any longer than was absolutely necessary. I thanked him first for arranging the various appointments with his Cabinet Ministers and told him of their offers of co-operation and assistance. Most particularly, I mentioned Mr Narain Sinha's statement that, provided there was no objection to the final screenplay, then the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, to whom we would be primarily responsible, would grant us every possible help.

The Prime Minister said that he had had the opportunity of looking at the script but, owing to pressure of work, had not read it very thoroughly. However, he felt that we should give a great deal of thought to the selection of the principal figures who we ultimately decided to portray in the film. He readily accepted that it would be impossible to include all the main statesmen involved in the Indian struggle for Independence, or even all the major British figures who participated. He was totally opposed to merely dragging in a series of names by somewhat cursory reference, just to have them mentioned. He felt that we should settle on a relatively small number of people and allow them, in a way, to represent all the major figures concerned. He certainly thought that Sardar Patel was essential, and also Maulana Azad. It went, of course, without saying that Mohamed Ali Jinnah would have to be involved. He particularly liked the early sequences, and the period in South Africa. He felt it illustrated most graphically the gradual development of Gandhiji's character and philosophies, which determined ultimately all his major actions in India. He accepted the necessity in a film to concertina—to truncate events—to construct circumstances in which certain debates and ultimate resolutions could be staged dramatically and succinctly; events, in fact, which probably occurred over a period of time and, even then, possibly merely by correspondence. He was not at all convinced that slavishly following the minute details of chronology would necessarily result in the overall effect that we were attempting to achieve. He was certain that most important of all was to discover a way of conveying Gandhi's spirit—if we were able to do that, he said, then the

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whole concept of the film would be justified. He told us that he intended to send this first draft to D. G. Tendulkar, the author of the eight-volume *Mahatma*, but that he was not at all sure as to this particular decision at the moment. He knew that we had already met B.R. Nanda, the author of the most recent biography on Gandhi, and we told him that we had spent several hours with Mr Nanda, going over a number of reservations and criticisms that he had on the script, most of which we were anxious to incorporate.

He then asked us if there was any news of Alec Guinness, and I had to confess that, certainly for the present, Alec had said no. He thought this was a great pity, since he believed that Alec had the right personality to play Bapu. I asked him whether, in principle, he felt that it was acceptable, and would be acceptable to India as a whole that their great leader might be played by an Englishman. He hesitated for a moment, and then replied, with an impish grin, that should it ultimately prove to be the case, it would make Gandhiji laugh a great deal.

But on discussing the conundrum more seriously, he said he felt that the development of skills and the technique of Indian artistes—and one must remember this was 1963—were not of a sufficient calibre to be likely to throw up a figure capable of undertaking this mammoth task, covering, as it did, for the actor, at least sixty years. He thought under such circumstances the experience of a classical English actor, trained in the theatre and accepting a totally naturalistic style of performance, would be invaluable. Indeed, he questioned whether the film would be possible if we were not able ultimately to engage an English actor of the requisite stature to play the part. However, the final decision, he said, in all these matters must be one for those who were making the film. He was anxious that we should listen to the views and advice which, laughingly, he said he knew would be plentiful, but we must be sure in our own minds that what arrived on the screen, in the final analysis, was what we wished to say.

He (Nehru) questioned whether the film would be possible if we were not able ultimately to engage an English actor of the requisite stature.

It seemed to me that these views, expressed by someone who was so very intimately involved in the events that we were hoping to portray, were quite exceptional. I suppose, really, it was no more than one would anticipate from such a man. There is no doubt in my mind that of the number of great figures that I have had the privilege of knowing over the years, none impressed me more deeply than Pandit Nehru.

We took our leave and he came to the door to say goodbye.

RAISING MONEY

At about the time of commissioning the first draft of the script, Attenborough was introduced by Kothari to the maharaja of Baroda—the expansive, genial and wealthy Fatehsingh Rao Gaekwad otherwise known as "Jackie"—who appeared ready to put up rupee finance for the movie. Though the Rank Organisation were prepared to fund a second draft of the script, by the time it appeared, they confirmed their inability to back the project. They doubted the commercial viability of the subject, the prospect of filming in India, and the budget which would prove prohibitive. At the same time the maharaja of Baroda also seemed to be developing cold feet. Worst of all, 1964 saw first the death of Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, and then of Nehru himself. The latter event was a major blow to Attenborough's commitment to the project. However, though Kothari's entreaties, Jackie Baroda extended his period of commitment to the rupee expenditure. The non-rupee finance was still a problem, when Attenborough appeared met the solution in the form of Joseph E. Levine.

Levine, a movie moghul in the classic Hollywood mo buccaneer of the film industry, was enthusiastic ab borough's project and having involved Paramount, was that the film should start immediately, with money th convinced he could raise. Attenborough rushed back to confer with the new prime minister, Lal Bahadur Sh expected delays occurred in obtaining official approval investment. Back in Hollywood, Levine was convi Hanley's script needed a complete rewrite and a major required to play Gandhi. Once again, the frustrations of g film off the ground loomed large on the horizons.

At this stage, with neither the perfect script nor the actor in hand, the project seemed shelved. Levine's compa Embassy, withdrew their retainers to Kothari and Atten Levine being particularly incensed at India's formal alignm the Arab countries during the 1974 Middle East War Jewish, Levine took India's stance personally, saying that unable to raise finance. Meanwhile, playwright Robert been enlisted to help out with the script. But Levine's in that "the political factors and financial complications in co with Gandhi" forced a postponement of plans, put paid involvement. Attenborough, though he realised that one was becoming hard to find a reputed script-writer was re his own inexperience as a direc Gandhi, refused to be discourag carried on in his pursuit of getting the Mahatma, even though Kothari in early 1970 severed his primary tion with the subject.

MEETING MIRABEH

In the interim, I had man accomplish a number of things. O to meet Madeleine Slade—Mirab Gandhi called her.

Back in 1965, Moti and I had attempted to visit her home just outside Vienna. We arrived by plane to fi the snowbound roads were impassable for some days. Unfo tely, because of other commitments, I had to return to L but Moti did manage to see her, and she was fascinated prospect of our film. However, I determined in 1973 that must try and pay her a visit.

She lived in a little cottage on the edge of the Woods. As the car drew up, she came out of the door: a tall, still very upright, with grey swept-back hair and a ha of thick glasses. Well wrapped in thick woollies, she down the path with her arms spread out in while standing discreetly in the background was devoted Indian bearer.

We quickly developed a warm relationship, and she relate anecdote after anecdote. Provided it spread the tr of Gandhi, she believed the film was a wonderful idea. her a thousand questions; but one reply I remember mo of all. I said, 'Mirabehn, do you believe there is a quality that the actor who is to play Gandhiji must have'

She paused for a moment and then, in that marvellous voice with her face breaking into a beaming smile, she 'He must be very good.'

My time with her was all too brief. However, I did again, twice in Vienna and on a number of occasions two years, she decided to return to England and Tunbridge Wells. She was enormously generous. She

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...ne the majority of the letters Gandhi had written ...d undertook ultimately to lodge with one of the ...ves, but also her own copy of his autobiography ...self had given her many years before.

...encouragement was unstinting, particularly during the ...Morarji Desai's Prime Ministership when Indira ...s out of office, and she wrote urging him to endorse ...ttenborough's original approval of the film. We sent her ...ts from *Gandhi* at the end of the shooting and, thank-...e expressed her delight in their veracity, although she ...d bitterly that Geraldine James, who portrayed her, ...much more beautiful than herself.

...more than anyone, I wanted her to see the finished ...two or three months before her ninetieth birthday, ...1982, as I was writing this chapter, she died. I grieve ...ly.

DIRECTOR ATTENBOROUGH

...enborough pursued his dream with single-minded ...ross the continents, the late, 60s saw his emergence as a ...In 1967, he directed the critically successful parody Oh! ...Lovely War *with a massive all-star cast followed by ...nson in 1972. Though the experience was crucial, ...Gandhi was slow: the project was still doing the ...Hollywood, with a possibility of ...directing from Robert Bolt's ...that possibility petered out— ...off to go ahead and make ...ghter—Attenborough seemed ...unning once again to direct ...even managed to get hold of ...kar and Pablo Picasso to get ...the picture—Shankar to do ...and Picasso to design the film's ...74, an unexpected opportunity ...Attenborough's lap—ironically, ...mercurial Levine— directing Cornelius Ryan's story of ...Arnhem in World War II,* A Bridge Too Far.

THE FINAL SCRIPT

*...ing the break of directing a big-budget Hollywood ...—*A Bridge Too Far *cost US $25 million (Rs 23.75 ...ing knighted in 1976, and working with Satyajit Ray in ...Khilari. Attenborough managed to get Levine interest-...once again. The script had now finally been written ...can settled in England by the name of Jack Briley ...borough thought, had done a perfect job. Money re-...blem. Warner Brothers had pulled out, Rani Dube had ...ted, Lord Mountbatten had been assassinated when ...Dube reappeared with his offer once again. This was in ...after Mrs Gandhi had won her landslide election. ...agreed to lodge letters of credit worth $10 million ...) in rupees with the City of London—an assurance ...d Levine to again start looking for non-rupee finance. ...the maharaja's legal advisers began to quibble over the ...ment. Attenborough returned once again to India with ...ipt in hand.*

...day after my arrival, Indiraji invited me for dinner. It ...informal. Sanjay, Rajiv, their wives and children were ...After the usual pleasantries, the topic was inevitably the ...I soon gained the impression that the Prime Minister ...beginning to share some of my frustration in our inability to start the production, with which she, too, had been associated for some seventeen years. I explained that, in addition to all the other problems, the real concern at present was that of finance. In my opinion, our ability to raise non-rupee funds from one source or another was unquestionable and if only I could count on the Indian funding I really did believe the picture could go into production at the end of the current year.

'What is the problem with the rupee finance?' she inquired.

I explained that a number of people, some directly, some through intermediaries, had indicated they wished to invest, but despite all our efforts, nothing had actually been confirmed.

She suggested that a copy of the script should formally be submitted to the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, and that she would have a word with Vasant Sathe, the minister concerned, to see if there was any way in which the Government, possibly through the National Film Development Corporation, could ensure the necessary rupees. She was not giving any guarantees whatsoever, since this might ultimately involve a Cabinet decision, but nevertheless she would suggest that the Ministry might look into the matter.

Her children all went to bed, and Indiraji and I had another half hour or so alone before I took my leave. Tucking the two volumes of the script under her arm, she bade me good-night with the words, 'Well, this will provide me with a little bed-time reading.'

She (Mrs Gandhi) thought it (the script) remarkably successful in containing so succinctly the vital elements necessary to tell such a story.

MRS GANDHI MOVES IN

A day or so before I left, I saw Indiraji again. She had read the script on two successive nights, between 1.30 and 3.00 a.m. She thought it remarkably successful in containing so succinctly the vital elements necessary to tell such a story. She had one or two pertinent criticisms, particularly with regard to the early relationship between Gandhi and Kasturba. She thought that the film should have a foreword, explaining the omission of many incidents and personalities which would be missed by those familiar with this epoch in India's history. She also felt that we should admit to straying from strict fact in terms of date and time, since it would be impossible to grant every moment its allotted space in a film lasting three hours. She said, however, the Government should not approve the script, since the film must be the creation of its makers. Government and Ministry should merely satisfy themselves that, related to the subject-matter, the manner in which the film was envisaged was a proper one.

I thanked her for finding the time in her incredibly busy life to read the screenplay and said that I would be leaving the next day, following the last formal meeting with the Minister. I had earlier been asked to send a letter to the National Film Development Corporation, inviting their association as investors in the production. That day I had received their agreement in principle with the suggestion that the machinery should be set up for working out the details. Finally, on the afternoon of our departure, in the presence of the Minister, I was handed a letter signed by the Joint Secretary for the Ministry, which assured me of the Government's full co-operation in facilitating the production, including 'arrangements for ensuring the rupee portion of the investment required for the project'.

At this crucial juncture, with the maharaja's legal advisers getting elusive, the maharaja himself being untraceable, and Joseph Levine blowing up against the Indian Government's recognition of the Palestine Liberation Organisation, Attenborough had reached

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an impasse again. Levine who owned the Gandhi *property, agreed to let Attenborough buy it back—at the most crushingly hard terms. Levine demanded that within the first 60 days Attenborough pay $2 million (Rs 1.9 crore) plus 7.5 per cent of the net profits, or 2.5 per cent of the gross profits, whichever was greater. In the face of such a disaster—he remembers leaving Levine's office "utterly devastated and close to tears"—Attenborough decided to go it alone. His American agent thought he was insane. So did everybody else.*

But the one final stroke of luck needed reappeared—in the form of an introduction to a transatlantic company of film investors. This was International Film Investors of New York and London's Goldcrest Film International, the latter managed by a young man called John D. Eberts. Eberts on a first reading of the script decided that they would locate the non-rupee finance. The hunt for money started all over again in America. In India and England, the hunt for the right actor and actress to play Gandhi and Kasturba began.

LOOKING FOR GANDHI

Choosing the actor Gandhi was not easy. In the running was John Hurt, whose performances in Midnight Express *and* The Elephant Man *had been more than impressive. But was he acceptable as an Indian?*

Concurrently I also had in mind an actor whom I had always felt was a strong possibility. His name was Ben Kingsley, one of the leading players in the Royal Shakespeare Company. I had seen him first many years beforehand in Peter Brook's *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, and in a number of productions since, culminating in Bertolt Brecht's *Baal*. His principal advocate was my son, Michael, who judged him as superb an actor as any working in England. Talent apart, Ben had the very considerable advantage of having an Indian father obviously heightening his acceptability as Gandhiji. We therefore decided that he, too, should do a test.

Ben Kingsley was a miracle. He burst out of the screen with credibility and magnetism.

However, during our visit to India the most important question was the casting of Gandhiji's wife, Kasturba. Dolly Thakore arranged for me to see innumerable Indian actresses on stage, in an endless succession of Hindi films and in person. I was very taken by a young actress called Smita Patil, who seemed to have real talent, and cinematically her personality worked remarkably well. She was, however, very beautiful, perhaps too beautiful. I also saw the distinguished actress, Bhakti Barwe, playing in the theatre, and asked her if she was prepared to come to London to take a screen test. I nevertheless felt I still had not found the ideal Kasturba.

Then Dolly rang me one afternoon, asking if I could delay my return to London by a day or so, since she had found several other artistes she wanted me to see. I remember her bringing five of them to my hotel room near Bombay airport. One was a girl named Rohini Hattangady. As she came through the door, I think my heart missed a beat. She seemed instantly to have the essential qualities that I sought for the personality of Kasturba.

Her mother-tongue was Marathi, and that night I saw her in the theatre. She appeared as two different characters, firstly as a young, feline, sensual seductress and secondly a character in such contrast that for the first minute or two I simply did not recognise her—a senile, eighty-year-old matriarch. Her talent was undoubted. The question was whether she could be sufficiently fluent in English and whether her talent would transfer—which is not always the case—to film. She too, with Bhakti agreed to come to London.

I had always wanted Saeed Jaffrey, with whom I'd in *The Chess Players*, to accept the part of Sardar P fortunately he agreed.

I decided that we should view Johnnie Hurt's test alone. Before it had been on the screen for thirty seco evident to him and to the rest of us that a European to play an Indian would be utterly unconvincing. P that he is, he removed all embarrassment from the sc describing his legs as those of a second-row rugby rather than an ascetic from the Indian subcontinent.

As far as the girls were concerned, the decision la Rohini and Smita. Smita's test was eminently profess moving and believable. Rohini's was equally fine, but there was a remarkable affinity to the particular cha Kasturba—a Gujarati provincial girl living at the tur century. With skilful make-up I also believed she could the age-span from twenties to early seventies.

Finally, there was Ben Kingsley. He was a miracle. out of the screen with a credibility and with a magne one could scarcely have contemplated. His eyes were and his physical frame—provided he lost a stone or right. He even wore his *dhoti* as though it was par everyday garb. It appeared to all of us that if there was on earth who could play the Gandhiji with complete convictio Ben.

I was thrilled, since I had alw that ideally Gandhiji should be pl an actor who was unfamiliar to audiences, and this, to all inte purposes, would be Ben's first film.

CONTROVERSY IN IN

We all recognised that the bound to be public controversy both in regard to gov involvement in a production which was essentially comm concept, and over the principle of a foreigner making about the father of the Indian nation. Moreover, there had been a debate as to whether the film should be ma However, the furore started with a quite extraordinary one of the Lok Dal leaders, George Fernandes. At conference he announced that in his opinion the makin film was 'a sell-out of the country's honour'. He then series of observations about the film, all based on pure tion. He criticised the financial set-up, of which he knowledge, and derided the script, which he had never sad thing was that this, in my judgement, set the tenor cism which surrounded the film in the ensuing months.

The group which did seem to me to have a case, de thorough answer, was the Forum for Better Cinema. Th plained it was inequitable that the Indian Government sh investing sums on such a scale in a film made by a predo foreign company when indigenous film makers were st finance. This was a situation with which I had much sy being an independent producer myself. It was for this re I extracted an unequivocal statement from the Mi Information and Broadcasting that any sums devoted Gandhi film would in no way erode the backing that wa able for indigenous film production. In addition, I re assurance from the Minister that if any profit accru investment made by the NFDC it would be ploughed b Indian production.

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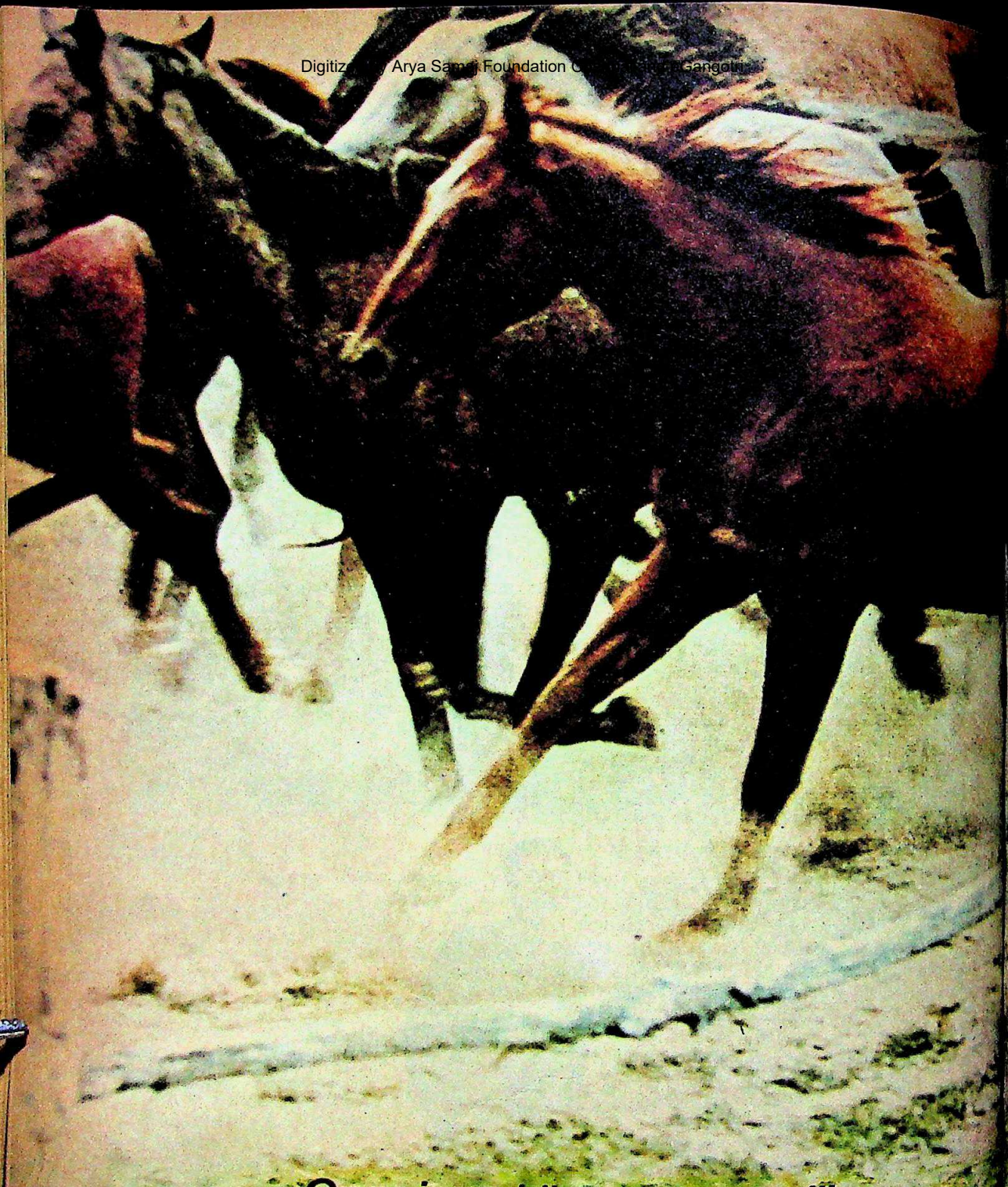

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Palekar and Jayaram: competent performances

ck Sob Story

L
Prakat Films
Mahendra
Amol Palekar, Poornima Jaya-
Bhasi and Ambika

MAHENDRA's maiden ven-
in Malayalam has turned out
e one of the hits of the year.
it does in the wake of his ear-
with *Moondram Pirai* in Tamil
rked Mahendra as one of the
ising young directors in the
ovie circuit.

is not to deny that the plot of
(Waves) is not somewhat hackn-
film is an unabashed page by
of Eric Segal's *A Man, Woman*
d Mahendra has merely India-
keeping the mushy melodrama
down so well especially with
The end result is not very differ-
other Malayalam movies but
pulls it off more slickly than

Plot: The story revolves around a
family. Ravi—played by Amol Pal-
is making his debut on the Mal-
screen—is a young advertising
executive. He has a devoted wife,
(Poornima Jayaram) and an adora-
daughter Lakshmi. In short the very
of domestic bliss. But this happy
dominia is shattered by a letter from
Father Zacharia (Adoor Bhasi)

that dredges out memories from the past that Ravi would rather have forgotten. It concerns Reeta (Ambika), a village girl, whom Ravi had left pregnant many years ago. Reeta has died leaving an eight-year-old son, Raju.

The village priest requests Ravi to look after Raju. He agrees reluctantly and takes the boy home, explaining truthfully enough that Raju is the child of a friend who has died suddenly. But it does not take long for Radha to discover the whole truth. She promptly leaves the house in a huff and goes—where else but to her mother. It turns out, however, that mother takes a very different view of things and tells her daughter that her own husband has had countless mistresses. Radha rushes home in time to prevent Ravi from sending the boy away in the interests of domestic harmony. A thousand tears later all is forgiven and forgotten.

As always with Mahendra's films the photography is superb. It captures the lush green of Ooty and the urban landscape of Bangalore with equal ease. Amol Palekar gives a subdued performance. Adoor Bhasi is superb as the large-hearted priest who takes swigs from a hip flask hidden in his cassock when nobody is looking. But the real scene stealer is Baby Anju, a girl who acts as Raju. In Mahendra's hands the whole lot come together and provide a lively piece of entertainment.

—SREEDHAR PILLAI

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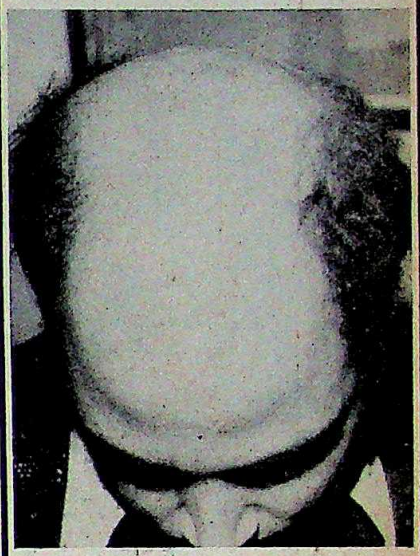

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(JAN 3—9, 1983)

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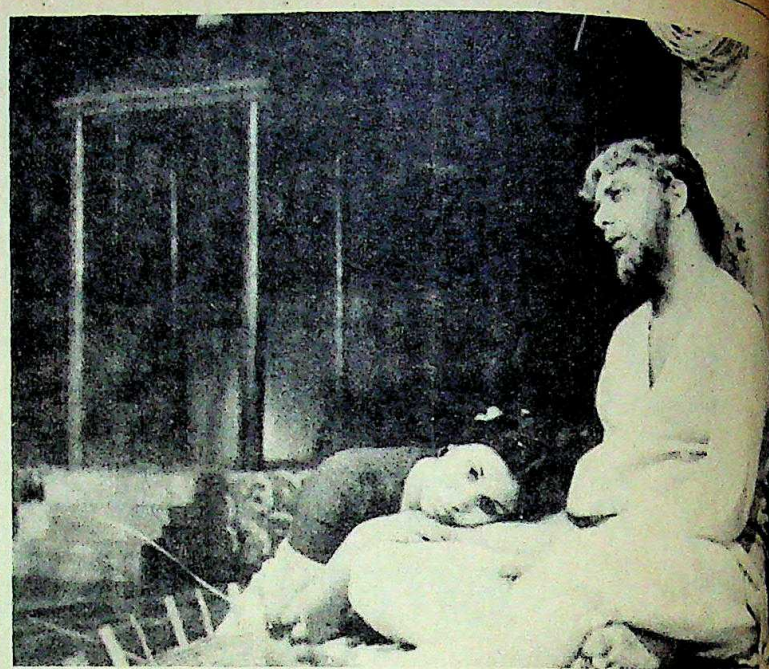

Rathor and Bhagat in *Shayad* (left)
Ahujas in *Ek Kahani Yeh Bhi*

THEATRE

Storming The Citadel

TRADITIONAL theatre audiences in Madras are notorious for two things—discerning appetite for the genre and a fierce loyalty towards their language theatre which often borders on the edge of fanaticism. Yet the very same public have in the course of the last one year proved themselves to be vulnerable to change. The alteration being wrought is both unusual and interesting—manifest in the emergence of Hindi theatre in a city long considered the bastion of the Tamil theatre movement. The fledgling Hindi theatre is being promoted by three locally based amateur organisations is very prolific, infused with vigour and talent and drawing large audiences. Within the space of one year, since the movement gained ground, more than 15 Hindi plays have been produced and staged transforming what began as a hesitant trial show into a promising, confident and eloquent statement.

Succinctly summing up this novel trend, Vimal Bhagat, veteran amateur actor and one of the leading lights of Madras Players, a local English repertory company and who has also acted in two Hindi plays says: "Yes, Hindi theatre has arrived in Madras and though it is still very much in its infancy the movement is fast finding its feet. I personally feel it is a very healthy sign because it blossoms out of the desire of both artists and audiences alike who are being increasingly drawn towards theatre performed in Indian languages and Hindi is as welcome as any."

Not everybody, however, was infected with optimism when Hindi theatre made its first tentative beginnings in 1980 when Sushma Ahuja together with her husband Sudhir launched an amateur repertory company, Abhudaya. Recalls Sushma, a well-known theatre personality from Delhi with ten years of theatre experience behind her: "Initially all our friends discouraged us and warned us that our venture was bound to fail, but all the same we went right ahead and launched our first production titled *Sarai ki Malkin* in September that year with a mixed cast of south Indians and north Indians. I remember how we worked on raw talent, brushing up on language and pronunciation, some even had to be taught the tongue and after a full-scale rehearsal lasting more than two months we staged our play." Initially the group attracted only a small audience which was predominantly Hindi-speaking, comprising the locally settled Sindhis, Marwaris and Punjabis. "But," adds Sudhir, "since then our audiences have grown from strength to strength and at our last performance of *Bechara* we had to turn away the milling crowds, because we ran short of tickets. It was overwhelming, but it proved that we had established our credentials."

A Beginning: The Ahujas wh
ly single-handedly spearheaded th
theatre movement in the city are
nently settled in Madras and ha
been the butt of anti-Hindi se
Says Sudhir: "In the field of arts
ge is no barrier and if the audie
guaranteed an evening of enter
they are willing to patronise Hi
tre." Sushma, however, adds a
caution when she says: "We m
that it takes time for people to ch
as yet the south Indians in our
are still a minority and the day
come in full strength we can clai
in our venture. Until then there
hundreds of Hindi-speaking
who crave to keep abreast of th
in Hindi theatre."

Once Hindi theatre was giv
cessary impetus, frenetic activity
riments were quick to follow. S
wards yet another theatre comp
into being when Minu Rathor
with just two members fou
Madras chapter of Theatre Arts
hop (TAW), an offshoot of the pe
pany founded in Lucknow in 19
Bisaria under whom Minu Rathor
tutelage as an actress. Rathor
found herself at a loose end in
spite of eight years of experience
ress. Says she: "Though I had
acting under Raj Bisaria, I fo
was an utter lack of serious Hi
here and felt bold enough to
into my own both as a director

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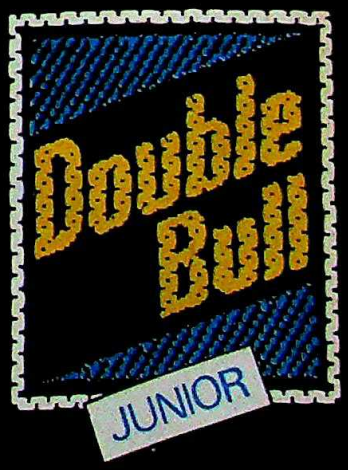

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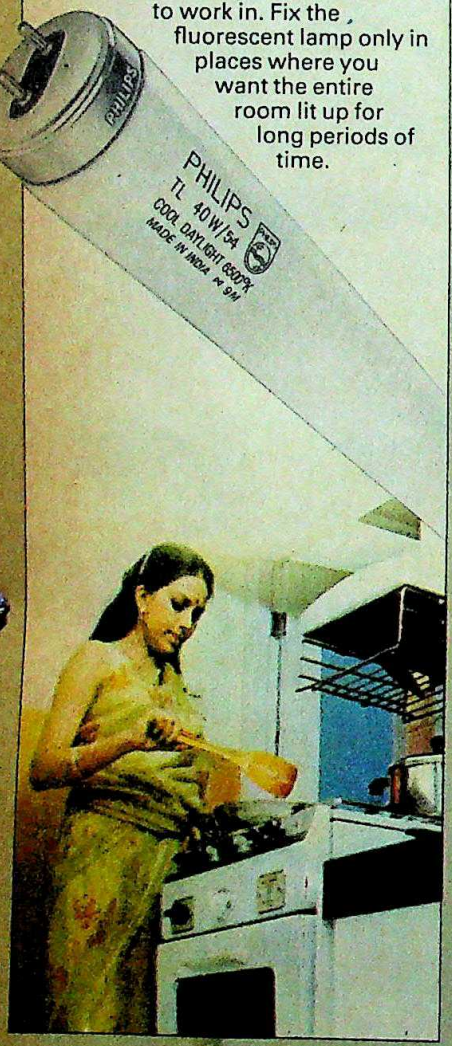

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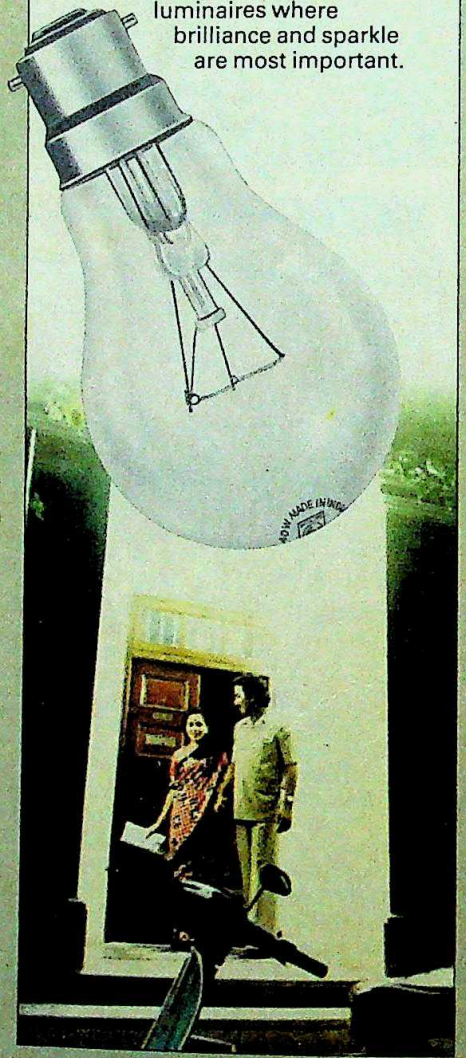

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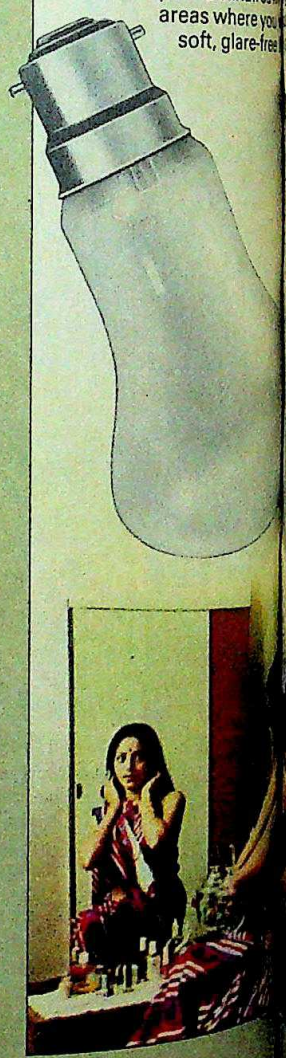

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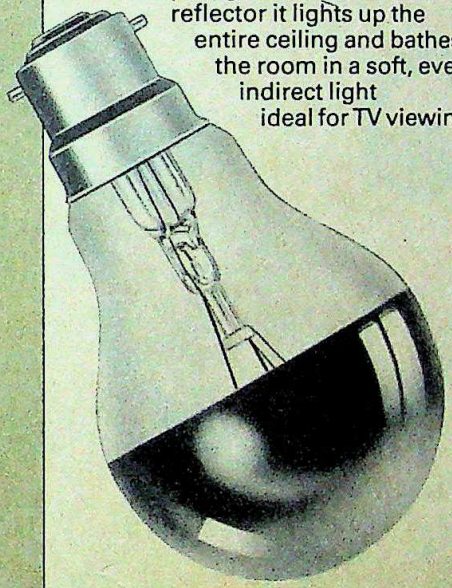

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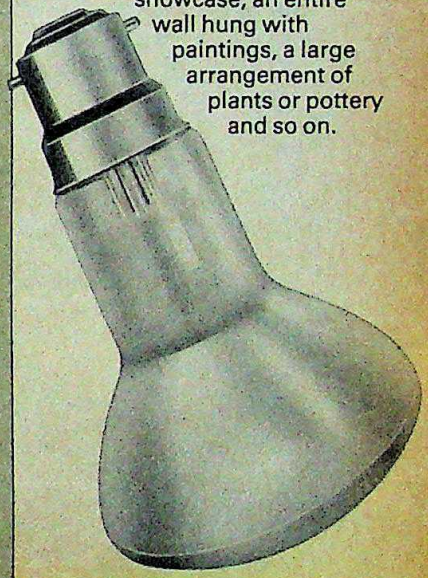

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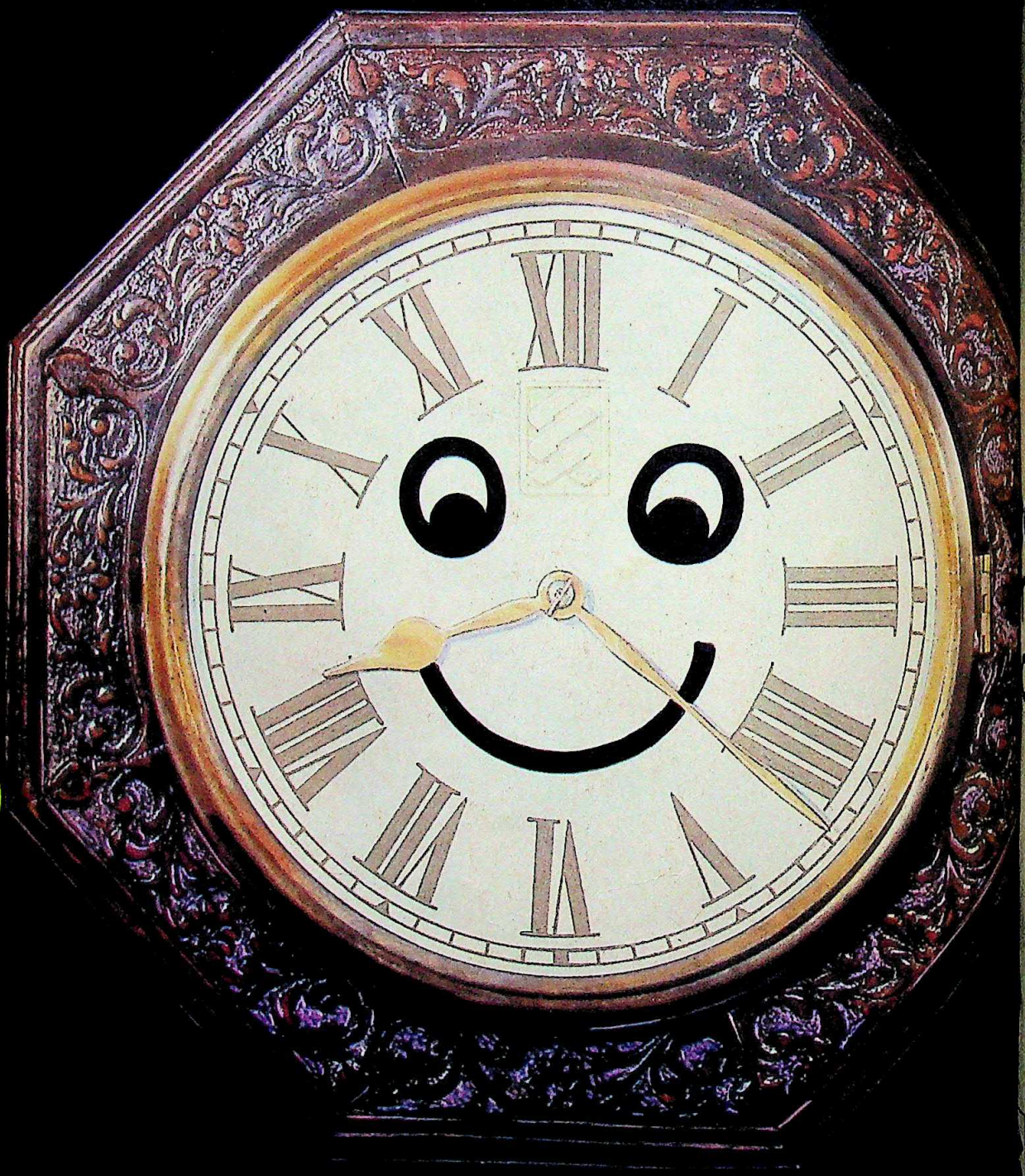

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actress." There was some trepidation initially but Rathor soon got together a group of people, comprising south and north Indians and launched TAW with their first production *Andhon ka Hathi* in December 1981.

"It has since become commercially viable to stage productions," points out Anil, Minu's husband, who is on the managing committee of TAW. "Whereas our earlier productions cost between Rs 3,000 and Rs 5,000, our latest production which included a cast of 30-odd performers notched up expenses to the tune of Rs 15,000. Since we are drawing larger crowds, the ticket sales alone bring in more than 50 per cent of the money needed, while advertisements take care of the rest of our needs. Our growth in these terms is being made possible only due to the increasing number of audiences, where earlier we performed to a few hundred people, we now perform for crowds numbering more than one thousand."

Hindi theatre being provided contains mixed fare. While many artists like Sudhir and Sushma Ahuja swear by "popular" theatre the audiences prefer well-played-out comedies with an undertone of satire. Others, like the Rathors, prefer to cast in their lot with "serious, experimental" theatre, though it is a fact that for each of these companies the best received plays were those which combined elements of farce and comedy. However, none could accurately judge the situation better than Vikram Satyanath, an actor and member of Madras Players, who said: "There is no doubt that the majority prefer light, entertaining stuff, which makes no moral pretensions, though there is a section of the audience who also patronise English theatre and look forward to serious theatre, complete with its complex levels of interpretation." Adds another theatre buff: "Perhaps the best way to attract crowds initially is by means of staging 'lighter' plays, thus giving both the audience and the artists time to mature in their attitude towards serious plays."

Whatever its contents, Hindi theatre is obviously here to stay and its growth is assured. Says Sanjay Jain, who early this year launched the youngest theatre company in the city, called Kalakaar: "For us this is just the beginning, there is much that can be done in the field of Hindi theatre and the future looks bright." Agreeing with him Rina Kamath, member of TAW chips in by saying: "Hindi theatre is growing indigenously in the city, it is not being thrust upon the audiences by various outstation groups, so it is bound to set its roots deep and blossom."

—LALITA DILEEP in Madras

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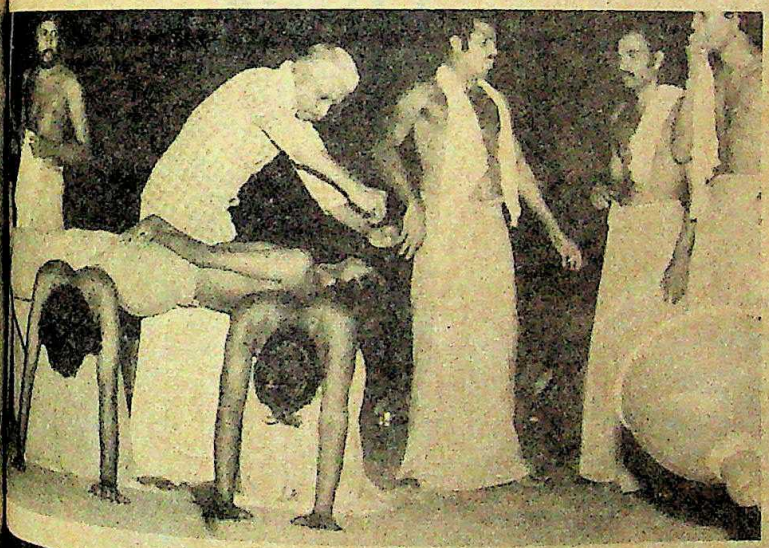
ging A Protest

Overnight two groups of marchers converged on Cherai village 20 km from Cochin. Their coming together put to an end the Sastra Kala Scientific culture march—organised by Kerala Sastra Sahitya Parishad to propagate the importance of and help wipe out superstition.

The two groups had started their march from different ends of the state. In 37 days they had travelled the length and breadth of the state stopping at more than 400 villages putting up small shows. There were one act plays, songs and also ancient art forms *Chavuttumadakam* and *Ottanthullal*.

The Message: But it was not art for art's sake. As an evening's entertainment wore on it became clear that anything and everything was a fit target for attack. Thus the performance began with a musical based on a play by Bertolt Brecht that celebrated the importance of learning. *Ottanthullal*, a Kerala dance form was employed to have a dig at the Kerala State Road Transport Corporation. Later in the performance the electricity was switched off and parts had to be watched by the light of a kerosene lamp—a not very subtle swipe at the erratic power supply. After this came a play named *Vishom* (Poison) that dealt with a host of contemporary themes like pollution, the legal system, and the educational system. Another play *Edalavyante Peruviral* (Edalavyan's Thumb) that dealt with the forces that tie down mankind. *Chavuttumadakam*—a folk art that was once popular among Christians in the state—blasted the Central Government's import policy and unscientific measures introduced in agriculture.

Capitalism was the subject of constant attack, hardly surprising in a state which has frequently been ruled by Marxists. In the play on pollution, for example, it is a capitalist who is the main culprit and he triumphs as the law is too weak.



A scene from *Vishom* (top) and the end of the long march: propagating science

The bottom line to every performance was that science is the panacea for all these ills. Says K.K. Krishna Kumar, the general secretary of the KSSP: "Our movement is one of the most interesting, innovative and broad-based experiments to mobilise the people using the tool of science for analysing, understanding and solving their problems." Krishna Kumar, an engineer by profession stresses that KSSP is a purely voluntary organisation formed at the initiative of a handful of popular science writers more than two decades ago.

Today it has grown into a unique mass movement through its various activities like the publication of magazines and books and the organisation of science clubs. Its cultural march has also boosted its popularity considerably. There are now 350 units working in the villages of the state. Most shows are held in the villages. Says R. Radhakrishnan, one of the members of the organisation: "We get a more spontaneous reaction from them than we do in the cities."

Charges: The KSSP's motto is 'Science for social revolution'. With such a motto it is hardly surprising that they have been accused of having more interest in politics than in science. They have also been accused at various times of being everything from Naxalites to CIA agents. Says Krishna Kumar: "We are dubbed Naxalites or CIA agents depending on the issue we are fighting." Another member of KSSP, M.P. Parameswaran, the manager of *Deshabhimani* and *Chinta*, the organs of the Marxist Party says: "When we fought against the Silent Valley Project, I was almost thrown out of the party for the stance we took."

At the time the Marxists also put out the rumour that the KSSP was acting at the behest of the CIA and was also financed by them. Krishna Kumar denies such charges saying: "Total society is the target of KSSP, while exploiters alone are the target of the Naxalites." He adds that KSSP subsists on its books and journals—it has five monthly scientific magazines, including the very popular children's magazine *Eureka*. Even the Government has instructed schools to subscribe to some of them. The annual turnover is around Rs 8 lakh.

KSSP's success has evoked a great deal of interest outside the state. There are plans to hold an all-India meet in Trivandrum. But while these movements are still to develop, there is no doubt that KSSP has already caught on in Kerala.

—SREEDHAR PILLAI

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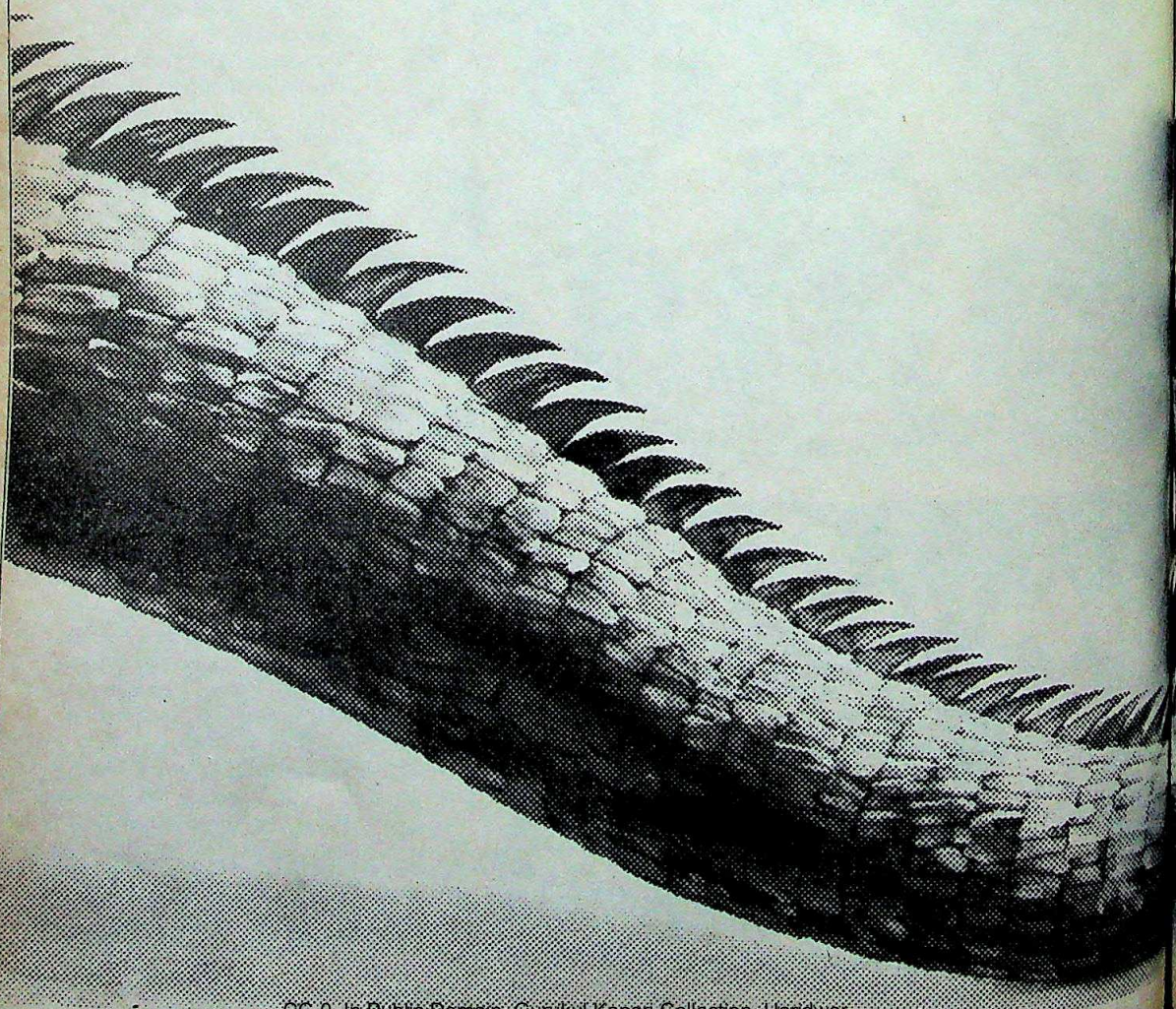

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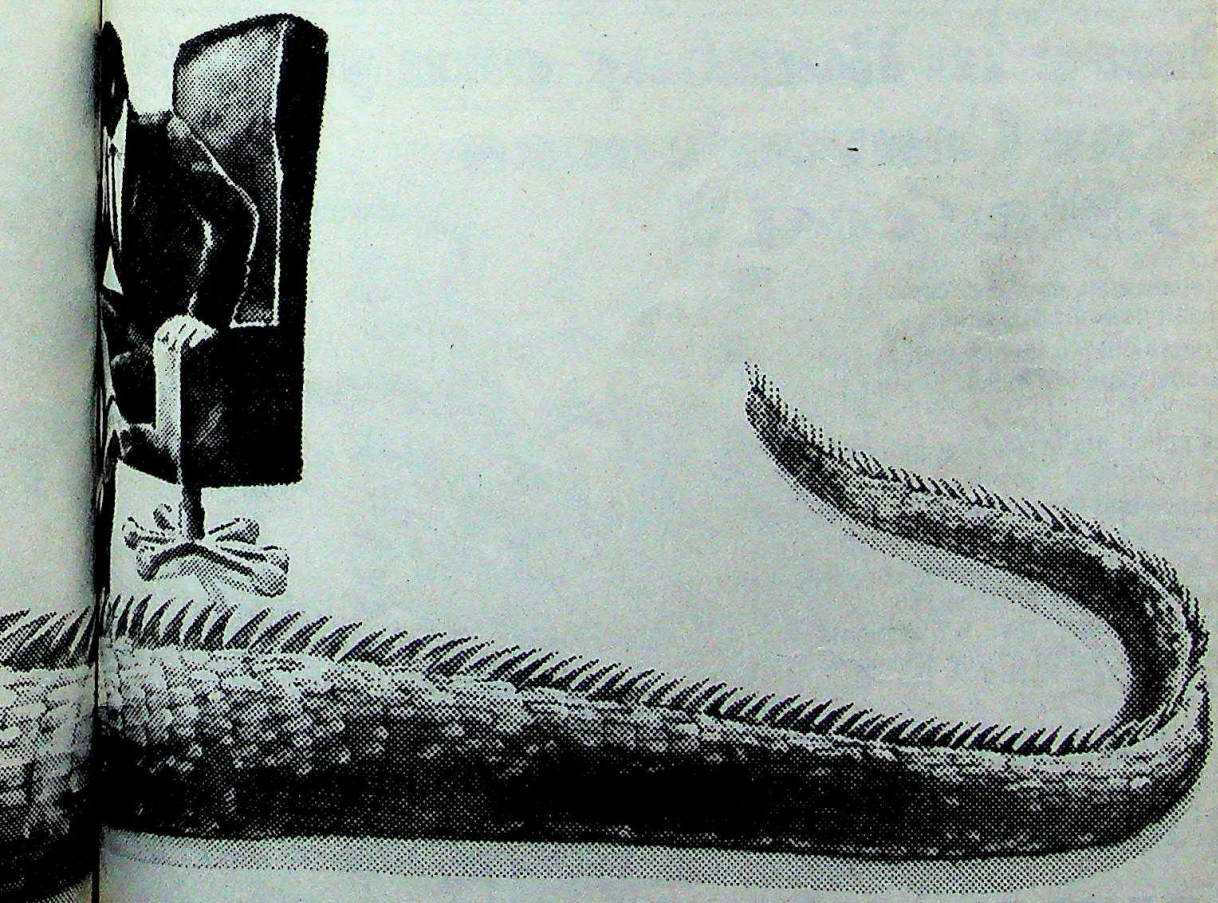

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AN RALLY

Gruelling Run

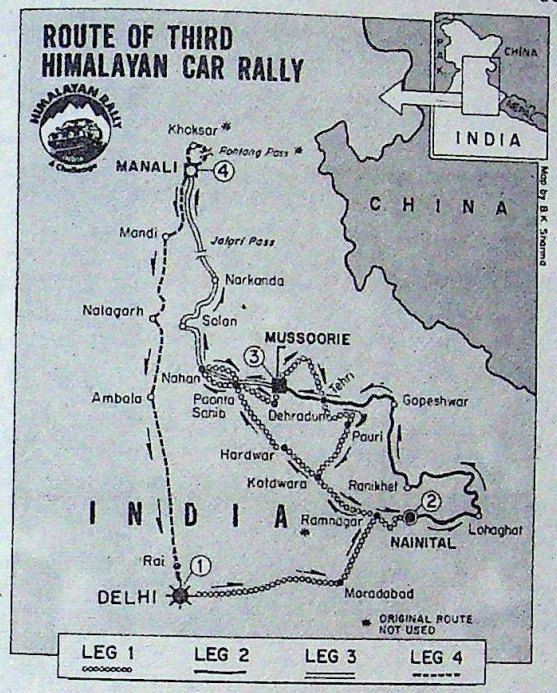
MUD-CAKED cars told their story. The 3,600 km Hima- Car Rally was one of the ing of its kind. Of the 72 comp- were flagged off on October saw the full distance. Says Rudolf Stohl who came in Lada: "The rally route is the East African Safari. It for both the driver and the Gopal Madhavan, the clerk rse: "The Himalayan Rally ssibly the toughest of all in the world. Those who ish will return just to have k at the course."

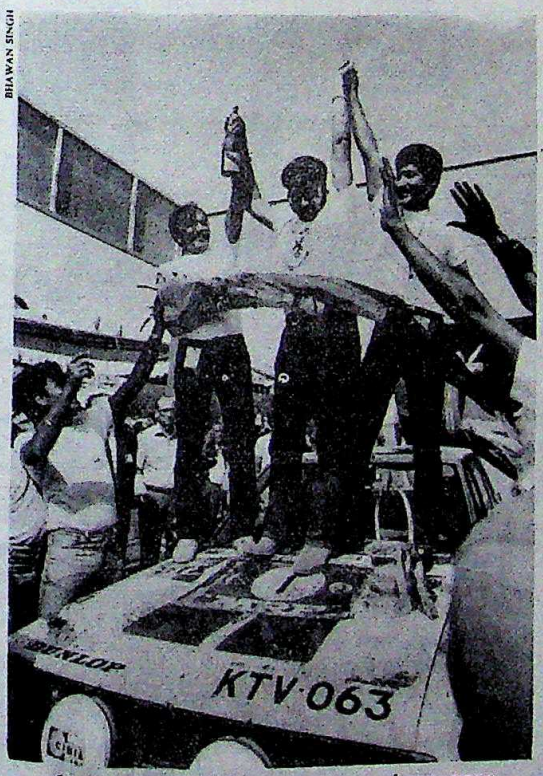
me the going was tougher rious two times. The orga- decided that the rally should its name and be a truly Hi- lly. Accordingly it started in Delhi. And after a mere the rallyists were careening rous hill roads at speeds ph. If this was not daunt- nature tossed in its own ge: The snow was so heavy rth leg of the rally had to d by 140 km.

Toll: It was the 1,334 km that took the heaviest toll. the outset the competitors ggling to keep up with the Shah in his Datsun Vio- y entered the hills beyond the fast pace began to tell, blown gaskets, and broken and differentials. Shah also advantage of being in front clear road ahead of him. else had to contend with the of dust that hung in the competitors left the tarred the dirt track. Said R.K. who drove a Fiat: "There when I was following the but all I could see was the

who survived the first lap ing even harder in the se- 175 km stretches between Gopeshwar, Tilwara and wound through 2,000 metre where it was difficult to the necessary average speed of The climb continued into leg it was abruptly terminated snow. Said Minoo Nanavaty the course in a Mahindra that was the toughest stretch of all in the race."

The combination of tough roads and the pace took a high toll. Of the 72 who started, 49 cars never got within sight of the finishing post. Inexperience also accounted for many of the competitors falling by the way. But even amongst the 19 foreigners, many of whom had plenty of experience, only five managed to go the full distance. Says one driver: "There were long stretches where we were in third gear nearly all the time. And with Jayant Shah setting such a stiff pace there was no alternative but to keep pushing yourself."





BHAWAN SINGH

Shah (left) with his co-driver and manager

Shah, himself, is comparatively blase about the route, and he can well afford to be. He led practically from start to finish, and stayed well ahead of the field. Says he: "It was tough going but I never had any major problems."

Good Performance: It was inevitable that the foreigners with their superior cars and experience would dominate the race and indeed that was much the way it was. Shah was followed in by Stohl and Kenyan Ramesh Khoda who was driving a Datsun pick-up. But while the foreigners wrapped up the honours, some home teams did remarkably well. Alak Raju and Sanjeev Guttal two 18-year-olds abandoned the race just 4 km from Jalori Pass—and they had gone all the way without even having a back-up car.

But while the organisers had every reason to be pleased that the rally had gone off smoothly, there was a glaring lack of publicity. The organisers were mainly Bombay-based and had failed to create enough spectator interest in Delhi. Apart from this, however, the rally went off more or less without a hitch. In fact, Nazir Hoosein the chairman of the Himalayan Rally Association says that he is planning to apply to the Federation Internationale de L'Automobile (FIA) for championship status within the next two years. Says Hoosein: "As a matter of policy FIA has expressed a desire to run a championship event in Asia. So far no country has come forward to fill this slot, and that is our objective."

In fact indirect feelers have already started coming in from manufacturers who want the rally to be run on the European pattern with radio link-ups with all the competing cars and their support vehicles. This would mean that the participating teams would be better able to prepare for any eventuality. It would also bring world recognition and the advantages that go with it. For a start it would attract manufacturers from all over the World, on the other hand it would make the rally much more expensive. But whether they get championship status or not, it looks as if rally racing has come to India to stay.

—ASOKA RAINA

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e Have The Edge"

e INDIAN cricket team leaves month for Pakistan. An India series elicits more emotional on both sides of the border other and this time should be no the Asian Games notwithstanding. captain, Imran Khan, fresh from victory against Australia was in last fortnight for a brief visit he was interviewed by Senior VENKAT NARAYAN. *Excerpts:*

w Pakistan will fare against India coming series:

played good cricket in England. a better team but we lost. But Australia our team clicked very that fight, I feel that we are well to beat India. But there are evolved, like the playing the wickets and so on. If the are tilted in favour of the then India has the chance of series.

w Pakistan cricket came of

of Pakistan cricket's big- has been a lack of Test people don't realise it, but it lot of difference. A player very well in first class but when we put him into it takes him some time to it because it is a com- ferent level of cricket.

Pakistan team has played Test matches. Until the re- England tour, some of us seven matches in two years—which is very little Besides, we somehow lack tournament. When it comes to we used to get too tense, play our natural game but That's why our per- have been poor.

In England, I feel that if with them now, we'd beat It just so happened that them at a time when we too nervous, too tense and of ourselves; so, we did

Pakistan's best players in India-Pak series:

batting line-up is very for India. There are players Abbas, now in tremen- Mohsin Khan, who is an batsman in the mould of Barry Richards, Mansoor Akhtar, a very fine up-and-coming youngster, and then there is Javed Miandad. These are our main batsmen who are going to trouble India a lot.

In bowling we've got two newcomers whom the Indians haven't seen before: Jalaluddin and Tahir Naqqash. They have seen Abdul Qadir, but he is now a better bowler.

• On how the Indian team compares to his:

The Indian batting is pretty strong. At the moment they probably look as good as ours, but our bowling has got an edge.

• On whom Pakistan fears most in the Indian side:

Sunil Gavaskar is the danger man. He has got the capacity to stay at the wicket for very long and that keeps the score rate going even though he might not be scoring. Anyone who stays at the wicket long is dangerous.

BHAWAN SINGH

Imran Khan: "Gavaskar is the danger man"

• On Gavaskar as a captain:

Of all the Indian captains I have seen since the '70s, he's the best. He's aggressive, more aggressive than any other Indian captain I've seen. He's tactically a good captain. He understands the game and on top of it he commands the respect of his team. Maybe, at times he feels his team's bowling is not good enough for him to win matches; so, he goes for draws. That's what it appears to be like from the result of the Indian series against England.

• On Kapil Dev making a good captain in the future:

No one ever knows really until one is put in that place. Take Asif Iqbal, for instance. We all thought he would be the best captain Pakistan ever had because he seemed to understand the game, he commanded the respect of the players and he was a good tactician. But once he was made the captain, he actually turned out to be a poor one. So, I don't think anyone can tell unless someone is actually put in that place.

• On cricketers' and other sportsmen's role in bringing India and Pakistan closer:

It must really depend on the spirit in which the game is played. If there is a lot of unpleasantness in the series, or if the crowds feel that there's been a lot of cheating—as it happened when Pakistan came here last and India went there—then I don't think it does any good. But if it's played in the proper spirit, I'm sure it should bring the two countries together.

• On what kind of series it's going to be:

As far as I as a captain am concerned I'm interested in a series that produces results, that is good to watch and that's entertaining. We in the Pakistan team will do our best to produce a very healthy series. And if it is played properly—as we hope it will be—then it should generate a lot of goodwill and interest in both the countries.

When we came here last, the hospitality we were shown in India, if that's not a sign of goodwill, then I don't know what is. And that certainly shows to the Pakistanis that there is a lot of good feeling for Pakistan in India.

• On film stars going crazy about him on his last visit:

The secret is that I should get married. It will put an end to all that. I went to as many parties as all the other cricketers of our team did. But because most of them were married their names weren't linked (to pretty film stars) and mine was.

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(Clockwise from top) Shashi, Rekha and Parveen: taxing times

■ When film star **Rekha** put forth her claim last year that the stunning jewellery she wore in *Umrao Jaan* was not imitation stuff and that it was all from her own collection, few people believed her. But among those who did were the sticky-fingered sleuths from the income tax department. Last fortnight, they finally decided to find out for sure and arrived at her plush bungalow overlooking the Arabian Sea. Relentless, they went on from there to actor-producer **Shashi Kapoor**'s house and then to actress **Parveen Babi**'s. While Babi yielded no hidden lolly, Kapoor apparently did. The treasure-hunt apparently ended most successfully at Rekha's bungalow from where they emerged clutching their booty, which included the jewels seen in the film. Diamonds are not forever after all.

■ While Pakistan President Zia-ul-Haq and Mrs Gandhi were having their little tête-a-tête last fortnight, Zia's wife, **Begum Shafiqa** was being given a Cook's Tour of the city which started, inevitably, at the India International Trade Fair at Pragati Maidan. The Begum, sporting a pink salwar kameez was accompanied by her two daughters, **Rubina** and **Quartalin**. But the photographers were more interested in focussing their beady lens on **Shaza**, her stunningly beautiful daughter-in-law.

The VVIP's, loaded down with presents from the fair authorities, were then given a crash-course in Indian culture and technology before joining the main players in the Indo-Pakistan drama. Said a visibly exhausted Begum: "It's been nice coming to India. The last time I was here was when I was just 11 years old. I do wish I had more time to spend."

■ Film producers have finally decided to flesh out their story lines a little more, and what better way to do that than sign on curvy star 'silky' **Smitha**, the southern sex kitten. Smitha has been signed on by producer Romu Sippy to add her obvious assets to his latest venture *Sadma*, a remake of the Tamil film, *Moonramtirai*. Smitha is the latest in a steady procession of southern stars who are looking for greener pastures in the north Indian film industry. And, with the attributes she offers, it is little wonder that Bombay film producers are beating a path to her door. Meanwhile, Smitha is ready to give her all in *Silk, Silk, Silk*, a south Indian film which is apparently autobiographical in na... now looks all set for smooth take-off.

'Silky' Smitha and Kamalahasan in *Sadma*

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■ **Died:** Dinker Desai ... former member of Parli... and veteran trade un... following a heart atta... Bombay.

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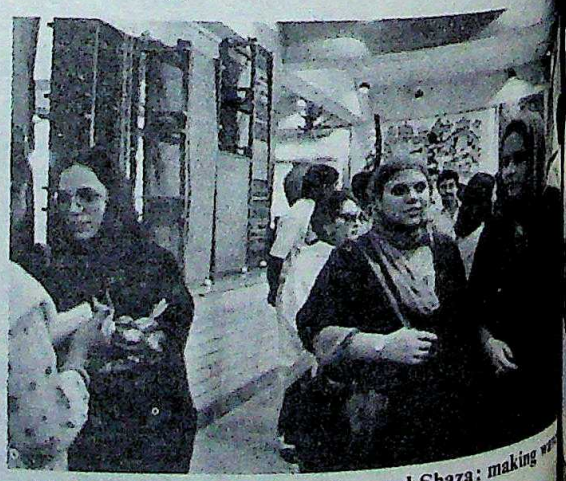

Begum Shafiqa (left) and (from left to right) Quartalin, Rubina and Shaza: making w...

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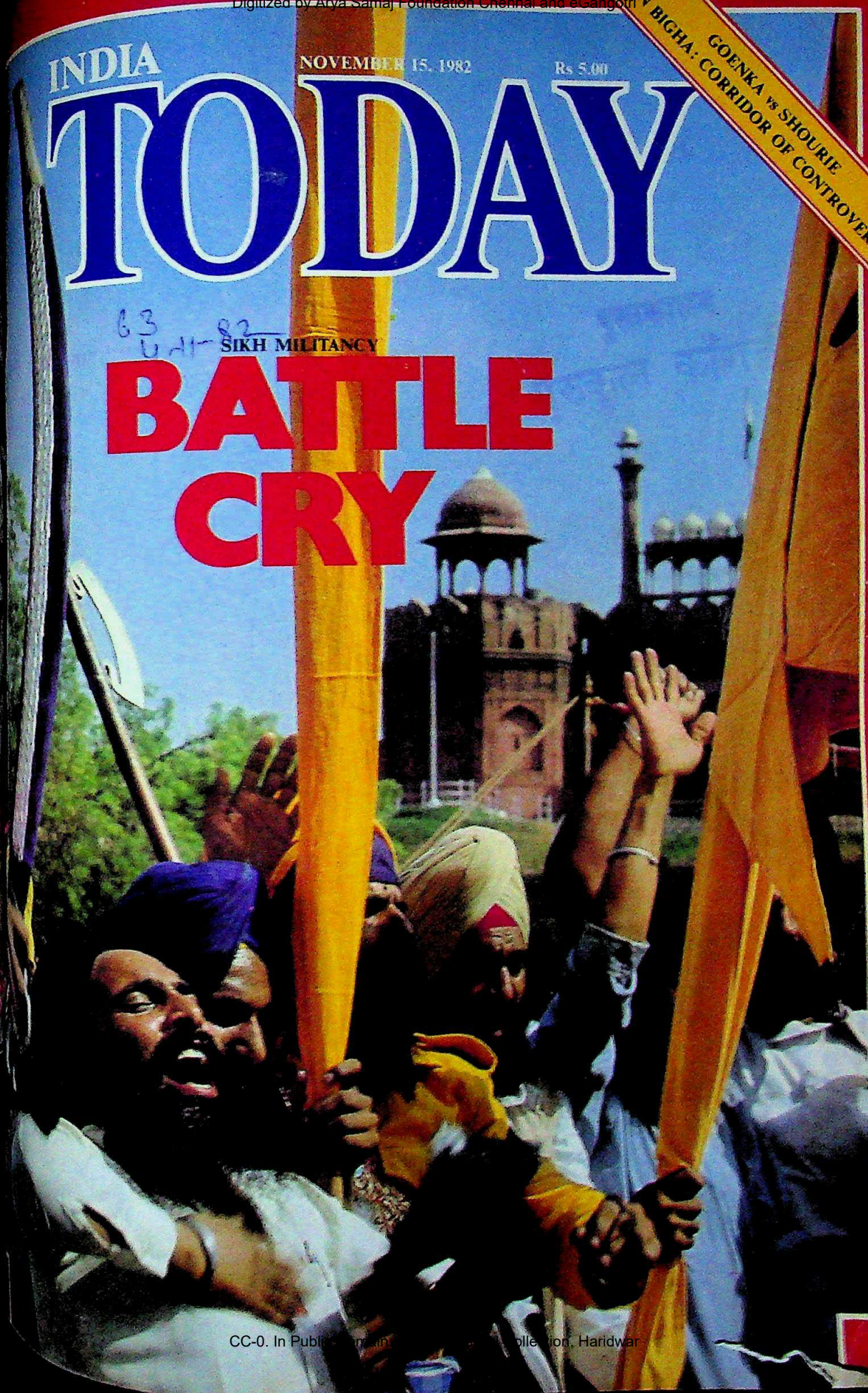

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LETTER FROM THE EDITOR

NEWSMAGAZINES like INDIA TODAY *are often faced with a dilemma which concerns the thin line between reporting newsworthy developments and promoting them. Obviously, providing magazine space to certain kinds of developments—medical breakthroughs, claims of various kinds, scientific achievements and the like—does tend to give them a boost. That is understandable and desirable since it is part of the function of a newsmagazine to tell its readers of specific activities in these key fields. But it has long been a policy at the magazine not to put readers directly in touch with the subject matter of its stories, since that would be promotion of a different kind. A number of stories have in the past evoked letters from readers seeking to find out the addresses or whereabouts of people written about. It has, regrettably, not been possible to accede to these requests for precisely that reason.*

*Last month, however, the magazine decided to make an exception to its rule of not giving out information of this kind to readers. As a report on page 2 indicates, few stories in the magazine have evoked the sort of response as did the photo feature on Nazeer Ahmed and Hira (*INDIA TODAY *August 15), the couple who live on the streets of Baroda. Several readers sent in money, and one in Saudi Arabia even offered to pay for the rehabilitation of the couple. In view of the extreme destitution of the couple concerned, the magazine decided to make arrangements to use the money to help Ahmed and Hira. The money will be used to buy clothes and provide food for the couple.*

RAGHU RAI

Nazeer and Hira

But the feature drew a response of a quite different kind. Some magazines in Pakistan reprinted the entire feature and it was seen by a Karachi businessman who thought he saw an uncanny resemblance between the old man and his own father, missing for almost three decades and presumed dead. The businessman and his wife took their predicament to the Indian Consulate in Karachi where sympathetic diplomats quickly issued him and his wife the necessary visas. Clutching the magazines and a photograph of the missing father, the couple arrived at INDIA TODAY*'s office in New Delhi.*

There was poignancy in the event. If Ahmed was in fact the missing father, it would be an event of a lifetime. If he wasn't, it would be—for the couple who had invested so much hope in their search—the disappointment of a lifetime. INDIA TODAY *decided to help the couple reach Baroda, and sent Picture Editor* RAGHU RAI, *who had taken the original photographs, and Correspondent* SUNIL SETHI *with them to record the event. As it turned out, the couple's quest turned out to be a futile one, and a crushing disappointment for them. The moment of realisation was an emotional anti-climax. Said Rai: "In two decades of taking pictures I've seen a lot of human drama, but nothing quite like this."*

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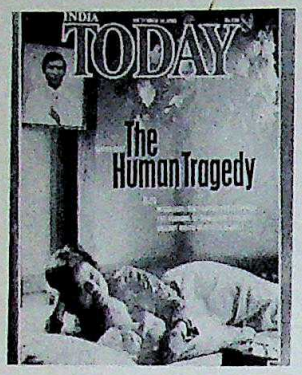

TRAGIC IMPASSE

"The Human Tragedy" (October 31) told feelingly of the plight of the people of the North-east. The people of this area have been isolated from the mainstream of Indian life for so long that they now regard any governmental presence as a grave infringement of their rights. Guns have no part to play in the Indianising of this province—it is a human problem and must be solved with humanity.

Siliguri *R.K. Gulati*

■ If just reading your superb cover story made me experience feelings of fear, anxiety and helplessness, I can very well imagine the miserable plight of the people of the North-east. Whether it is the army or the rebels that ultimately come out on top, neither the Indian Government nor the rebels seem capable of restoring peace and social values in the region.

Bangalore *Sunil Padiyar*

NTR'S CHALLENGE

The cover story "Threatening the Congress(I) Bastion" (October 15) was timely. There was a time when Andhra Pradesh was the pocket borough of the Congress (whatever the incarnation) but the leaders in the state ruined this by giving their first loyalty to New Delhi at the expense of their constituents.

Telugu Desam has brought new hope.

Bombay *Govardhan R. Jilla*

■ The gloss on NTR's politics is rank regionalism. He is gaining popularity by playing on the chauvinistic and parochial elements in Andhra society. When N. Sanjiva Reddy and J. Vengal Rao were made chief ministers by the Centre, NTR was firmly in their camp. Suddenly, he has woken up to the fact that it is wrong to have chief ministers who obey New Delhi.

Hyderabad *Raj Gopal*

■ Whether Telugu Desam wins the coming state elections or not is not the point. The fact of its existence as it proves that disenchantment Gandhi's policies have taken the country. And the prime local parties more than the united opposition at the Centre.

Jammu

■ G. Venkataswami was former chief minister of the ver held this position.

Vijayawada *K.V.*

■ In the interview with NTR ten "barring a miracle, Andhra will be the second state after to vote a film star to power". easy a feat. NTR has no cadre, none of the trappings sential for an electoral victory. hope is to team up with the sition parties in the state—and too arrogant to do.

Adoni *Hindu*

NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE

The "Letter From The (October 15) voiced the thought south Indians who feel neglected Government and the media. It know that INDIA TODAY is not guilty

Bhubaneswar

The Baroda Couple

LIFE plays strange tricks, often at cost of the most elementary of human relationships. Two months ago, when INDIA TODAY published an eight-page, photographic account of an unusual relationship on the pavements of Baroda, the response was remarkable and gratifying. Donations of money, offers of aid—even a proposal of a lifelong subsidy from a reader in Saudi Arabia—poured in to help the two protagonists of the pavement scenario: Nazeer Ahmed, the old and blind Muslim beggar and his young, mentally disturbed companion Hira.

Stranger than all was the arrival in New Delhi of a middle-aged couple from Karachi, who had seen pirated versions of the photo feature (INDIA TODAY, August 15) in Pakistani magazines. Seeing the photographs, Niaz Ahmed and his wife* were not merely intrigued by the saga of a secular relationship on the mean streets of an Indian town. They were intrigued by the uncanny resemblance the old man in the pictures bore to Ahmed's father, who he had not set eyes on for over 25 years.

Verifications: Together, the couple rallied the support of the family in various parts of Pakistan to verify the photographs. All the elders agreed that the picture of the old pavement dweller seemed to be the spitting image of the man they had left behind in India during Partition. After all, the similarities went beyond physical resemblance in the story. Ahmed's father, also, was called Nazeer Ahmed; he would also be about 70 years old now as described in the text; and when they had last heard of him, his eyesight was failing rapidly. Could this old man, destitute on the streets, save for the childlike companionship of a mentally retarded Hindu girl, be the man who had opted to stay behind in India?

In 1947, Niaz Ahmed—today a businessman in Karachi—left Patna as a young boy with his uncle. Two of his married sisters followed later, the other two left with the uncle's family. The old father, a widower of many years, refused to leave his shop in Patna or his old house. Like hundreds of other families that were torn apart in the migration to the new Islamic state, this family found its head, the old opting to remain in India. From to 1959, the family in Pakistan naged to retain contact with man in Patna, through letters casional visits and various visiting India. "We begged come home to us in Karachi," gaunt-looking Ahmed, "he would agree to leave till he was simply to carry on alone." In the summer 1959, the old man at last succumbed his family's wishes; through the a distant cousin, he managed to of his Patna property and set out Pakistan by crossing the border.

That was the last his children heard of him. Later they heard old man had died on the Amritsar but they could not this. The distant cousin vanished—they presumed with the old man's money. Till last when, sitting in their home in they saw the photographs of Muslim beggar on the streets of and were amazed by the coincidence facts. It was time for them to their last journey to India to father and bring him home at last.

*The name given is fictitious to protect the identity of the couple.

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NG A CRISIS

article "The Battle Within" 5) was a bold and critical ana- the present crisis in the Even the cartoon went a long ping the simmering disputes.

Sadananda U. Singh

THE FLOOD

ually surprised that Pakistan the finest breeds of buffaloes is ent on imported milk and the Milk and milk products are hig- than in India ("Milk Aid", We might have been in the had it not been for projects like Flood.

Ramesh S. Ahuja

MIX-UP

article "The Genie In The October 15) the monogram of Textiles was wrongly used Jagjit Industries Ltd.

Parveen Gupta

AL VIEWS

e report "Terror Tactics" 5) it has been mentioned that Journalists Action Committee led by the chief minister's cou- Mohan Mishra, supported Jagannath Mishra's "code of conduct" for journalists. The BJAC has never supported this code. Obviously Chandra Mohan Mishra's views are his personal ones, not in his capacity as convenor of the committee.

Patna *M.K. Sinha*

DEAR MANEKA....

In the article "Poison Pen" (October 15) the author describes my article in the *Loksatta* as "vituperative" and wants to know whose purpose the publication of Maneka Gandhi's letter serves and what does it signify. The publication of the letter does at least serve one public purpose. It warns those persons who want to forge an effective and responsible opposition to Mrs Gandhi not to rely on Maneka to aid them in such efforts. This does not necessarily mean that a responsible opposition should not be built against Mrs Gandhi. The *Loksatta* article is no more "vituperative" than Maneka's letter is adolescent in tone or as she claims "silly and childish—typical of the exaggerated language teenagers use".

As for the allegation that the letter had been circulated by Ramnath Goenka to various editors at the behest of Mrs Gandhi, it could at least have been verified before being published. I certainly did not get the letter from Mr Goenka.

Bombay *Editor*, Loksatta

■ I was rather amused to read the last sentence of the article. May I repeat the same question: Whose purpose does the publication of this article serve and what does it signify? Is it INDIA TODAY's idea of investigative journalism or constructive criticism? I think it is just plain sensationalism.

Thanjavur *B. Annapurna*

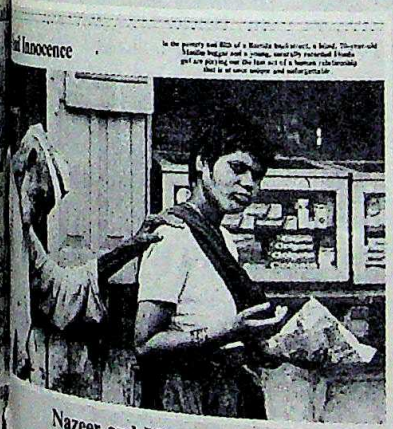
POLITICAL AMNESIA

It was strange reading in "Collision Course" (October 15) that Maneka Gandhi feels that the Congress(I) is full of 'goondas and hooligans". How quickly she has forgotten that it was her late husband Sanjay who made the entrance of such elements into political parties standard political practice.

Sindri *Ishwar*

SWEDEN'S HEALTH

I would like to point out some errors regarding Sweden in the article "The Health of Nations" (October 31). The Social Democratic Party received 45.6 per cent of the votes in the election held on September 19, not 44 per cent on October 8, when the Cabinet was constituted.



Nazeer and Hira (left) and Niaz Ahmed breaks into tears

Desperate Hope: Last month the arrived in Delhi; the bondage of relationship had brought them Their faces reflected a desperate hope; all they wanted was to Baroda to confront the man they to be their father. INDIA TODAY arrangements for the couple to there with an editorial team to this amazing reunion.

Throughout the car journey from to Baroda, Ahmed and his seemed to be in a private world of own. On the outskirts of the city, Ahmed simply broke down and wept. His wife took out a scrap of paper and began to read a *dua*—sacred words from the Koran—to help their most fervent wish come true. It would have been a situation stranger than all fiction if it had. In the heart of a bustling Baroda main street, the old man lay curled up with his few rags spread out on the pavement beside him. As the couple rushed to meet him, the final, painful recognition was instant.

It was simply not the old man they were looking for: it was not their father, who now seemed lost forever, together with their last hope of ever recovering him. The old blind beggar in Baroda remembered his past clearly. He knew he came from Jabalpur and not Patna; that he had been married for no more than a few months; that he had never had children; that he would never leave his private piece of pavement in Baroda nor be parted from the girl with whom he has forged his only link of survival.

Last week, the couple returned home to Karachi, not bitter but unfulfilled. It was a strange coincidence that brought them to Baroda. It would have been a stranger miracle if the coincidence had proved true. It did not—the old man, like millions of Indians who survive on city pavements, remains where he is, his lot marginally improved by the donations that INDIA TODAY had made over to a reliable individual in Baroda who has offered to care for him and his companion of the street. And the Pakistani couple are back home with a haunting memory of an episode that continues to wrench at the emotions of thousands of others who remain divided by Partition.

—SUNIL SETHI in Baroda

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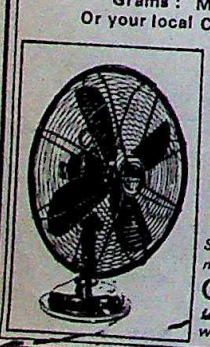

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which people wait willingly.
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More serious is the allegation concerning the nationalisation of all commercial banks. No such proposal has been made and, furthermore, not even discussed. Neither have proposals concerning nationalisation of other branches of commerce been put forward. The wage earner's funds are a long-standing and controversial issue in Swedish political life but no formal proposal has been made so far.

Fredrick Svedang
Second Secretary,
Swedish Embassy.
New Delhi

SIKH STRENGTH

"The Crown Jewel Of Sikhism" (October 15) was a well written article on a place that for the Sikhs is a source of spiritual strength and is in fact an oasis of peace for any visitor. And both in the text and the pictures the political and religious aspects of the Golden Temple have been brought out well.
Amritsar *Jasbir Singh Manocha*

■ The Granth Sahib has 1,430 pages, not 369. Also the cry *Raj Karega Khalsa* is not the rallying cry of Sikh separationists—the words are used in the spiritual sense, that is the pure will triumph and has no political connotations for devout Sikhs.
Srinagar *Surinder Singh*

■ How on earth did INDIA TODAY manage to come out with such a thorough and informative article on Sikhism?
Bangalore *Sanjay Dugar*

■ On what basis do the Sikhs feel discriminated against? A large percentage of our defence forces are made up of Sikhs, and they lead in all fields from industry to administration. In fact they are the envy of the rest of the nation.
Kolhapur *Tatya Tendulkar*

ROUNDED VIEW

"The Right To Write" ('Roundtable', October 15) was well-timed and as usual well executed. Politicians like Jagannath Mishra forget the boons of democracy in their frenzied efforts to safeguard their own positions.
Bombay *A.K. Cherimar*

■ When will the Government realise that the best way to stop scurrilous writing is to stop scurrilous deeds?
Arthur Post *C.P. Belliappa*

■ I think Jagannath Mishra should now bring to mind what US Supreme Court Justice Sutherland said: "A free press stands as one of the great interp[illegible] tween the Government and the p[illegible] allow it to be fettered is [illegible] ourselves."
New Delhi *Jai S[illegible]*

JAPAN SHOWS THE WAY

"New Wine In Old Bottles" [illegible] 15) gives a true picture of the In[illegible] che. The Indian resists westernis[illegible] modernization and this causes c[illegible] the mind of every individual. [illegible] Japanese have shown that this [illegible] ble—let's hope we can follow the[illegible]
Delhi *Kajal [illegible]*

■ What yardstick does the a[illegible] when he says that the Birlas a[illegible] successful and dynamic than the T[illegible] you take away their Hindustan M[illegible] their temples where do they stand?
Delhi *C.[illegible]*

FAULTY DECISION

"Chinks In The Armour" [illegible] 15) was generally informative b[illegible] were a few errors. Firstly, the pict[illegible] tioned as T-72s and Vijayantas w[illegible] 55 tanks. Secondly, we have th[illegible] ments of T-72 tanks, not three sq[illegible]
56 APO *Lt S.K. [illegible]*

■ The decision to buy T-72 tanks [illegible] fortunate as these have proved in[illegible] in battle. The Israelis using th[illegible] Merkava tanks and TOW missiles w[illegible] to knock out as many as 200 T-7[illegible] Iraqis also suffered with their T-7[illegible] broke down during battle in the [illegible] and self-detonated when hit. All th[illegible] ill for the Indian Army.
Bistupur *M.[illegible]*

BACHCHANALIA

The interview "They Brou[illegible] Back From Death" made good r[illegible] but I do wish the questions had bee[illegible] original.
Jamshedpur *Sejal P[illegible]*

■ I hope this accident will end t[illegible] lent phase in Amitabh Bachchan [illegible] trionic career. We want to see him [illegible] vies like *Anand* and *Abhimaan* once [illegible]
Bombay *Madhu[illegible]*

■ It is regrettable that INDIA TO[illegible] lowed itself to be used as the ve[illegible] Bachchan's ego.
Paramakudi *G. Parth[illegible]*

■ Bachchan's wife, Jaya, was [illegible] spicuous by her absence in the [illegible] piece.
Gorakhpur *J.A. [illegible]*

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Air
Events
(I): The Spreading Rot
Expanding Problems
Appu Who?
Tata: Flight Into History
Nadu: Waiting For Water
Pradesh: Counterfoil
Pradesh: Naxalite Nexus
The Waste Land
Disney's Futureville
Return Of The Native
The Immigration Act
From Washington
Down To Business
Corridor Of Controversy
Back With A Bang
Report
Nadu: Midday Manna
Story
Sikhs: Rising Militancy
A Giant Leap
Express: The Battle Behind The Lines
Strategic View
Feature
Insurgency: The Art Of Survival
Winds
Economy
The Creeping Fatigue
Breaking The Yoke
Dumping Ground
Industry: Motivated Move?
Strike: War Of Attrition
Colourful Mess
Markets: Buoyant
Arts
Bhutto's Death Knell
Cinemascope
History For Sale
Mood Mellow
Column
Ghatak: Posthumous Acclaim
Cricket: Girding For The Fray
University: Dumb Charade
Books
Father And Son

Photograph by PRAMOD PUSHKARNA

IN FOCUS THIS FORTNIGHT

COVER STORY: As Punjab's Sikhs rise in militant protest, even the mildest of Akali leaders have been forced to take a hard line—the hardest the Centre has to face from extremists listing a long charter of demands. Will the long-drawn-out Akali agitation ignite communal tensions? Or can it be extinguished amicably? A penetrating report.
Page 70

CURRENT EVENTS: With the elections to six states looming only three months away, the Congress(I) suddenly convulses with defiance in its ranks. As the party high command finds its authority steadily eroded, rebels in various states gather strength and the disenchanted elements sullenly wait in the background. An analysis of the new-found belligerence of Congress(I) minions.
Page 19

SPECIAL REPORT: Last July, Tamil Nadu's flamboyant Chief Minister MGR started a Rs 150-crore project of providing midday meals to the underfed children of his state through several thousand centres. Today his Midday Nutritious Meal Scheme provides free lunches for over 68 lakh children. The scheme is probably the shrewdest political move of the matinee idol-turned-politician. A report. **Page 64**

SPECIAL FEATURE: About 40 km from Silchar, at Vairengte in the North-east, soldiers are being trained to fight insurgents at a specially instituted school. The Counter-Insurgency and Jungle Warfare School (CIJWS) set up in May 1970 has attained tremendous importance for the army in the North-east, as it trains to beat the guerrillas at their own deadly game.
Page 102

MEDIA: The growing rift between *Indian Express* proprietor Ram Nath Goenka and its firebrand Executive Editor Arun Shourie had been simmering for a long while till it broke out in cold print, with personal and highly explosive letters between Shourie and the paper's Editor-in-Chief, B.G. Verghese blazoned across a Delhi-based magazine's pages. The row has raised questions about Shourie's future in the organisation. An in-depth report. **Page 87**

NEIGHBOURS: The arrival of Bangladesh strongman Lt-General H.M. Ershad in New Delhi last fortnight sealed the fate of the 15,130 sq m corridor in Tin Bigha, that India has leased to Bangladesh. But while the agreement was being signed, by the governments in New Delhi, little heed was paid to the affected inhabitants of the region. A report. **Page 57**

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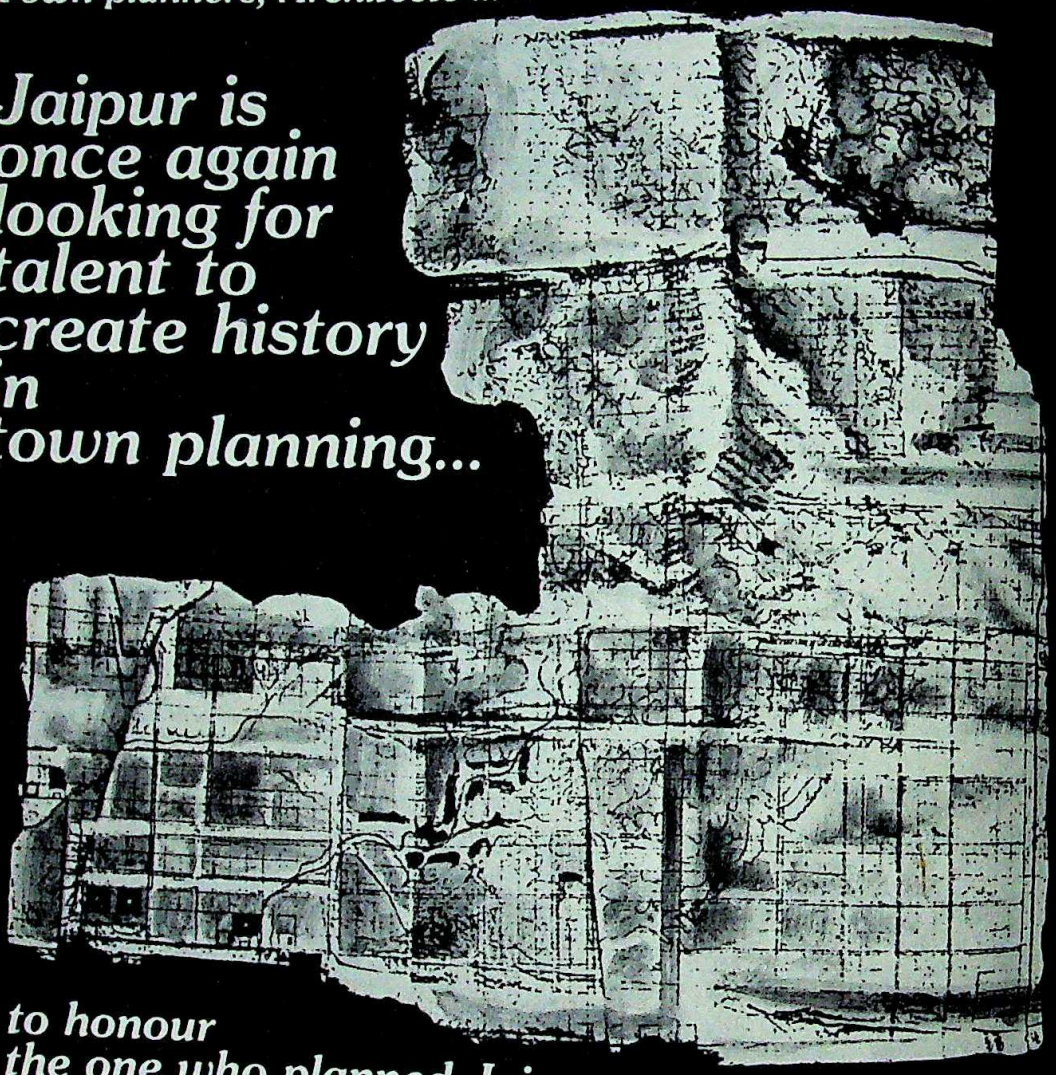
1727, The original plan of Jaipur devised by Vidyadhar Bhattach

Town planners, Architects ...

Jaipur is once again looking for talent to create history in town planning...



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Vidyadhar Nagar will be the new township adjacent to the city of Jaipur, in homage to the creator of the historic city. This 480 hectares township will have a population of about 1.5 lakh with all the facilities including shopping centres, landscaped gardens, a pond with rare migratory birds, recreation facilities, cinema halls, galleries, auditoriums and hospitals.

If planning a town like this challenges you, get in touch with us within a fortnight, with a profile of jobs undertaken by you. Please write to the Director,Town Planning, Jaipur Development Authority, Jawahar Lal Nehru Marg, Jaipur.

JAIPUR DEVELOPMENT AUTHORITY

Jawahar Lal Nehru Marg, Jaipur.

Town Planning is a tradition in Jaipur

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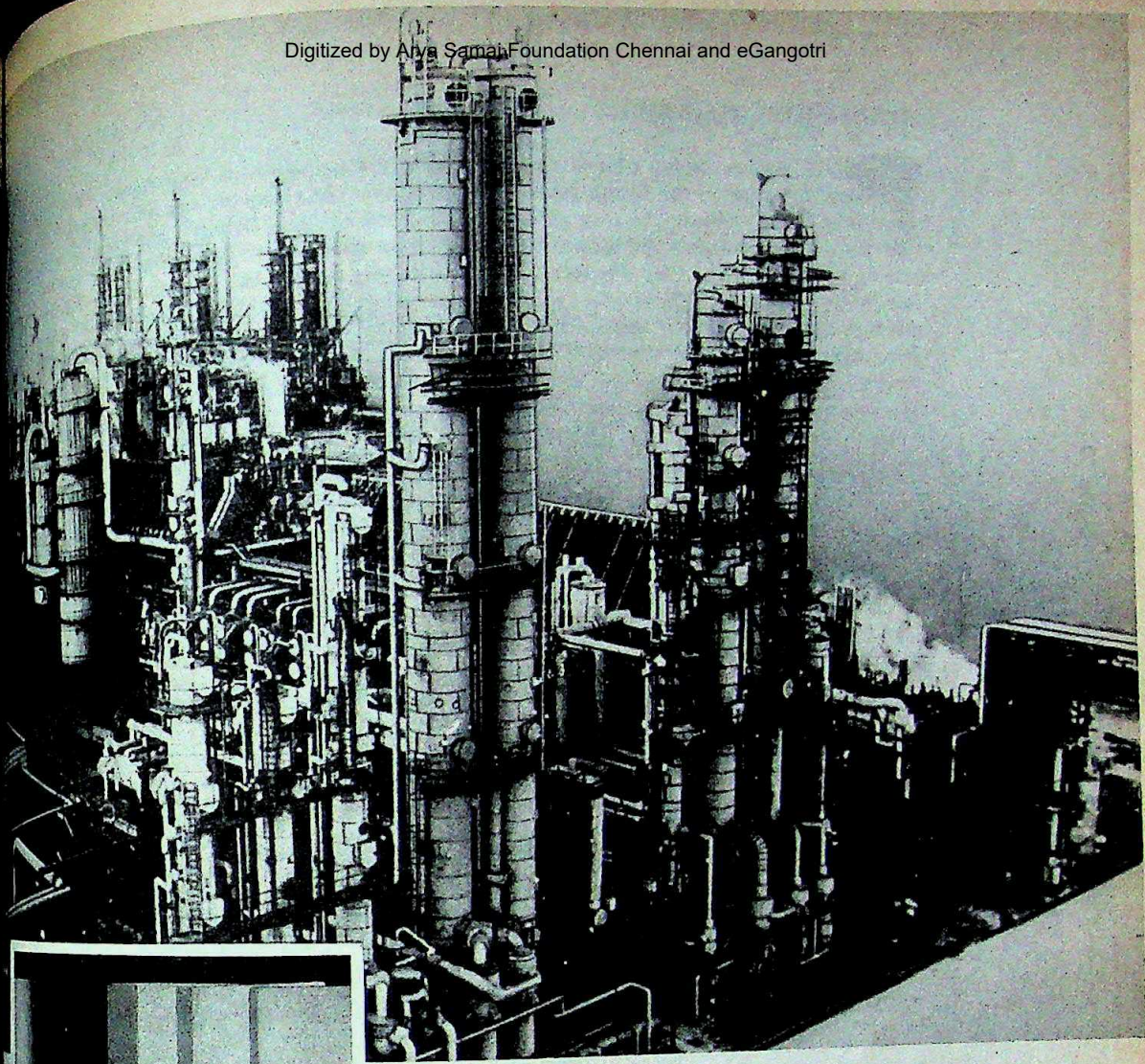

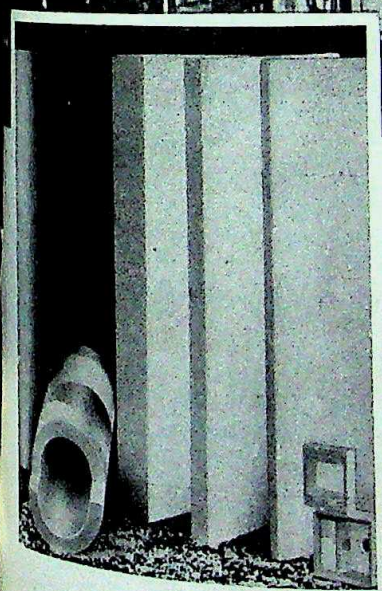

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HINDI-CHINI BHAI-BHAI?

PRIME Minister Indira Gandhi has no plans to visit Beijing in the near future. The Chinese invitation to the Indian prime minister to visit their country was first extended in February 1979, during the then external affairs minister Atal Behari Vajpayee's ill-fated visit there. Morarji Desai had insisted that the Chinese must vacate the Indian territory they had occupied during the 1962 war before such a visit. Mrs Gandhi has been more conciliatory. But the two rounds of official level talks held so far between the two countries did not make much progress because of China's rigid attitude. During the past month, China's strongman Deng Xiaoping and Prime Minister Zhao Zhiyang made warm references to India in course of meetings with Indian visitors and hoped that Mrs Gandhi would visit them soon. But South Block sees no indication as yet that suggests a change in Beijing's basic policy towards India. The next round of official talks are expected to be held in the Chinese capital next month. If the Indians discern any positive policy change in the Chinese attitude, they may suggest a visit by the prime minister some time later next year.

THE BACKBAY BACKFIRE

EVEN as he teeters precariously on the tightrope-walk of Maharashtra politics, Babasaheb Bhosale will, early next fortnight, be hit by yet another salvo from a completely unexpected quarter. A number of Bombay-based environmental action groups have drawn up plans for a massive campaign against the podgy, ineffective chief minister. The provocation: that a building plot in the notorious Backbay Reclamation area, frozen for all construction after a widespread furore led to a Cabinet decision in September, 1978, has clandestinely been re-allocated for a huge multi-storeyed structure.

The campaign is led by the newly-formed high-powered environmental action group which plans to coordinate and support all existing agencies—the Save Bombay Committee, Bombay Environmental Action Group and Environmental Study and Action Group. It will present a document to Mrs Gandhi against what the committee terms "an arbitrary and clearly irregular decision which patently flouts even an earlier letter by the prime minister on the subject". The current building project close to Nariman Point is allegedly a housing scheme for minister's of the Maharashtra Government, that was approved during the tenure of former chief minister, Abdul Rehman Antulay.

REMOVING AN IRRITANT

TIGER' Qader Siddiqi, a Bangladesh freedom fighter whose private army was reportedly responsible for the killing of 5,000 *razakars* and pro-Pakistan elements in the wake of the 1971 liberation war, and who had since 1975 taken refuge in India, has been offered Indian citizenship by the Union Government following the talks between Mrs Gandhi and Lt-General H.M. Ershad last month. The sheltering of Siddiqi, who had been conducting lightning raids across the borders, became a thorny issue in the past seven years and at one stage Ziaur Rahman, the late Bangladesh president, told New Delhi that Siddiqi's continuous stay in India was a major irritant in Indo-Bangladesh relations.

Morarji Desai, the former prime minister, wished to send Siddiqi back but was stopped by his officials. Siddiqi simply went underground during the last few months of the Janata rule, and surfaced again in north Bengal and Meghalaya after Mrs Gandhi, who is known to have a soft corner for him, came back to power. The award of Indian citizenship to Siddiqi will put an end to a long-standing tussle between the two countries—and make for a quieter border.

SPLIT PERSONALITIES

THE JANATA Party in Parliament finds itself Party General Secretary Syed Shahabuddin move XVI of 1980, which seeks to deprive divorce women of the right to maintenance allowance. The bill to nullify a Supreme Court judgement of 1979 which vorced Muslim women's rights to adequate mainte wance under Section 125 of the CrPC.

Shahabuddin (left) and Dandavate: embarrassing pe

Meanwhile, another Janata Party member, Pramil vate, has moved Bill No 76 of 1981, which seeks to c right of maintenance allowance on divorced women, ir of their caste or religion. Betting is on to guess at who ly will prevail in this *mesalliance*.

DUTCH CENSURE

INDIA's human rights record, for some reason, seem generated controversy in a most unlikely forum—t Parliament. And the Dutch have chosen to censure putting curbs on trade between the two countries. Dutch Parliament passed a motion criticising India rights situation, the Dutch Ministry of Shipping pro further sales of mechanised trawlers to India. The Dutch had also received complaints from Indian fishermen's tions saying that traditional fishermen were being d their livelihood by mechanised fishing. Another bill n in Amsterdam is to ban fertiliser sales to India, and to ask the Indian Government to earmark all Dutch deve aid only for the unorganised sector.

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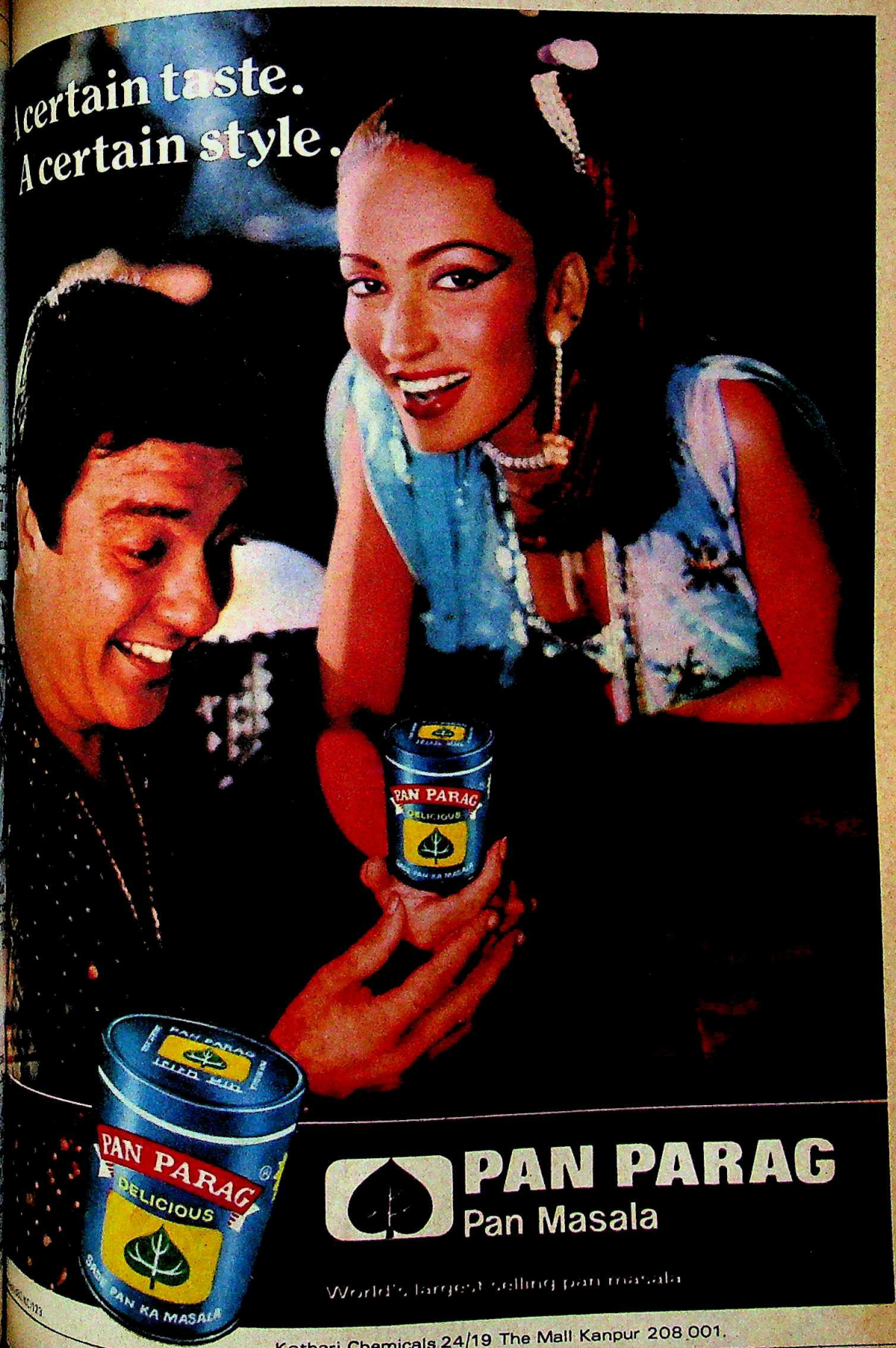

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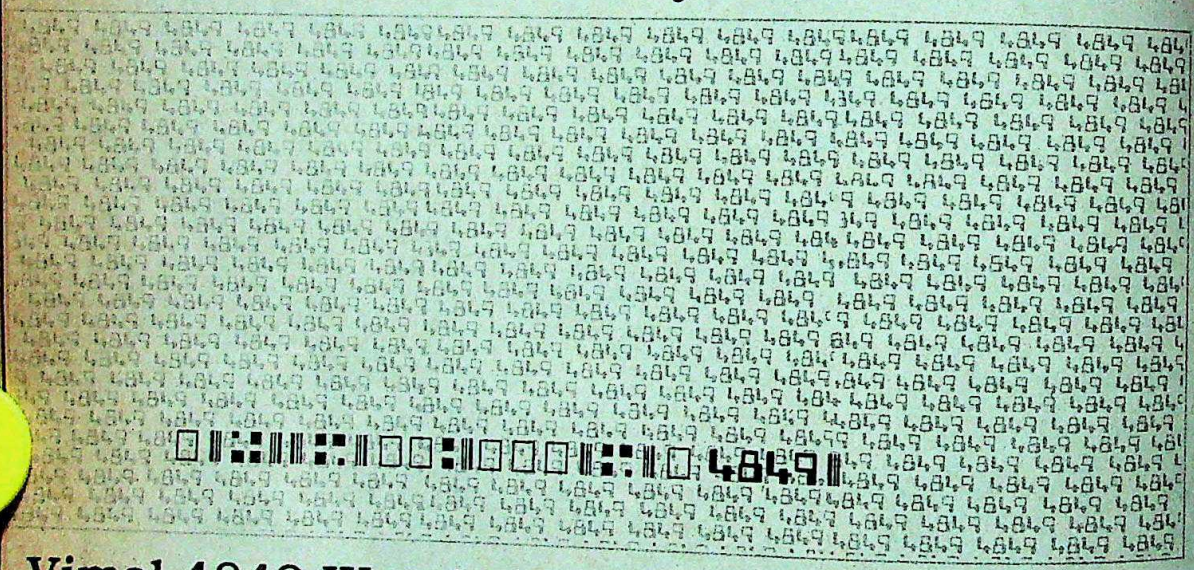

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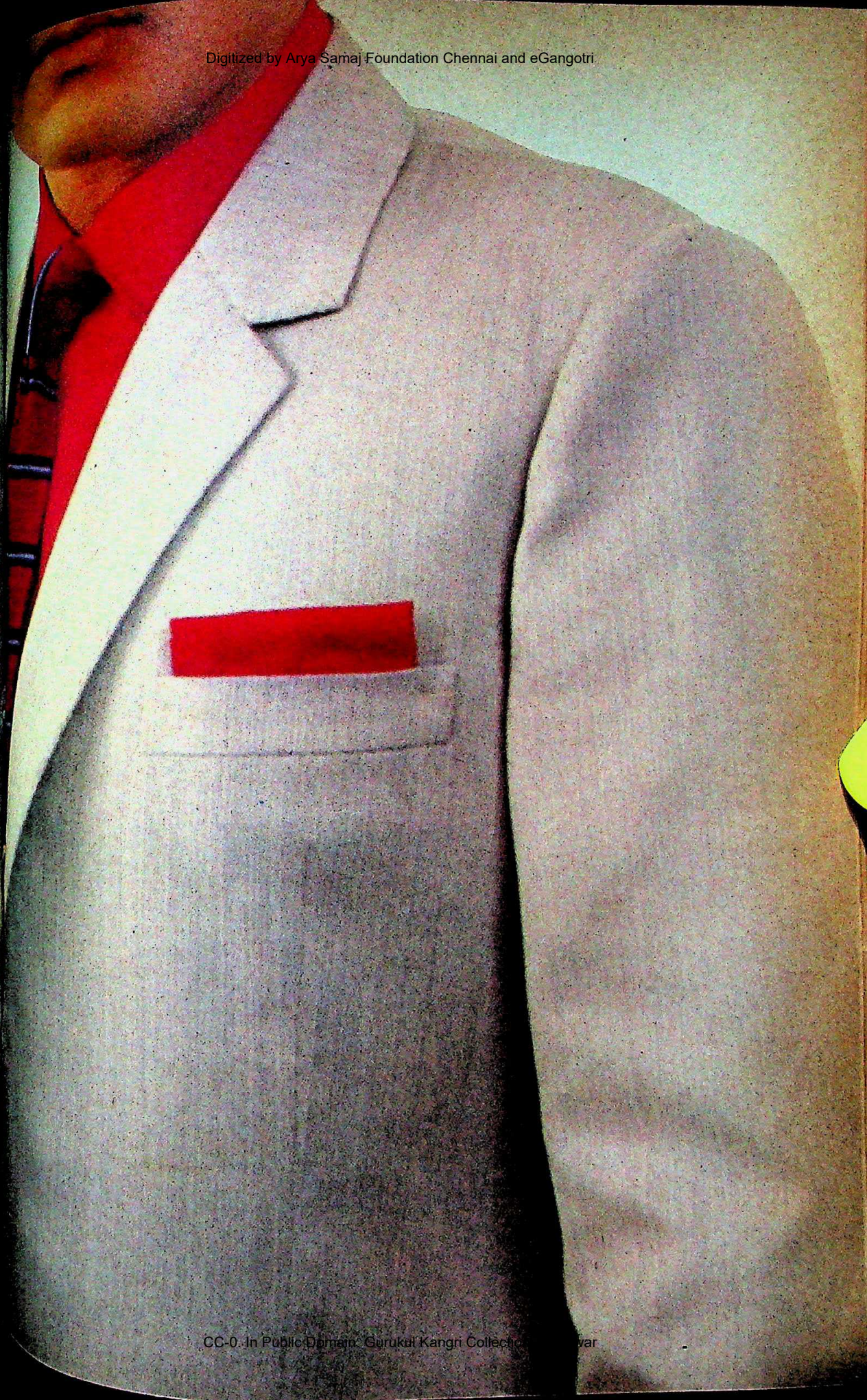

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...Delhi sits atop a leaderless society whose rulers are involved in their own ...domestic concerns and commerce.

—*Nayantara Sehgal in* The Statesman

...(Maneka Gandhi) is able to establish her democratic credentials, if she ...to avoid the pitfalls of the personality cult, no one will be able to ...Not even Mrs Gandhi.

—*K.R. Sunder Rajan in* Debonair

...Congress(I) has got used to the idea of appointing any dummy or even ...minister in any state and firing them equally casually.

—*Inder Malhotra in* The Times Of India

...Gandhi is no doubt the queen of all she surveys, but what she surveys is ...

—*Govindrao Talwalkar, editor of the* Maharashtra Times *in* Bombay

...neither endorsed nor rejected the Bihar Press Bill, since I have not yet ...

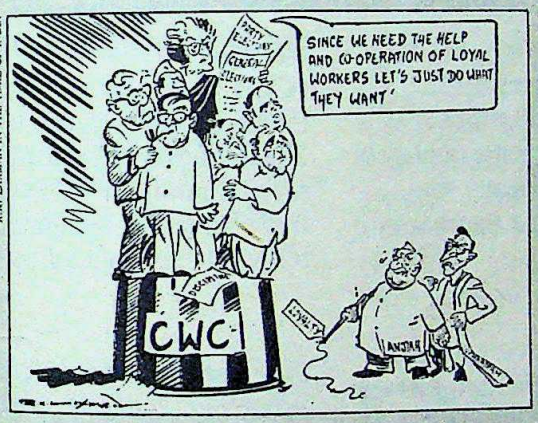
—*Mrs Indira Gandhi in the Rajya Sabha*

...(Rajiv Gandhi) is only a planet, not a star. He shines in reflected glory.

—*H.N. Bahuguna in* Onlooker

...our family nobody dis- ...politics. They hate it. ...a pastime left for ...people. What is Antulay ...do...what is Bhosale ...do...who the hell is ...

—*R.K. Laxman in* Society



R.K. LAXMAN IN THE TIMES OF INDIA

...old and the old- ...newspapers, on the ...continue to think that ...the country (or at ...they ought to!)...go- ...these days seldom ...a newspaper for ideas of government.

—*Abu in* The Sunday Observer

...our green and white revolutions, the average Pakistani is earning ...eating better than the average Indian.

—*Khushwant Singh in* The Hindustan Times

...learnt today through a reliable source that the publication (of his play ...was stopped because of tennis and diplomacy. The editor of the paper ...play tennis with Pakistan's ambassador.

—*I.S. Johar in* The Times Of India

...not half as bad as I am made out to be...I have never done anything to ...Indian cricket.

—*Sunil Gavaskar in* Sunday

...has only to suggest something wrong with this our largest and oldest! de- ...and up pops a voice. Ah, it was the British rule that did us in...There is ...under the Indian sun for which it cannot take blame.

—*Mridula Garg in* The Hindustan Times

...like it very much when the people refer to me as a sex-symbol. I can't help it ...image is such that even when I have an ordinary neckline, my cleavage ...I don't mind when people make cracks about my sex-appeal.

—*Screen vamp Bindu in* Stardust

...Playing Gandhi from age 30 to age 79 was a little like playing King Lear and ...simultaneously.

—*Ben Kingsley in the* International Herald Tribune

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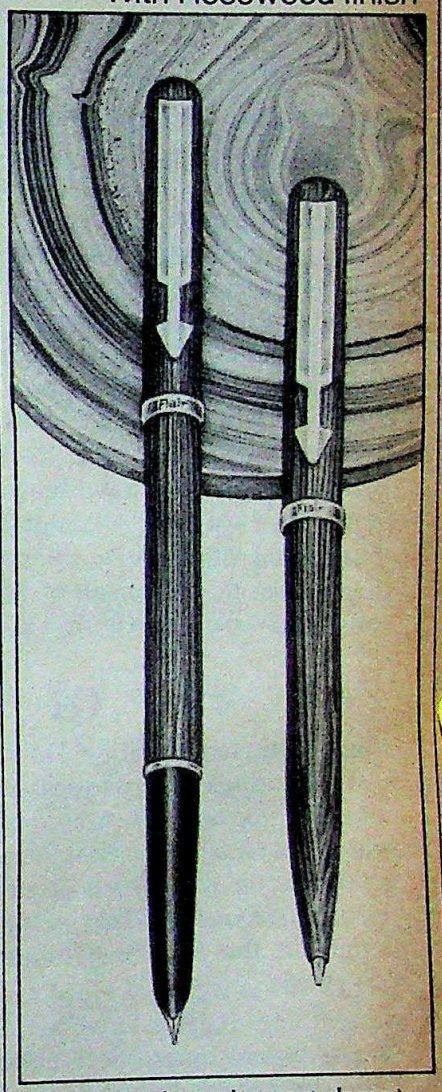

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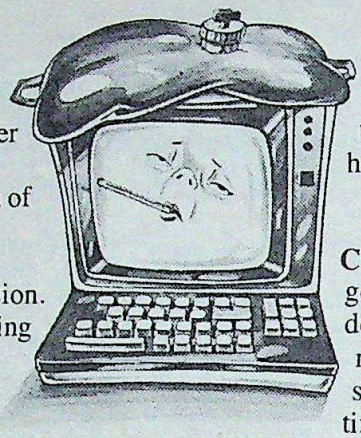
A MINICOMPUTER BUYER WHO DOESN'T ASK THESE VITAL QUESTIONS MIGHT NEVER GET THE RIGHT ANSWERS.



The decision to invest in a minicomputer is not taken overnight, but after a great deal of thought. Likewise, the selection of the right computer requires the same mature thought, and the same detailed searching to arrive at the correct decision. There's no dearth of companies offering minicomputers that claim to have all the answers, to provide all the solutions. Not all of them can live up to their claims. The buyer's greatest safety lies in addressing this list of questions to every prospective supplier — vital questions which, if answered satisfactorily, will establish the quality of the product, the credentials of the company that sells it, and the sincerity of the service that backs it.

Q1

Manufacturing facilities: Do you have adequate manufacturing facilities to deliver reliable products on time? Or are you merely importing computers c.k.d., and assembling them? More important, will you be producing the necessary spares on a regular basis for the next five years, and beyond that? Or are you selling computers that are already obsolete abroad?

ICIM 101 is a part of ICIM's manufacturing programme. ICIM's Pune factory is one of India's largest, most comprehensive and most modern. You are assured of continuity of the product line and spares.

Q2

Documentation: Are you organised to provide suitable documentation to support your product? Is it comprehensible to the user, is it exhaustive, and up-to-date?

ICIM 101 like all ICIM products, is supported by thorough documentation that is clearly comprehensible, exhaustive and regularly updated to reflect every improvement in hardware and software.

Q3

Customer Engineering Services: Are geared for CES support? Promises as do you have engineers resident within radius that makes possible the necess support within a reasonable response time? Do you have spares stocked with reasonable distance from the installation?

ICIM gives you the security of 87 resident servi locations with a ratio better than 1 engineer per 2 installations. Requisite spares are maintained at e service point. It is, in no uncertain terms, one of India's largest computer service organisations an ICIM 101 is backed by this network.

Q4

Promises and practice: Everyone makes promis What's your record on delivery: how often, how so Do you have ready software, or is it forever 'be developed'?

ICIM 101 is supported by a range of ready softwa You get it the day you get your ICIM 101. It's up ready, and immediately productive. Should you require a special non-standard package, we'll give a definite delivery date — and keep it.

Q5

Development and Quality Assurance: Is your hardware and software thoroughly tried and tested first internally, and then at customer sites, — before is released for general use? Have you safeguard against recurrent trouble, down time and lost productivity through an established test program Or is your software merely bought out?

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ammes, and confirmed in-use, with more than successful installations over the past one year. are is developed and tried internally, either at or the Company's U.K. associate, ICL. You sure you're not part of anyone's test ramme.

Q6

ation and training: Do you really know your product and software? Will you take the sibility for training my people to get the most it?

gives you a range of tried, tested and proven es and software, developed by ICIM or its associate, ICL. Part of our total computer service ning your people to exploit the full potential of machine or the software.

Q7

rstanding my business: Are the packages you supported by people who are knowledgeable in plication, to give me the skilled support I need to t?

l software comes to you from the people who what it's all about. It is developed by sionals with a thorough insight into the actual ng of every aspect of business and industry. l personnel are supporting applications in ction planning, econometric modelling, power skills, education, engineering ign, operations research and financial ning, to name just a few.

Q8

g-term strategy: I want to buy from a ther I'll be happy to stay with in the seable future. Is your system enhanceable, will I have to add another? Can you the future compatible growth in terms of hardware/software and systems? When I need to move up, can you supply the required system? Will it be compatible with the software I've been using? Or will I need another set of software?

ICIM 101 comes from a company with an established record, and a planned future. The ICIM 101 you buy today can continue to grow with your business. If you ever need to move up, rest assured that compatibility — of hardware, software and systems — is built in. And all ICIM systems speak a common language.

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Calcutta 700 073.

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160 Greams Road, Madras 600 006.

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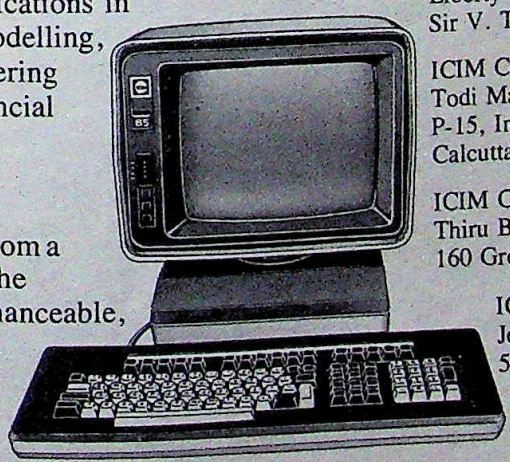

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INDIAN ROAD SHOW

■ Municipal committees are not noted for their enthusiasm for repairing clogged drains, cracked water pipes and other such incidental pleasures of urban life. It is no different in Ropar, on the banks of the Sutlej in Punjab when, right in the centre of the town a water pipe expired noisily. After the residents made some noises of their own, the workers arrived yawning on the scene, broke up the road and fixed the pipe. But they left the road as if it was to be the training track for the Asiad cross-country race.

More protests followed even as cars and scooters lurched drunkenly all over the place. Letters to the municipal committee only brought the cryptic "road is recorded to have been repaired". Finally, the citizens spread a white sheet on the pot-holes, lit fun[illegible] dles, put up bann[illegible] claiming that the c[illegible] was bankrupt, asked [illegible] nations to repair th[illegible] and started singing [illegible] dirges. A few hours [illegible] communal wake a[illegible] authorities arrived [illegible] pickaxes, shovels a[illegible] drums. By that even[illegible] pot-holes had vanished [illegible] only on the former [illegible] country track but a[illegible] others nearby.

TAKING A BOW

■ The Ramlila programmes of the Goswami Tulsidas Akhara of Varanasi, Uttar Pradesh, are renowned for their excellence. A few days before Dussehra, the Ramlila was in full swing, with a very sweaty Ram courting an equally sweaty Sita and getting ready to snap the famous bow. He flexed his muscles and did it. A satisfied sigh went up from the full house.

Then, however, the resplendent prince of Ayodhya did something strange: he waited until a minion from the wings had dabbed glue on the bow and stuck it together again. After the great weapon was in one rather unsteady piece, Ram preened himself and flexed his muscles with considerably greater panache than before. After pirouetting all over the

place like a model, he [illegible] ped the bow again.

The only burst of [illegible] plause came from the [illegible] where a group of film[illegible] kers were taking all [illegible] down on film and had [illegible] quested Ram to do his [illegible] again. Ram bowed in g[illegible] tude. The audience bo[illegible] quite a few of them w[illegible] that Ravana would com[illegible] quickly as possible so [illegible] they could do some s[illegible] changes of their own.

NAMING GAME

■ With the light-years of footage that the Indian film industry, and especially the runaway merry-go-round in Bombay, produces every year, it is quite easy to understand that the B.R. Chopras and the Ramesh Sippys might run out of names for their technicolour sins. But the list of film titles registered with the Indian Motion Picture Producers' Association (IMPPA) suggests otherwise.

Among the titles are two that are quite topical: 'Maneka' and 'Palestine Liberation Organisation'. 'Hitler' also figures in the list, probably to be portrayed as a gangland dada. Bahar Pictures goes straight to the point with '36-24-36', while Metro Golden Movies —"roaaar!"—is into industry with 'Tata Birla Modi'. VIP Films, the patriotic company of the pa[illegible] Manoj Kumar has cla[illegible] 'Naya Bharat', 'Do[illegible] Bharat' and 'Ek Aur Bh[illegible] and rounds it off with [illegible] Hind' and 'Matrubhoo[illegible] Shatrughan Sinha's R[illegible] yana Chitra has listed—[illegible] else?—'Shotgun'.

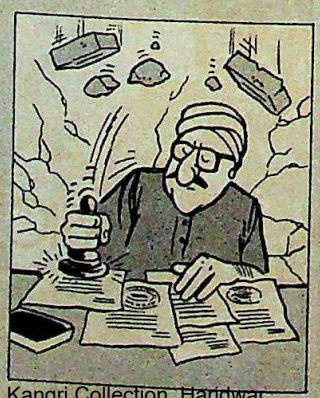
The cake goes to [illegible] long and earnest title [illegible] tered by M.D. Film[illegible] Punjab: 'Munda Naru[illegible] Kudi Garam-Kudi Ga[illegible] Te Munda Naram'.

FUNDING FIDDLE

■ A village accountant in Ilkal, Karnataka, was sitting in his office one day and looking dolefully at the peeling plaster, the door that sagged artistically on its hinges and various other deficiencies in the building which hinted that repairs were needed, and quickly. The accountant applied to the authorities for money to buy cement with. The authorities turned the request down. But an accountant is down but never out.

Part of his job was to stamp the office seal on loan forms brought to him by humble villagers. This he usually did *gratis*, but he now spread the word that, he would charge Rs 2 for each thud of the seal.

Thousands of villagers who went to him with the



forms had no choice [illegible] up or else. Soon, the [illegible] countant's piggy bank [illegible] bulging happily. Unf[illegible] nately for the swelling [illegible] pairs fund, someone in [illegible] town smelt a rat, sto[illegible] his way past the s[illegible] door and held up the s[illegible] its three thousand and [illegible] pteenth downward st[illegible] The accountant is now [illegible] sumably counting the [illegible] in jail.

—Compiled by JAGANNATH [illegible]

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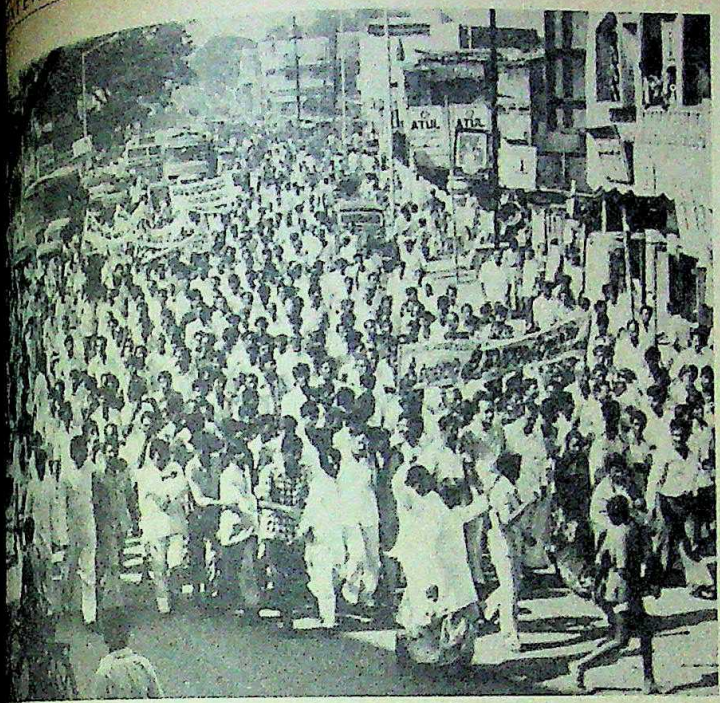

Sreenivasulu leads his supporters to the Telugu Desam office: militant defiance

e Spreading Rot

ST fortnight, when S.M. ...ish Raj, a general secretary ... the Karnataka Pradesh Cong... Committee (KPCC-I), resig... the party and announced his ... Maneka Gandhi, the fa... of condemnation was surpris... In Bangalore, the KPCC(I) ...anna, took 48 hours to come ... reproof. The 126-member ... legislature party just buttoned ... ominous silence marked the ... rebellion.

...hra Pradesh, the other state ... in the next three months, ... Reddy, a wily manipulator ... minister, walked off from the ... same day. Leading a pro... 00 of his supporters, including ... four presidents of pan... eight vice-presidents, and a ... Congress(I) district board, ... to the Telugu Desam party ... at Hyderabad's Ramakrishna ... he was garlanded by the ... president, N.T. Rama Rao. ... had resigned his assembly ... with Rama Rao's condition for ... his party.

... the case of Raj's defection, the ... too was greeted with hushed ... the state's Congressmen. ... something in the air this autumn which made it quite different from the atmosphere of cringing submission in end-1980, or that of cynical sycophancy in end-1981. With the current phase of Mrs Gandhi's rule entering its less illusion-ridden second half, and elections in six states drawing near, the word 'dissidence' was slowly acquiring a new nuance, often bordering on defiance. And Mrs Gandhi seems hardly capable any longer of wielding the magic sword of a Durga or a Kali and subjugating the defiant demons. The odds are turning against her.

It was the classic decline and fall scenario typical of all past empires, with the satraps asking for more power and independence.

No Strategy: The present effeteness of her legendary skill at reconciling conflicting interests was laid bare at the recently-concluded extended meeting of the Congress(I) Working Committee, which ended with no consensus, no electoral strategy formulated, and no plan thrashed out to reorganise the party. On the other hand, the meeting worked out entirely to the advantage of the cashiered chief ministers and men recently thrown by the wayside on the mistaken belief that they could only bark but were unable to bite.

Two deposed chief ministers of Andhra Pradesh, T. Anjiah and Bhavanam Venkatram, led the 16-member working committee a merry dance when they refused to brief it on the "current situation" and announced that they would hold a parallel convention of partymen in Hyderabad on the same day.

"It is an act of gross indiscipline," fumed G. Moopanar, the ever-vocal All India Congress(I) Committee (AICC-I) general secretary, at the rebellious duo. But he had to pipe down a day later when an aide of Mrs Gandhi called up Venkatram and Anjiah, placated them with sweet words, and coaxed them until they got into the next flight to Delhi.

At the working committee meeting, both Anjiah and Venkatram, considered to be meek and deserving of pity, produced fireworks that were quite unsuspected of them. Anjiah, who had once borne silently the wrath of Rajiv Gandhi for having arranged a gaudy reception at the Begumpet airport, now blustered and ranted with biting ferocity. According to a member: "Anjiah spoke for full 45 minutes, and screamed most of the time, alternating between Hindi and English; at times, he looked straight into Mrs Gandhi's eyes, and accused her of having pampered the 'defectors'. Nobody thought that the man could get so emotional... and daring."

Independent Hand: Even Venkatram dropped the mask of scholarly indifference and openly hurled such charges as "interference at every step" by Delhi. Though Anjiah later tried to make up for his harshness by parroting the routine protestation of his abiding loyalty to Mrs Gandhi, the message of their defiance did not fail to reach her. It was clear that the faction leaders were not content any longer to leave things in Mrs Gandhi's hands: they wanted people beholden only to them to occupy seats in the next assembly. It was the classic decline-and-fall scenario typical of all past empires, with the satraps asking for more power and independence.

Anjiah told INDIA TODAY: "The views of party workers are consistently ignored. Those who are not adept in the art of sycophancy are humiliated. The only alternative now is to quit the party." Echoed Venkatram: "The morale of party men has been shattered by the preference shown by the high command to the late-comers the

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people who had betrayed Mrs Gandhi during her bad days."

The working committee session ended amid confusion. Mrs Gandhi stayed away from the last day's proceedings because she had a touch of dengue. Her seemingly powerful colleagues were harassed and cornered by the invading army of dissidents. The only face-saving measure they could think up was to pass an inane resolution that laid everything at the door of the Opposition, including the charge of "spreading fabricated stories" of "imaginary dissidence" in the party. "It is the Opposition which is disunited," said the resolution in a tone that sounded almost like lamentation.

In obfuscating facts, Congressmen often betray a certain gallows humour. But, this time, the problems cannot be swept under a mat. The most crucial of these are:

► the party high command is unable to make up its mind on the choice between the 'loyalists' and 'defectors'; that is, people who stood by Mrs Gandhi during the Janata period, and those who did not;

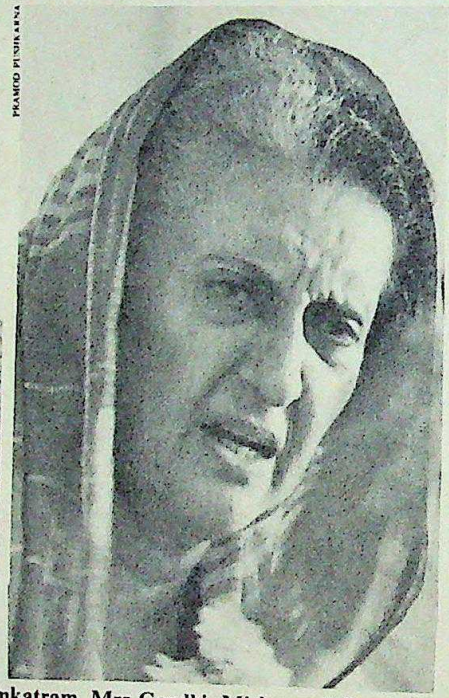
► the high command is also not in a position to impose its will on the state units by installing PCC presidents of its own choice;

► it finds itself in an unprecedented mess with the regional forces slowly gathering momentum and threatening to replace the Congress as the only national institution; and

► the party has no means to tame such really intractable and self-willed chief ministers as Jagannath Mishra of Bihar and Gundu Rao of Karnataka.

In both Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka, the chief tussle is between loyalists and defectors. Rao could not have formed the ministry in Karnataka without the help of 80 defectors who had left Devraj Urs to join him at a time when he had only 47 MLA's on his side. In Andhra Pradesh, 84 opposition MLA's trooped into the Congress(I) in 1979-80 when they could sniff that Mrs Gandhi's fortunes were indeed turning again.

The late Sanjay Gandhi's preferences were clear: he hated defectors. He allowed H.N. Bahuguna to crawl back when it suited his own convenience: soon after the 1980 elections, Sanjay flicked off Bahuguna like a particle of dirt. But Mrs Gandhi, in her post-Sanjay phase, has merely swung between the two groups. She has discarded neither, and satisfied neither.



PRAMOD PUSHKARNA

(From left) Anjiah, Venkatram, Mrs Gandhi, Mishra and Gundu Rao: can the centre hold?

DISSIDENCE dogs the party so unrelentingly that the high command cannot even decide who should head the PCC's. In Karnataka, Rao recently managed to get rid of K.T. Rathod, the former KPCC(I) president critical of him. But the powerful state Congress(I) lobby led by Jaffer Sharief objected to his having the last word in selecting the new president. As a result, K. Mallanna, who was acting president, stayed on.

In Andhra Pradesh, C. Dass, the state party chief, cannot be replaced even after his induction into the Cabinet because all attempts by the high command to instal a party president are thwarted by objections from rival groups. In fact, the PCC presidents in all the four southern states are 'acting' presidents. And so it is in Gujarat, where Mahupatrai Mehta, the acting PCC chief, cannot be confirmed because Madhavsinh Solanki, the chief minister, does not like him, nor can he be replaced, because the anti-Solanki MLA's would not approve of the idea.

The debilitation of authorit currently set in at the highest le Congress(I) shows in stark relief free-wheeling autonomy of th chief ministers. Jagannath Mis stance, has now carved out a fi of his own—a set-up which Co refer to as Congress(Jagannath)— the shots himself. Recently, in the of Rajendra Kumari Bajpai, an ne neral secretary, Vidyakar Kavi, minister and Mishra's bitter c roughed up by the chief minis porters. Mishra thought Kavi's was not enough, and so he suspe from the party a week later. E Mrs Gandhi got the suspension but she could not pull up Mishra vindictiveness.

More recently, Mishra left evidence of his meanness when he withdrawal of security personnel house of Ashwini Kumar Sharma dissident leader, even though there been three recent attempts on his li on the Press Bill, a move which h incalculable harm to Mrs Gandhi's image, Mishra has bullied the h mand into almost dittoing his line.

Like Mishra, Rao too has unassailable fortress in Karnataka can collapse only if he gets a dra the election. Rao controls the party whip-hand, brooks no dissent, and quarter to his detractors perched such as Sharief. The high comm hesitant to dismiss Rathod as KPC sident; but Rao had the final say.

Changing Mood: The bullying of a Rao or a Mishra would n hostility of the high command as they can ensure stability in their s electoral victory. But the gamble pay off in the long run because re to their rules is gathering force da During the working committee me least 15 Karnataka MP's reques Gandhi to remove Rao even thoug

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were left for the polls. In
ngress(I) legislators sent a one-
Mrs Gandhi asking her to
. All these are straws in the
ve of a sudden change of
party.

ness that many Congress-
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Mrs Gandhi's waning charis-
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s in Assam feel that the elec-
will be divided in the state evenly
the Marxists, who have made ra-
among the Bengali population,
ition of the partners in the
ment, which is likely to sweep
the Brahmaputra valley.

alaya, the other state going to
Congress(I) Chief Minister,
Sangma, is now pushed to the
rival All Parties Hill Leaders'
(APHLC), whose two factions
merged. In Nagaland, the
kened by the unending feud
the Chief Minister, S.C. Jamir,
party chief, Chitten Jamir. In
the Congress(I) bid for power is
consequence because of the
supremacy of the ruling Left

general weakening of the
fabric is corroborated by the
to contain a single regional
in recent years
N.T. Rama Rao's challenge in
desh and the Sikh movement in
the past, Tamil Nadu, West
ura and Jammu and Kashmir
to strong local parties. With
Pradesh, Assam and Meghalaya
to join their ranks, Mrs Gandhi
derive cold comfort from the
pect of becoming the leader of
ion.

—SUMIT MITRA

MAHARASHTRA

Expanding Problems

WHEN the list was made public on October 11, it was expected by Maharashtra observers that it would finally earn for Chief Minister Babasaheb Bhosale a much-needed respite from the harassing attacks his detractors have kept up since he took over from A.R. Antulay. Included in the roll of 18 names which raised ministerial strength from 17 to 35 were dissident group leaders Ramrao Adik, Shalini Patil, Azhar Hussain, and vehement Bhosale critic Gulabrao Patil, an Antulay nominee who curently heads the state Congress(I) organisation. But the composition of his expanded ministry did nothing to help Bhosale last fortnight, when different groups of dissidents around the state suddenly launched a new assault.

The fresh outbreak of inner-party power politics came swiftly. Since July, when a group of 120 legislators and senior par-

BHAWAN SINGH

Bhosale: no respite

tymen met at Bombay's Cricket Club of India (CCI) on the night of the presidential election to draft a resolution against their leader, the group has been surprisingly quiet. But last fortnight they reared their heads once again when a group of 53 "rebels" met in the office of one-time Antulay whip Bhaurao Patil to draw up a new strategy of defiance. At meeting's end, a 17-member "steering committee" led by Balasaheb Pawar, ex-ministers in the Antulay government Satish Chaturvedi, Chandrakant Tripathi, and Jawaharlal Darda, and outspoken dissident Patil.

Thinly Veiled: This time round the anti-Bhosale group cloaked their attack in a thinly-disguised demand for better performance by the Bhosale Government. Insisting that they were not against Bhosale *per se*, but only the non-performance they drew up a list of grievances which included the following:

► that the Government had turned a complete blind eye to the plight of Bombay's strike-bound textile workers, thus earning the party a potentially disastrous reputation as being anti-labour;

► that a severe drought, the worst since 1971, was treated so casually by Bhosale's government that they were still to officially define the drought-hit areas;

► that cotton procurement prices under Maharashra's Monopoly Procurement Scheme had been reduced by Rs 50 per quintal compared to last year's prices, thus earning the Congress(I) the reputation of being anti-kisan as well; and

► that a 33-point programme accepted by the Antulay government for the development of Vidarbha, the most backward region on Maharashtra's eastern extremity, had been all but discarded in Bhosale's budget this year.

Said Bhaurao Patil: "If this government remains till 1985, and continues with the kind of dismal non-performance it has shown then we will all lose our deposits at the next elections. If we are dissidents today, it is only to strengthen the party and Indiraji's hand by getting rid of this man while there is still time."

Objecting to the composition of the enlarged ministry on the grounds that it is "completely unbalanced", Patil argues that while the 120-MLA group which attended the CCI meet is now represented by "two-and-a-half" ministers—Ramrao Adik and Shalini Patil in the Cabinet and Azhar Hussain as minister of state—Bhosale-backer Narendra Tidke, who enjoys the support of only seven Vidarbha legislators and is a nominated member of the Upper House, has managed to squeeze five of his supporters into Bhosale's Government. Other dissident leaders, including one ex-minister from Antulay's ministry, are quick to point out the fact that even in the Vidarbha region, Tidke and his troupe are in a tiny minority: while five out of Tidke's group of seven are ministers, the other 48 Congress(I) legislators from the region are not represented by a single minister.

Scant Support: Similar exclusion of the pressure groups, characteristic of a selection by party president Mrs Gandhi, is visible in the entire expansion list. The

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Premlatai Chavan-Baburao Kale group have little or no backing in the legislature party, but three ministers from among them were appointed. Pratibha Patil, though once a contender for the chief ministership, has little to recommend her but her loyalty. But once-powerful factions like the Sanjay lobby—with the claimed support of over 50 legislators, out of a total Congress(I) strength of 238 in a house of 288—Y.B. Chavan's 40-MLA group, and Vasantdada Patil's roughly 20 supporters, have got only a skimpy representation, and even that with the weakest portfolios. Said one ex-minister: "None of Bhosale's ministers enjoy any sort of backing in the party, and nor does the chief minister himself. Bhosale leads a party of 34, and all of them are his ministers."

Rather than buying himself peace with his Cabinet expansion, the podgy chief minister appears to have acquired an entirely new set of problems, most of which he is patently incapable of handling. At the end of the fortnight, Bombay legislators Bhaurao Patil and Ram Pandangre, both of whom have their base in the labour belt, announced that if their government was incapable of solving the textile imbroglio, they would go on hunger strike after Dussehra; in Amravati, supposedly agitating for higher cotton prices, legislators Bhaiya Thakur and Arun Divekar also announced a hunger strike. And from the Sanjay brigade there remained the implicit threat which has stopped the Congress(I) High Command from taking action so far: the possibility of a cross-over to Maneka's Sanjay Vichar Manch.

As if all this was not enough, their exclusion from ministerial posts has created a new threat from the Y.B. Chavan group, which according to one observer, now feels that its political career might be permanently destroyed if it does not make a break at this stage. Waiting in the wings was Sharad Pawar who, though the 40-member contingent deserted him 18 months ago when it left the Congress(S) for Mrs Gandhi's party, has maintained an active hotline to the group. It is strongly rumoured that Pawar has spent the past month lobbying hectically to organise a vertical split in the Maharashtra Congress(I). Admitted a senior Congressman and one-time minister: "With Maharashtra in the state that it is, it is entirely possible that Pawar will try to wean back his defectors, who have gained nothing from the Congress(I) anyway, and attempt to break away the huge dissident group to form an alternative government. And that might be the best solution given the current state of affairs."

—CHANDER UDAY SINGH

ASIAD

Appu Who?

SHE HAD been written about in newspapers, her poses captured on film, her movements recorded by Doordarshan. But, suddenly, she was an unperson. Last fortnight, a spokesman for the Asian Games Special Organising Committee (AGSOC) denied that any baby elephant named Appu was being trained to be a live mascot for the Asian Games. This bland announcement flew in the face of reports in the press over the last two months—that a 13-month-old female elephant, captured and separated from its mother in the jungles of Arunachal Pradesh, was being taught at the Apollo Circus to stand on one leg and garland the President at the opening ceremony on November 19.

The terse message came a few days after the circus had released an advertisement in a daily newspaper proclaiming their arrival and that of Asiad's Appu. Days after the denial, members of the AGSOC retreated behind a bureaucratic wall, chorusing, "We never had Appu in our programe". Commented K. Sankaran Nair, AGSOC deputy chairman and secretary-general: "A live Appu has been built up by the press." No official was willing to explain why it took them two months—during which 'Appu' appeared regularly in newspapers and magazines—to dub her an unperson. Added Nair: "We don't always deny all that appears in the press."

Theories: For their part, the owners of the circus were angry—and mystified. After expending two months of training on the prize animal, to find it declared *persona non grata* is a bit too much. Complained C.V. Sreedharan, managing partner of the circus: "All the expenditure, all the hours are now wasted. Why should they do this to us? And at least they could have gone about it in a more decent fashion."

Sreedharan admits, however, that the stories of torture and ill-treatment—tight ropes round the legs, the gashes of the goads, forcing the heavy animal to do poses more suited to a ballerina—might have had something to do with it. He categorically denies the reports: "We love animals like we love ourselves. We do not maltreat them."

It is difficult to see how the Asiad authorities can get away with what one Delhi newspaper called the "big lie": that they had nothing to do with Appu. Progress reports on its training had often featured at the press briefings held by Nair. Jagdish Sahadevan, one of the tors of Apollo Circus, said that first heard of the project when wrote them a letter requesting pick up a baby elephant. Arunachal Pradesh Government cus owners also point out Arunachal Pradesh chief min the circus when it was Faridabad a few weeks ago and have other papers linking the the AGSOC. There is reported document issued by the chief den in Arunachal Pradesh that an elephant calf named M to the chairman of AGSOC.

PRAMOD PUSHKARNA

Appu in New Delhi: an al

Even as Appu chewed on the circus grounds in north Delhi few people were wondering why out of the Asiad. Lt-General J.F wala, vice-chairman of the AGSOC some hint of the reason when he out that he was a member of the Wildlife Fund and would "never lowed the training of a young take place". Reportedly, orders rived all the way from the very scratch Appu and put an end to the publicity of an animal being tortured into providing dubious

Rejected: Another story rounds was that the army, which care of the ceremonials, had doubts about the young elephant able to keep its cool in the midst sands of spectators. Lt-General Sethna, vice-chief of the army staff

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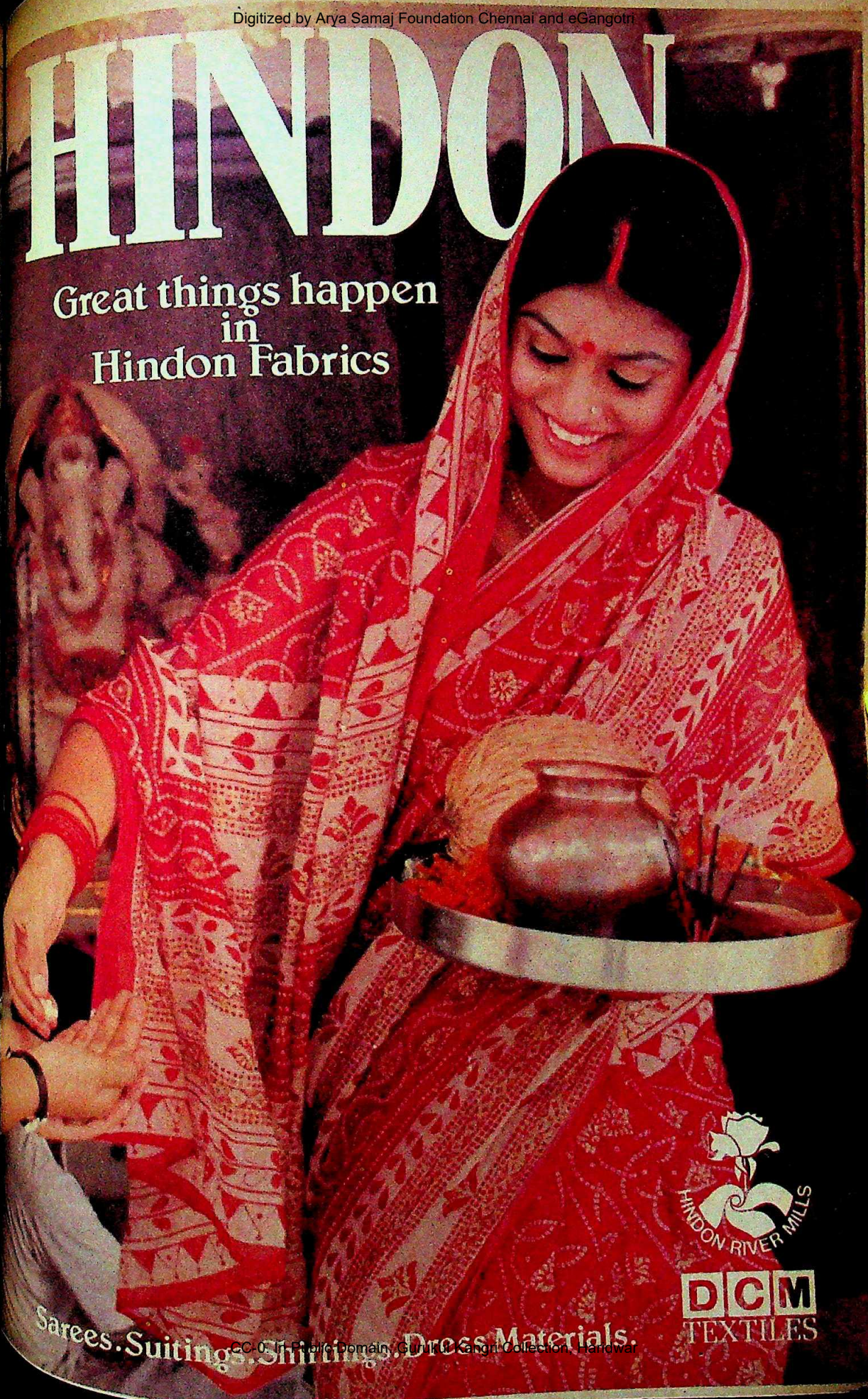

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of the ceremonials, vehemently He adds: "There is no real re is no real live baby elephant. ve got fed up to our back teeth Appu. All we are making are symbolic mascots; out and lighter than air materials."

ody was keeping very quiet ternal. The AGSOC officials were sticking to their policy of denying everything that was asked them, in a sort of reflex action. The circus owners plead that they are still trying to get in touch with the powers-that-be to find out just why they were sidelined and where they went wrong. Prudently, in the second advertisement released to the newspapers, all mention of Appu has been deleted. Last fortnight, the elephant was led in a circuit round the ring, drawing scattered cheers from the crowd, especially the children. She still carried the Asiad star on her forehead, a rather forlorn gesture of defiance vis-a-vis the people who had, overnight, turned her from a celebrity into an also-ran.

—JAGANNATH DUBASHI

ad Omen

WAS a warning, if any were nee- that the preparations for the Games are far from com- Last fortnight, as a 60,000 strong Bocked to the mammoth rlal Nehru Stadium for the foot- tch between Kuban USSR and lcutta XI, all arrangements down. The roads leading to the were jammed; with cars lined mper to bumper; and when the inside the stadium roared with nd as the match started, the police were making a series of lathi to keep back the surging crowds ck outside.

It was any indication of things then it does not bode well for Only days before the match po- ers and officials of the Asian Special Organising Committee had been confidently describing an exercise in crowd manage- They had even toyed with the simulating a fire to ns for rapidly evacua- e crowd.

Chaos: It was perhaps that such plans were ed. There was more nough chaos without There were no signs tel- ple where to enter. As they swarmed from gate till they eventual- fed up and tried to anywhere. It was the only thing they have done—nobody where the tickets were old. And with the lack nication between the gates, officials closed when there was still for 10,000 inside the

Both the police and the officials seemed to be taken aback by the Tarlochan Singh, the AGSOC director of public relations: "We did not expect such a crowd." Delhi's Police Commissioner Bajrang Lal was equally at a loss to explain away the mess.

Lal, especially, had a lot of explaining to do. Much of the blame has inevitably fallen on the police. The planning for the match was singularly weak. There was little coordination between the five senior police officers involved with the Games. Senior officers at police headquarters say that the officers briefed before the match were not the ones who were on duty. And with the Asiad less than a month away there is little sign that the police are prepared to cope with the problems that are bound to crop up. Several weaknesses were shown up by the football match. Among them were:

► There were not enough men to cope with the rush. A major reason for this was that the reinforcements who were supposed to have been brought in two months before the Asiad are yet to arrive. Instead the police have been making do by pulling men off from regular beats in the city. Even if this had worked its shortcomings would have shown up in the long run as the men from out of town would not have had enough time to familiarise themselves with the area in which they will have to work;

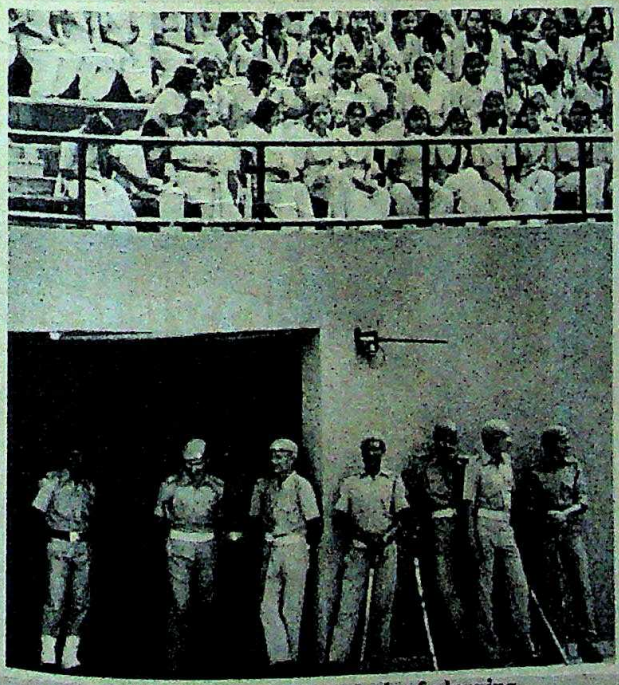
► the new police control room at police headquarters, that was to have been ready in time for the Games is still not complete yet. The telephone lines have not been laid yet, and the air-conditioning system that is necessary in the totally enclosed room has not been fitted. At the pace things are going, it looks extremely unlikely that it will be finished in time for the Games;

► the 20 vehicles purchased for the Asian Games nearly a year ago are still parked unused at the old police lines. Lal has vetoed a suggestion that they be used earlier. Says one senior police officer: "When we do get the cars, there will be trouble and half the time they will be in the workshop."

► Even the police cars that are already in service have not been fitted with mobile phones for faster communication. And the mobile walkie-talkies to replace the bulky sets used by the men on the beat at present have not been given out yet.

Besides all this the police have also shown an almost criminal lack of concern about security. It had earlier been decided to set up special squads to combat terrorism. The squads have not yet been formed.

The lack of planning has annoyed the military men who are supposed to be coordinating with the police. Says one army officer: "The police have no discipline." Adds an AGSOC official: "The entire thing is like a rudderless ship." With only weeks left for Asiad it still remains to be seen whether anybody will grab hold of the rudder. —ASOKA RAINA



Police at the stadium: lack of planning

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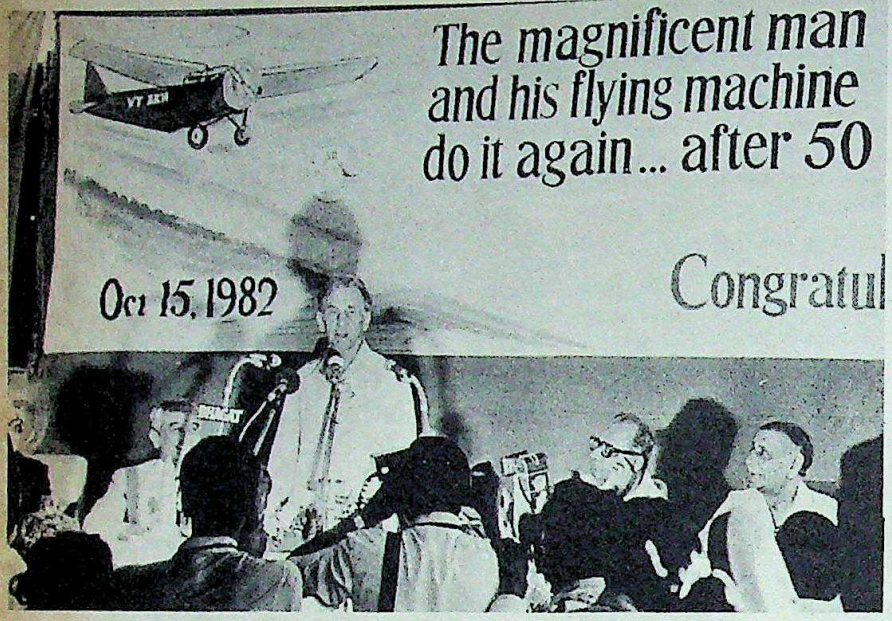

JRD addressing a gathering after the entous flight, flanked by Latif (left) and Raghu Raj (right)

J.R.D. TATA

Flight Into History

IT WAS the stuff that history is made of. When J.R.D. Tata took off from Karachi airport at eight in the morning on October 15, he was breaking no world records, but the event was nevertheless unique. At 78, the sprightly aviator has his hands on the controls of the country's largest private industrial empire (1981-82 sales: approximately Rs 2,600 crore), and riding on his safety was the future of the giant Tata industrial group which controls some of the largest Indian units manufacturing steel, chemicals, commercial vehicles, pharmaceuticals, engineering, textiles, computers and generating power.

At stake too, was the urbane industrialist's own reputation for daredevilry. And the flight was a triumph of will and the spunkiness which has made JRD the best known industrialist in the country. Re-enacting the first Indian commercial flight of 50 years ago, last fortnight, JRD donned work-clothes and flying gloves to pilot a 48-year-old De Havilland Leopard Moth monoplane over roughly 850 km of rivers, desert and swamps to land 10 minutes ahead of schedule in Bombay.

Weak Condition: His feat was in defiance of both age and the lack of practice that comes from years out of the cockpit. The ageing aviator-industrialist, moreover, had, only a month before the flight, suffered from a serious weakening of the heart due to angina pectoris, a condition caused at least in part by the sudden strain and excitement of the impending flight and its feverish preparations.

Notwithstanding JRD's modest dismissal of it—"Frankly, it was not against the odds," he said, "with a plane that is safe, and engine well, there was really nothing difficult about the flight"—his flight was far from ordinary. The plane he flew was made in 1934, and has only a few minor refinements over the Puss Moth he piloted 50 years ago.

Although the Leopard Moth was largely refabricated in Britain recently, the gruelling seven-hour run in bo weather made it clear that there room for complacence. Said P.D. who, though he retired as Air-In puty director of engineering six was recalled to organise the m of the plane he has been familia over 20 years: "JRD's aim was the people of India that if you mind to it, nothing is impossible age is certainly no bar to achievi thing you want strongly enough flight is this vintage plane b inspiring."

History Repeated: The flight w a nostalgic trip into the past. I when JRD flew 55 pounds of mail and parcels from Karachi to in the Puss Moth he owned joi maverick British flyer Neville Vi kicked off both Tata Airlines and ginnings of civil aviation in the He landed then on a mud flat in th of Juhu, which was an island o rgely by J.N. Tata and half a cen his aircraft touched down on th Juhu airstrip at almost the sa

Twenty years ago when JRD to celebrate the 30th year of co aviation with a replay of his or ght, no Puss Moths were to b though a lengthy world-wide s Air-India turned up the closely Leopard Moth. JRD's flight then one, was a near-exact reproduction first one: taking off at 8 a.m. Karachi he made a stopover at Ahmedabad, had his plane refue team of "Burmah Shell" emplo used bullock-carts, a tent and cans to recreate the mood of 19

JRD greeted by Pakistan airlines officials in Karachi (left) and back in Bombay welcome: a nostalgic trip

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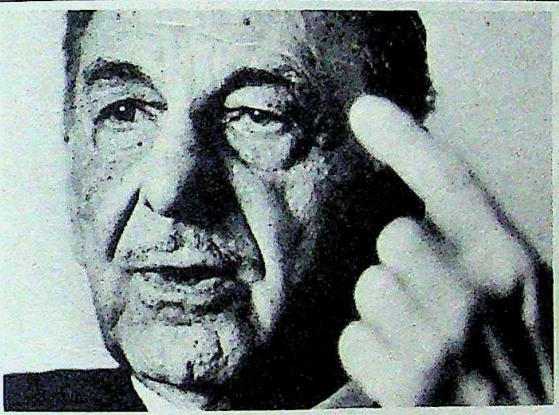
'No Reason For Complacency'

WHEN J.R.D. Tata decided to re-enact the 1932 flight, opposition within the group élite was intense and got further bolstered after the chairman of Tata suffered an attack of angina pectoris in September. But a major driving force behind the industrialist was his determination to force a nation out of its apathy and drive home the point that the country's problems are not unsolvable but need the involvement of people.

JRD amplified his point during an exclusive interview with INDIA TODAY *last week. Speaking out strongly on a wide variety of subjects, he vehemently criticised the extraordinary capacity in India for refusing to look facts in the face". In the course of a 90-minute interview with Correspondent* CHANDER UDAY SINGH *in his office of Bombay House office, JRD spoke on the economic malaise, the corroded political system, the unrealistic salary level of government servants and public sector managers and other subjects —all of which probably prompted his extraordinary views. Excerpts from his views:*



The obvious consequence on the one hand putting massive economic power in the hands of officers at all levels and on the other hand giving them starvation wages is that you will have large-scale corruption.

On the breakdown of the political system: Today the people of our country see nothing perpetual squabbles on the political front, perpetual attacks and counter-attacks, perpetual denigration and insults. And at the root of it is the parliamentary system we have wrongly chosen which makes politicians the perfect instrument to destabilise whatever government is in power. Except when it is operated by a politically mature society, this is a system which can only lead to anarchy. And even in a mature society like Britain, (James) Callaghan said that "the role of the opposition is to oppose" and this clearly means to try and defeat the Government.

In India with the large number of parties, chaotic conditions and parties keep splitting and the complete lack of character of our politicians, this system is being constantly exploited to try to defeat whichever government is in power. If you can defeat it during the period between elections, then at least make it so that you can defeat during elections.

On the failure of planned development: In only the past 30 years we have spent Rs 150,000 crore on development expenditure alone and what results there to show for this? There have been progress on some fronts but mass poverty is as great as it ever was. We have had a 3.5 per cent average economic growth in the last 30 years, but the population grew at 2.2 per cent each year. So the real improvement is a little over 1 per cent per year. At 1 per cent a person can double his income after 70 years, so today after 30 years of planning our people are still at 60 per cent as poor as they were before.

On the 'myth' that India has the third largest reservoir of scientific manpower in the world: The claim that we keep making to reassure ourselves that we have a huge reservoir of scientific manpower is bogus, it's complete bullshit. The third largest scientific manpower is in Japan, not in India. What we do to delude ourselves is to include all the babus, watch and ward staff, accountants, clerks and others working in our scientific establishments just to raise the figure. It is time this myth is exposed.

Even the Sixth Five-Year Plan document admits that the figure is exaggerated. They state that we have no reason for complacency on this score because as a percentage on our population our scientific manpower force is smaller than all developed countries and even smaller than some underdeveloped nations. And they also say that personnel who are not directly involved with scientific activity are included as scientific personnel.

On the salary levels of public sector managers and government officials: Today we have a situation where blue collar workers like welders in Siemens or Mukand are listed on the annual report as earning Rs 4,000 and more each month, while on the other hand the Government pays its officers wages which are nothing more than starvation salaries. Today the top civil servant in the country gets Rs 3,500 which is a lower figure than was paid to government employees 100 year ago, when the rupee was 30 times what it is today. A judge of the high court has come down from Rs 4,000 before Independence to Rs 3,500 today when the rupee in the last 30 years is 1/16th the value it was.

The obvious consequence on the one hand putting massive economic power in the hands of officers at all levels and on the other hand giving them starvation wages is that you will have large-scale corruption. You have created a strait-jacketed economy of controls and permits and you pay officials salaries on which they cannot survive, cannot school their children, cannot plan for retirement, cannot ever hope to own a house, and what is the consequence?

On the educational system in the country: There's been a lot of progress in our educational system but in what direction? We have created millions of semi-educated people but we have no jobs to offer them. Today when young men or women come out of school or college they know that they will not get a job. So you have created a situation where everybody who can manage it wants to go abroad and study, and the vast majority of them don't want to come back since there is nothing for them to come back to.

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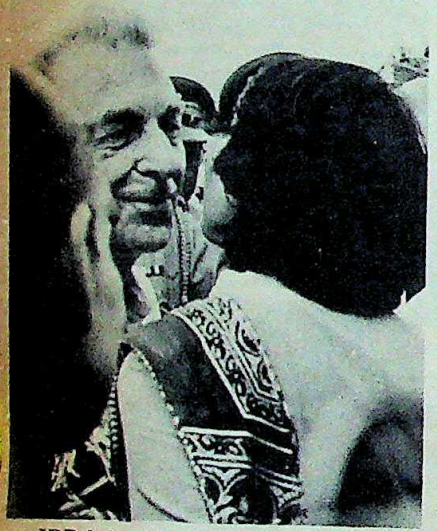
nally landed in Bombay, with a wry apology for being 10 minutes early.

Exactly 50 years after his pioneering flight, JRD was seen off from Karachi by Pakistan International Airways Managing Director S.S. Saleem, and an old Tata Airways hand who was associated with the industrialist in the early days of Indian aviation. The route was identical to his course of 50 years ago: over the tidal rivers and swamps of the Rann of Kutch, past the Saurashtrian port of Kandla and 30 km north of the Tata chemicals factory at Mithapur and, after a one-hour stop in Ahmedabad, over National Highway 8 and the string of creeks which lead to Bombay.

For Tata the historic flight was as much a celebration of commercial aviation as a means of drawing attention to the disenchantment he sees spreading around



JRD being kissed by an air hostess at Bombay: inspiring youth

the country. Confessing that he is worried because of the dejection and lack of hope he sees in the nation today, the industrial baron admitted that he hoped by undertaking the flight to rekindle "a sense of adventure and participation" among the country's young.

Explained JRD: "I continue to believe that people of the intelligence and resourcefulness of Indians cannot be restrained in their aspirations for long. But what do the young people see as their immediate future? There is widespread instability politically, little economic progress has taken place, they know that they will be without a job and there are political leaders on the sidelines waiting all the time to exploit their justifiable fears and insecurity." —CHANDER UDAY SINGH

HYDERABAD

Russian Roulette

ALEKSEY Igorevich Dmitriev, 22, was one of the more popular cultural exchange students from Russia at Osmania University in Hyderabad. An engaging talker, he rapidly made friends in the six months he was there. Which is why his sudden disappearance from the campus last month created something of a stir. The plot, however, was thicker than most people imagined. When Soviet officials from New Delhi descended on the campus to investigate the disappearance, it was obvious that there was more to the affair than a young collegiate playing truant. It has sparked off a growing fear that the young Russian is trying to defect possibly to America. This fear is buttressed by the fact that while still in Hyderabad, Aleksey married a 27-year-old American, Harmony Rogers.

Enquiries revealed that Aleksey had left the city on August 1. Before leaving, the adventurous young man told some people that he was going to Madras and others that he was headed back home to Leningrad. Subsequent enquiries revealed that he had in fact married Harmony, an American "researcher" at Osmania University, at a Hyderabad registry on July 30.

Marriage Witnesses: All three of the marriage witnesses are connected with the university's linguistics department where Aleksey was a student. Peri Bhaskar Rao, professor in linguistics at the Deccan College, Pune, is a visiting faculty member; Adithi Mukherjee, a reader in the Osmania linguistics department; and P. Suryanarayana, himself a sub-editor in the *Deccan Chronicle*, is the husband of another reader in the linguistics department of the university. None of them has, however, been able to help in tracking down Aleksey.

Both Aleksey and Harmony stayed at the university guest-house at some time during their stay in Hyderabad. Aleksey stayed as an exchange programme student for about six months but Harmony as a "researcher" for only six days, about a month before their marriage. She stayed longer in a rented room at the house of B. Pratap Reddy, vice-chancellor, Andhra Pradesh Agriculture University, until August 1, when both she and Aleksey checked out of their respective residences. Says Reddy of Harmony: "She

Dmitriev: mysterious moves

seemed a quiet and mature person, like Aleksey who brought her here. We were surprised to hear from police investigators that the two had secretly married."

The perplexed Soviet embassy officials, unable even to contact the marriage witnesses, asked the Government of India to help them trace Aleksey. Since the last week of September several teams of police and intelligence officers have quizzed Osmania University teachers and employees, marriage officials and many others with whom the mysterious Russian and his American wife had contact. Meanwhile, Aleksey made a brief appearance at Adithi Mukherjee's parents' home in Delhi. At the time, neither Adithi nor her parents were aware that they were playing hide-and-seek with Soviet embassy officials. Adithi told INDIA TODAY: "Aleksey said Harmony had gone home to America and left him staying for a few days, saying he was off to Manali." She says she does not remember the exact dates of his visit but it was between October 4 and 7 when she had dengue fever.

INDIA TODAY enquiries show that soon after his arrival in Hyderabad, Aleksey busied himself finding out about marriage procedures. He also skipped classes to visit several places outside Hyderabad, without informing the Hyderabad police, contrary to what is expected of foreigners. With the police taking note of his mysterious moves only in late September, and then surfacing only to disappear in early October, the search for the missing Russian is still on but investigators fear that they are looking in the wrong places. By now, they are convinced Aleksey has found a new home in the United States. —AMARNATH K.

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RAYMOND'S WINTER FASHIONS

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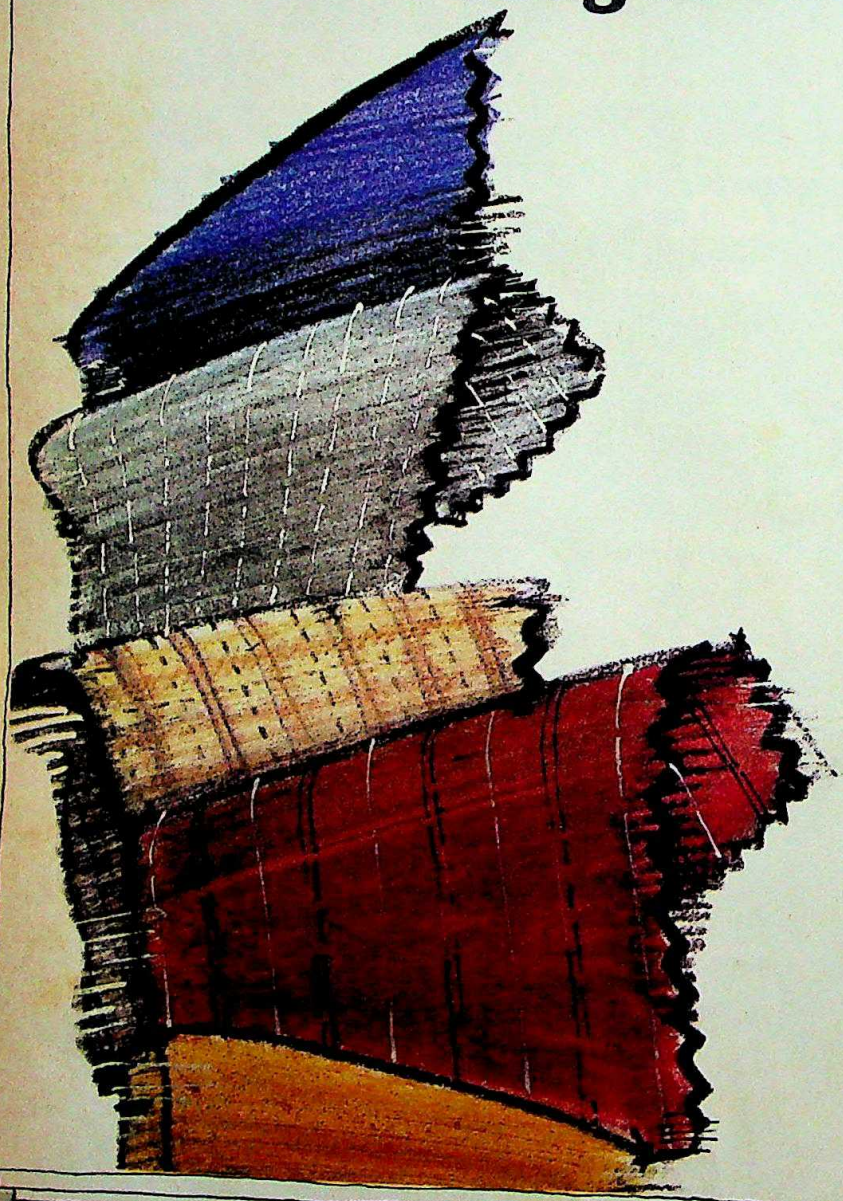

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guide to the well-dressed male

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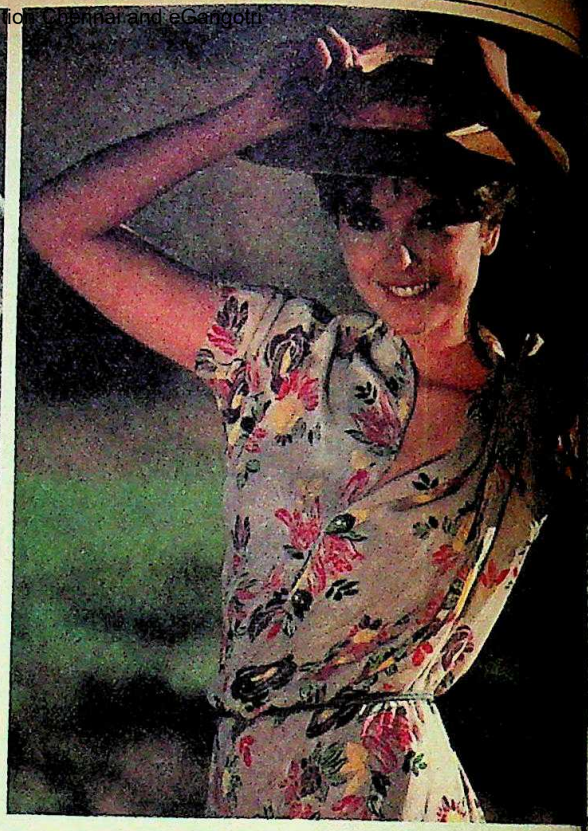

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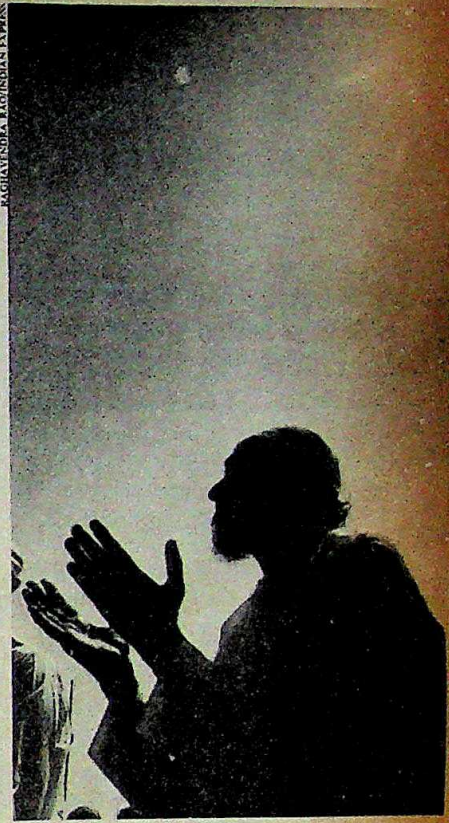

RAGHAVENDRA RAO/INDIAN EXPRESS

Vaidyanathan (left) and a Muslim at the Marina Beach prayers: invoking the Gods

Waiting For Water

AS THE sun blazed down on the still waters of Red Hills lake, 36 km from Madras city, Kunnakudi Vaidyanathan, who has composed music for many films walked slowly into the violin at the ready, until it sp- about his knees. Then the mournful of the Amritvarshani *raga* spread the air, delighting the ears of Tamil Labour Minister S. Raghavendan, and T.K.A. Dewan Mohammed, of the Madras Metropolitan Supply and Sewerage Board. As the *raga* faded away, a took the air: '*Varshaya, varshaya*' Vaidyanathan, who was sche- to play the violin at the lake for a in a *kirtan* organised by the to invoke the blessings of rain Varuna, says: "This *kirtan* has the to cause instant rains to meet the shortage."

A government headed by a film make a grim situation an excuse entertainment. Tamil Nadu is reeling the impact of a widespread water between July and September, the had only 17.5 cm of rainfall, 63 of the normal volume. As a re- 50 per cent of the standing crops dry up. Taps in Madras city fun- only two hours a day, because the three reservoirs which feed the city are emptying: the Red Hills lake is the largest at 18 sq km, but last month was filled to only a seventh of its capacity. As a result, water is hard to come by for the 4 million people of Madras—the worst such shortage for the last 12 years.

Desperate Measures: At month's end, the people of the state had tried almost everything, religious and secular. As Vaidyanathan's violin wailed at Red Hills, the Chief Kazi of Tamil Nadu, Haji Mohammed Azizuddian, conducted a mass prayer meeting on the hot sands of Marina Beach. Devotees at the Kapaleshwarar temple in Mylapore were also calling on Varuna. On October 15, the Church of South India held a special prayer meeting at St George's Cathedral. The state backed religion to the full: all district officials were instructed to provide the necessary facilities to any social and religious group that took it upon itself to provoke showers from the cruelly calm skies.

For its own part, the state Government seems to be bent on holding Karnataka responsible for the shortage. In the latest ploy in the 12-year Cauvery dispute Chief Minister M.G. Ramachandran organised a state-wide bandh against the Karnataka Government. He directed his ministers and officials to send a telegram or a telex message every day to Karnataka Chief Minister R. Gundu Rao and to Mrs Gandhi, requesting them to release water from their reservoirs. He even flew to New Delhi to see the prime minister. Gundu Rao did release water from the overflowing Cauvery to help alleviate the drought but only about two-thirds of the volume that MGR wanted. The publicity blitz continued.

So, unfortunately, did the water shortage. Madras city was getting only 40 mgd (million gallons a day) compared with 80 mgd. In fact, even if the Krishna waters were brought to the city, the availability of water would be only 72 mgd. This depressing litany of statistics meant that there was hardly any locality in the city that did not feel the pinch.

Short Rations: Housewives queued up before trickly taps to fill odd assortments of vessels. Slum dwellers made tiring forays into neighbouring districts by train to fetch a few pitcherfuls. Local colleges closed down for over three weeks. Said Harish Raghavan, a student of the Madras Christian College, which was to reopen on September 16 but extended its vacations until October 28: "Four wells in the campus have completely dried up. We require over 40 lorry-loads of water daily, for over 600 hosteliers and about 100 fa-

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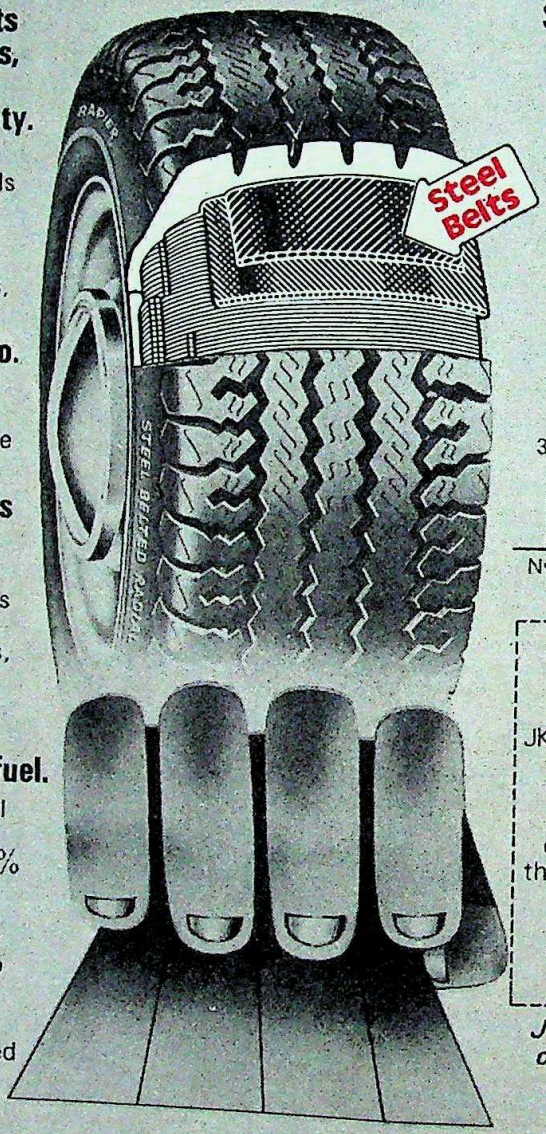

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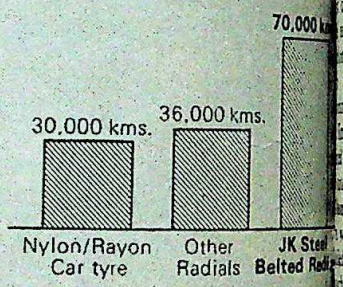

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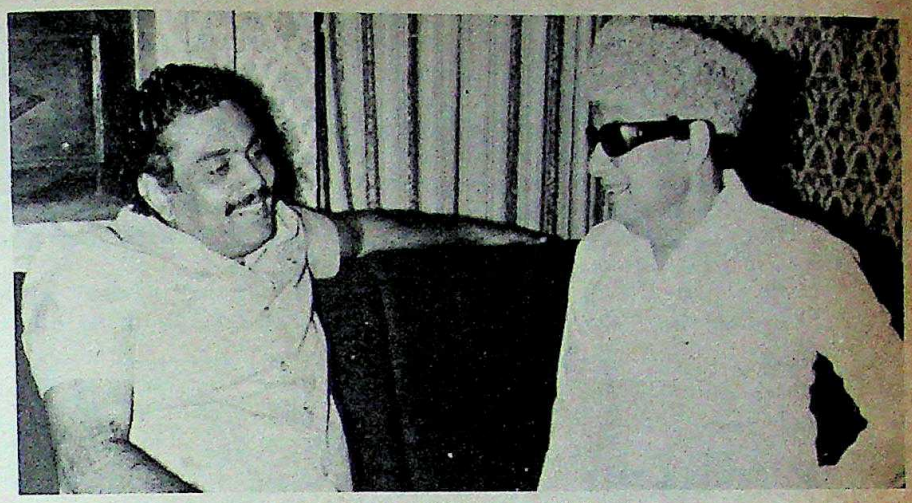
live on the campus. A lorry-water costs over Rs 200, and the cannot afford to bring in water outside." Hotels were buying of water at Rs 150 a day. Said executive of a five-star hotel: "If forced to arrange for water from km away, god knows what will our guests who are being served at present."

everyone from grandfather to rushed in to collect water, pro- the streets in various parts of with people carrying empty ear- pots—the symbol of the ment's failure on the water front. the over 3,000 tube-wells that the major source of water for were falling. Said Dewan Arcot: "We are fully aware of the problem and are doing our best to regular supply." In less than a over 500 hand-pumps had been and over 2,200 tube-wells sunk. MMWSSB dug three giant wells main reservoirs of Poondi, and Red Hills to tap subsoil similar measures were being im- at other drought-stricken areas

Prospects: Outside the city, were up in arms. The monsoon completely and even greener as Thanjavur and Tiruchirapalli were severely affected. At one administration even threatened water supply to the two districts Mettur reservoir level fell to 21.1 disgruntled district official: "We dilemma. If we stop water to face agitations and loss of pro- If we restrict drinking-water su- also run into problems. It is a situation."

will get trickier when the state is with a major foodgrains crisis few months. The area under the *kuruvai* crop has fallen by over 40 —from 3.25 lakh hectares in to 2.1 lakh hectares this in Thanjavur district, known as India's granary, *kuruvai* acreage has by more than half, because of a 45 rain shortfall. The failure of the monsoon has dealt a major the winter *samba* crop, for which can feed only a fourth of the hectares under *samba*. In fact, production in Tamil Nadu, according to Union Agriculture Ministry will be only 4 lakh tonnes when average for the last four years has that. Sugarcane is also likely in areas of North Arcot, South Arcot, Chingleput, Coimbatore, Salem and Tiruchirapalli.



Gundu Rao (left) and MGR: troubled waters

IT IS going to be rough going for quite some time and MGR knows it. Hence his theatrical gestures to Karnataka and New Delhi. As he engaged the Karnataka Government in a well-publicised battle, he found time to meet Mrs Gandhi in Delhi with a battery of officials, pleading with her to ask Gundu Rao to spare water for Tamil Nadu. Said he after the meeting: "She is willing to help us and meet our genuine demands." But even as he pleaded in the capital, back home state Irrigation Minister K. Raja Mohammed blamed the Central Government for not solving the Cauvery dispute. He conveniently forbore to mention the fact that despite eight conferences since 1977, the Cauvery dispute has not found a solution because the chief ministers have been obdurate in their stands.

GEORGE FRANKS/INDIAN EXPRESS

Transporting water in Madras: sad plight

The Tamil Nadu Government came under fire for its attempt to use the dispute as a screen for failure. Said V. Gopalsami, Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK) member of the Rajya Sabha: "What was MGR doing for the last five years? He has woken up now because the farmers are agitating and the state's finances are in a shambles. Has he planned any sensible irrigation scheme for the last four years?" The Congress(I) also opened up once it was clear that the chief minister was politicising the issue. S.M. Krishna and T.V. Chandrashekharappa, two Congress(I) MP's from Karnataka said in a statement: "The Tamil Nadu Government is trying to drive a wedge between the Central Government and the Karnataka Government. Karnataka has generously released 22 tmcft of water purely on humanitarian grounds and definitely not in fulfilment of any obligation. Tamil Nadu had been most rigid, uncompromising and selfish. If the state is in a bad plight today it is because it has exceeded its limits and extended irrigation without reference to its fair share in the river."

Wasted Schemes: There is no doubt that the MGR administration has bungled with several viable water supply schemes. The Veeranam project was practicable, but was shelved simply because it had been conceived by the DMK after Rs 22 crore had been spent. Financial irregularities was the official reason for the shelving and the Central Government even appointed the Sarkaria Commission to look into them. Accuses former chief minister M. Bhaktavatsalam: "With this scheme there

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would not have been any water problem in Madras. Just because there were a few irregularities committed during the DMK regime it need not have been shelved."

Other schemes have met the same fate. During the Emergency, just before the Lok Sabha elections Mrs Gandhi announced at a public meeting on Marina Beach that Karnataka, Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh would each contribute 5 tmcft of water to Tamil Nadu from the Krishna river. Tamil Nadu would provide a 285-km canal for the purpose; cost: over Rs 200 crore. But the Government appears to have lost interest. Its own Public Works Department's scheme to tap the Cauvery above the Katalai bed regulator in Tiruchirapalli district and bring the water to Madras through deep open gravity canals is also gathering dust—though the scheme was listed in the state's draft Sixth Five-Year Plan.

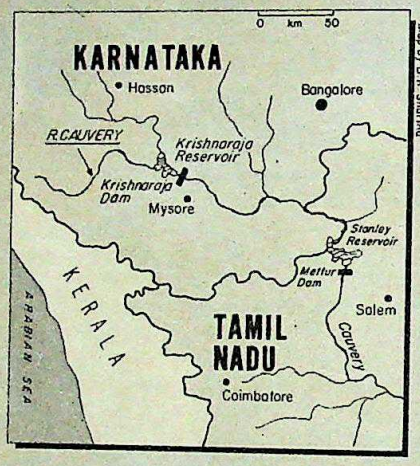
MGR has his own solution to the water problem: shifting the capital, now in one corner of the state, to a more location in Thanjavur district, Cauvery. This, argues an offic MGR sympathies, will "not only functional but the town will be water shortage for ever". This tedly cost as much as bringing Madras in canals. However, the capital move sounds suspiciously grander version of the populist ment provided by violin Vaidyanathan. —PRABHU CHAWLA

CAUVERY DISPUTE

Deadlock

AFTER initially yielding to Tamil Nadu's cry for help the Karnataka Government has changed its mind and refuses to part with more Cauvery water. More than anything else Karnataka has been irked by Tamil Nadu's insistence on the 1924 agreement for sharing the Cauvery waters between the two states which it argues has lapsed in 1974 and has become "null and void". Karnataka refuses to release any more water to Tamil Nadu stating that it has only 94 thousand million cubic feet (tmcft) of water left in its reservoirs in Krishnaraja Sagar, Hemavathy and Kabini. This, says the Karnataka Government is just enough to meet the needs of its farmers in the Cauvery basin area. Said Karnataka Chief Minister R. Gundu Rao at the time: "It is not Karnataka that is unreasonable but Tamil Nadu. They are over ambitious and we have always been generous."

The dispute stretches back a long way. Karnataka has been griping about the agreement ever since it was signed in 1924. The agreement was the result of a dispute between the two states over the Krishnaraja Sagar reservoir to be constructed by Karnataka to store 44.8 tmcft of water. When an arbitrator upheld the erstwhile Mysore state's right, Tamil Nadu appealed to the British secretary of state. As Tamil Nadu was then a part of the Madras Presidency and Karnataka was ruled by the Mysore maharajah, a vassal of the British, an agreement was struck under which Mysore would build Krishnaraja Sagar but Madras would have the right to build Mettur dam impounding 93 tmcft of water. Mysore was also asked to ensure a continuous flow of water prescribed under the limits laid down. As a senior state agricultural official



Map by B. K. Sharma

puts it: "What they worked out was that their belly must be full whether we are hungry or not."

Stalled: After Independence Karnataka raised the first protest in 1959. But neither the Centre nor Tamil Nadu showed any inclination to solve the issue. They took the stand that the issue could hang fire till 1974, when the agreement came up for review. After several requests the Centre finally agreed to appoint a fact-finding committee in 1972 to collect statistics from each of the basin states involved: Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka and to some extent Pondicherry. It was found that while Tamil Nadu used 566 tmcft, Karnataka used 177 tmcft Karnataka's grouse was that while Tamil Nadu contributed only 29 per cent collection towards the Cauvery waters it has developed 28.2 lakh acres of irrigated land while Karnataka which supplied 53 per cent could hardly develop 6.8 lakh hectares.

Then in 1976, after a one-man committee headed by C.C. Patel, former Union irrigation secretary, studied the issue, the states almost reached an accord. According to the 1976 understanding, as it was called, while the existing utilisation would continue it was found that an additional 125 tmcft of water could be saved and shared with Karnataka getting 87 tmcft Kerala 34 tmcft and Tamil Nadu 4 tmcft. The saving could be affected over a period of 15 years and a Cauvery Valley Authority should be constituted to supervise the distribution. But both states reneged on the understanding. Karnataka felt that, judging by past experience, Tamil Nadu would not be able to effect the saving called for, and Karnataka would be denied the additional 87 tmcft promised. Karnataka also accused Tamil Nadu of developing 6.30 lakh acres in gross violation of the 1924 agreement which permitted it to develop only 21.90 lakh hectares. Karnataka claims that on its part, it has not exceeded the 6.82 lakh acres it was expected to develop.

After the 1976 accord collapsed, Karnataka has become far more rigid about accepting any formula that would ensure that Tamil Nadu got the same amount of water as it did in 1924. While Tamil Nadu is keen on protecting what it already has, Karnataka is going on the winning argument that the water must be shared according to international law that lays down sharing equitable proportions according to flow. What Karnataka now wants is that both states should share 94 per cent of the water equitably leaving the remaining 6 per cent to Kerala and Pondicherry. That would mean that of the estimated quantity of 880 tmcft flowing in the Cauvery basin, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu would get 414 tmcft each.

Tamil Nadu is unwilling to accept this new formula and does not seem keen to settle for anything less than what was agreed in the 1924 agreement. Said an angry irrigation official: "Tamil Nadu should stop playing hard and seek with us and come out in the open." But with 15 inconclusive meetings already over, a solution remains a distant hope.

—RAJ CHENGAPPA

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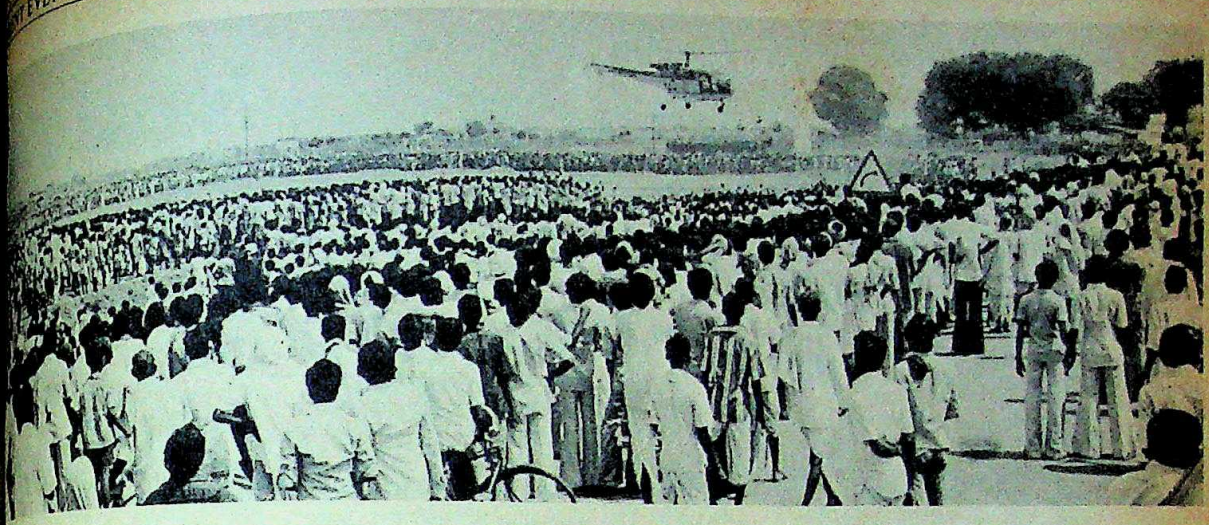

PRADESH

unterfoil

THE CONGRESS(I) is bringing out its big guns to repel the challenge from movie star N.T. Rama Rao's Telugu Desam. Last fortnight it was Rajiv Gandhi's turn to do his bit to revive its sagging fortunes in the state. three days, ostensibly to take the drought situation.

Rajiv winged his way through with Chief Minister K. Vijayabhaskara Reddy in tow, it was obvious he was doing more than just He lost no opportunity to Obeying the rule that local most, on the first lap of his Visakhapatnam he focussed on the jobs for the locals in the city's In Kakinada he assured the the long-delayed fertiliser plant get underway. Later on he the forces of regionalism, described as "glow-worms that and disappear without serving a purpose". Elsewhere he spoke need for unity and stability.

the circumstances it was not perhaps that Rajiv's visit something of an outcry. In places hecklers who shouted "speak drought". Opposition leaders incensed by the visit describing first stage-managed pre-election and accused the Congress(I) of official machinery and money. President of the Bharatiya Janata Party, P.V. Chalapathi Rao: "It is to believe that the arrangements chief minister."

No Chances: There may be some truth in this contention. With the fate of former chief minister T. Anjiah in mind, Vijayabhaskara Reddy was taking no chances. He sent out ministers to the districts that Rajiv was visiting, to see that everything went like clockwork. They were also to ensure that there would be no shortage of people at the meetings Rajiv addressed.

For the most part they were successful. But not everywhere. In Kakinada Telugu Desam volunteers who were distributing pamphlets questioning the purpose of the visit had to be detained. Worse was in Warangal where the splintered and divided Congress(I) showed itself in its true colours. Soon after Rajiv's meeting a former minister, Goka Ramaswamy held a meeting of his own supporters to accuse the party of humiliating Harijans by not allowing the minister from the district, B. Sammaiah, to speak when Rajiv was present.

Rajiv arriving in Suryapet and (left) in a procession: elaborate arrangements

Rajiv showed that he was not unaware of the problems faced by the party. In Cuddapah, during a chat with newsmen he admitted that the real challenge was the "internal differences in the party, not the Telugu Desam." But this is something that the Congress(I) is unlikely to be able to do anything about in a hurry. And as the campaign moved into higher gear and Mrs Gandhi announced that she would be visiting the state soon, there was little sign that such visits would do anything to end the chronic bickering in the party.

—AMARNATH K. MENON

ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS

Marriage Proposals

WITH the assembly elections drawing to a close, electoral alliances have become the order of the day. Last fortnight, the opposition parties were wooing the Andhra Pradesh's Telugu Desam into a marriage of electoral convenience, with the five party Progressive Democratic Front (PDF) making an offer to range behind N.T. Rama Rao to lock the Congress(I) in straight contests for the elections.

On October 23, representatives of the Lok Dal, Janata Party, Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), the Congress(S) and the Republican Party of India, comprising the PDF called on NTR to make their offer. At the end of the 90-minute session NTR welcomed the idea "in principle" without letting them know of his final decision. Says a PDF representative: "He asked us

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to nourish the fledgling Telugu Desam like a wet-nurse and hinted his ambition is only to become chief minister."

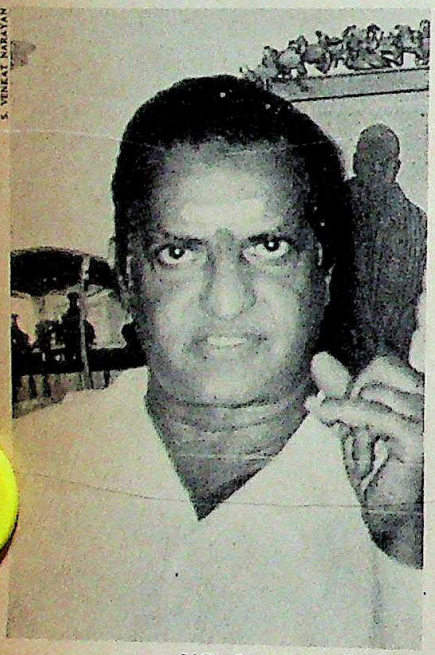
While speculation was running high about the elections being held in January, the PDF made its offer public at a press conference the next day and on October 25, followed it with an official letter to Rama Rao asking him to let them know of his decision by November 1. Says PDF convenor Gouthu Latchanna: "It is an open offer and as national parties we are willing to sacrifice and go with his leadership towards our ultimate aim—of defeating the Congress(I)."

Alliances: The PDF offer is to leave 174 of the 294 seats for the Telugu Desam candidates and put up its candidates from the remaining 120 constituencies. Says Latchanna: "If the communists also join us in an electoral understanding we will leave it to Rama Rao to reduce the allotments to his party and the PDF to give the CPI and the CPI(M) their share." At the Rama Rao-PDF meeting, the Telugu Desam leader reportedly hinted that his party should be allowed to contest enough seats for a working majority "to fulfill the promises he is making to the people", without the assistance of other parties in forming the Government. The PDF are not accepting this stand as NTR's expectations are that Telugu Desam may win about 60 per cent of the seats contested and therefore for a working majority the party may have to contest as many as 250 seats, leaving the remaining 44 for the other seven opposition parties.

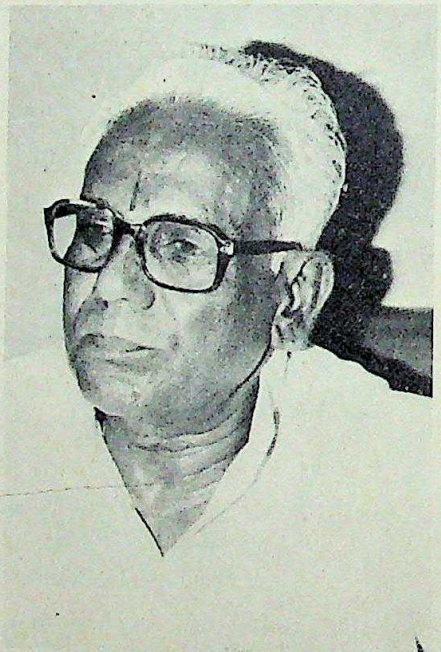
However, the PDF members feel the regional party cannot go it alone without the support of other parties. Says BJP General Secretary Bandaru Dattatreya: "Rama Rao cannot end Congress(I) misrule without joining hands with the national opposition parties." Adds Latchanna: "Members of some parties of the Front feel let down, as we approached Telugu Desam. This is not abject surrender but a strategy taking into account the need to dislodge the Congress(I). Professor N.G. Ranga did it in 1952. There is no reason why we can't do it in 1983, if we are united."

The efforts for an alliance of the opposition parties brought the CPI and the CPI(M) in the state closer with the secretariats of both parties meeting for the first time in 20 years at Vijayawada on October 25 and 26 to evolve a common election programme. But they are divided about the manner in which adjustments are to be made with the PDF. While the CPI(M) had indicated its willingness for an electoral understanding with the Front, as a whole the CPI pointed out that it will not align with the BJP and therefore can work out electoral adjustments with each member party of the PDF excluding the BJP. Says Latchanna: "The task is a tough one but before the PDF steering committee meets on November 2, we will try and bring the parties together." That, however, is easier said than done.

—AMARNATH K. MENON



S. VENKAT NARAYAN



N.T. Rama Rao (left) and Latchanna: unity in diversity

MADHYA PRADESH

Naxalite Nexus

THE TRIBAL dis Bastar in Madhya P has begun to rece revolutionary atten Naxalites from nei ing Andhra Pradesh cently, the state G ment announced that a battalion Special Armed Force (SAF) would be ted for Bastar, an indication th Naxalites are looking at the hilly, f region, and its exploited tribes, as than just a refuge from the A Pradesh state police. South Bastar be a happy hunting ground for u litant radicals as the Dorla tribals inhabit the border areas of Bastar primarily in forest villages, speak and Telugu fluently.

According to police officials, six (groups)—each *dalam* usually has b five and 15 members—are believed operating currently in Bastar with that in Andhra Pradesh's Khammam Warangal districts. Their influence e over a 300-km long strip of land whose from the border varies between 25 km km. The territory starts from Konta deep south and extends all the way b Bhopalpatnam in the south-west. Naxalites reportedly belong to Kond Seetharamaiah's People's War Grou of several splinter factions. Their cu rength is about 1,300 workers.

First Stage: For the present Naxalites are feeling their way in In fact, the one major offence that laid at their door is carrying country weapons without a licence. The N are at the first stage of their plan tion: winning the confidence of the p Seetharamaiah's group believes in violence—called "necessary action ticularly against informers. Once bility has been established, the N will urge the tribals on to forcib vation of forest land, after which th less will occupy farms belonging to landowners.

The activists appear to be headway with the first stage, by trating on righting the continual tation of tribals by the admin machinery—the little acts of hara that the tribal has come to accep evitable. They paid a visit to

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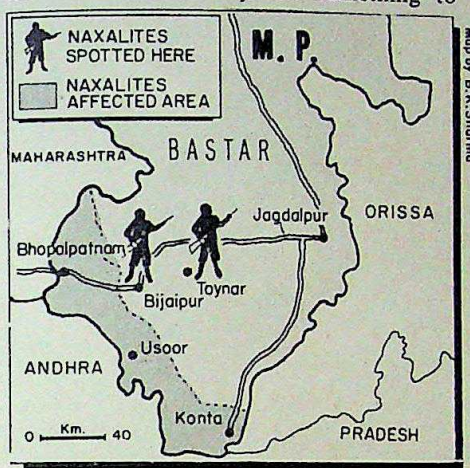
village Kestaram who used to from villagers—now he another village, a forest official grabbed 50 goats was made to. Near village Tailaguda, a few were working under the watch- a forester when four men wal- warned the forester that if the wages were not paid, his arm or would be chopped off.

this year, in village Kestaram, assaulted a ranger and a deputy abusing and threatening Toynar, some Naxalites ad- keeper not to keep faulty wei- another place, the village school- suddenly very regular with his There has been more than one in- Naxalites demanding ransom ei- forest contractors or from forest who have made a fast buck. In no the matter been reported to the a Jagdalpur citizen: "They are work of the vigilance depart- you surprised that the locals more than the police?"

Problems: The police, for their watching and waiting. Says Bastar's superintendent of this time, more than anything, interested in identifying the groups and their members, and in plotting their movements." However, there is no denying that the police are at a loss because, for one, the harassment is seldom reported as the victim usually has something to



Map by B.K. Sharma

hide. Secondly, in the entire 300 km stretch, there are just five police stations and information is received too late for action. Forest roads are slow negotiating and communications are poor. So far only three Naxalites have been arrested—that too last year—at Bhopalpatnam and even they have jumped bail.

The authorities are nervously waiting for the moment when the Naxalites start carrying out their threats. In Maharashtra's Chandrapur district—which shares its border with Bastar—Naxalites chopped off a police informer's arm early last month. The same groups are believed to operate in the area surrounding the tri-junction of Madhya Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh and Maharashtra. Already, there have been reports that the Naxalites have ventured out of the Telugu areas and have been spotted near Bijapur—which indicates their growing confidence. Vishwa Ranjan says that with 39 more vehicles and the promised 100 per cent wireless coverage the pressure will ease considerably. However, the SAF battalion will take two years to become operational.

Meanwhile, even as the law prepares for a confrontation, no attempt has been made to right the tribals' wrongs. For example, a forest official in Jagdalpur brushes aside press reports of extortion by his department's men, saying, "I think it is greatly exaggerated." But he admits that no serious investigation has been made into the allegations. With such an uncaring attitude, it is more than likely that the oppressed tribals will turn to the Naxalites and their rough and ready justice.

—SREEKANT KHANDEKAR in Jagdalpur

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BIHAR

The Waste Land

ALL OF us will be put to a severe test, and our future will depend largely on how we acquit ourselves during the next few months. We shall do well to utilise this occasion to justify the trust of the people who have returned us to power. If we fail them now, it will be hard for us to rehabilitate ourselves. Let each of us, therefore, bend our energies to fight drought collectively.

—Bihar Chief Minister Jagannath Mishra addressing his ministers on October 21

IT HAS been a late awakening. As the land cracks and peels, the spectre of famine is hovering over 20 districts of Bihar. Lakhs of landless labourers are fleeing the state. Tribal leaders in Chhotanagpur and Santhal Pargana estimate that more than 4 lakh landless labourers have migrated from the two regions to neighbouring states.

The Government was galvanised into action only after people had taken to the streets and looted grain trucks and trains. Its first priority therefore was to restore order. In the process trigger-happy policemen shot dead six people in Palajori in Santhal Pargana. Several more were injured in another firing in Dumka and scores have been thrown into jail.

The firing came hard on the heels of starvation reports, mostly from the poverty-stricken southern districts of the state. Jharkhand Mukti Morcha (JMM) leaders Shiboo Soren and Suraj Mandal claim that more than 100 people have died of starvation and say that the situation will go out of control if relief is not rushed to the area within the next 15 days. *Pradeep*, a Patna daily, has also carried the names of seven people who died in Monghyr district.

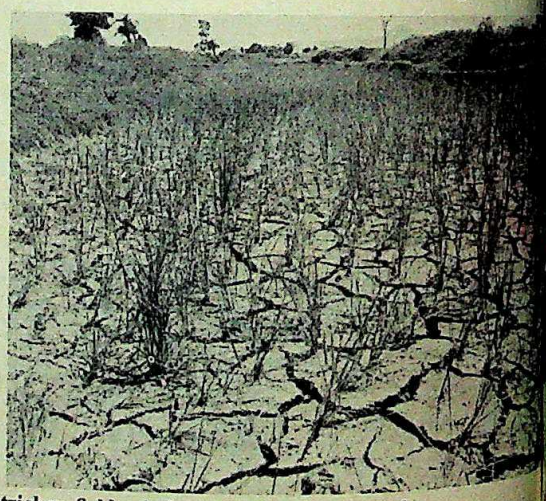
Denials: The Government has trundled out its routine denials of these reports. Mishra has stoutly declared that "the Government will not allow anyone to starve, let alone die of hunger." But the denials notwithstanding, panic has spread across the state, especially in the southern districts. There are reports of "guerrilla squads" in remote parts of the Santhal Pargana, whose aim is to drive out all outsiders. In these districts, the tribals are also said to have intensified their agitation for a separate state. Extremists have also been organising the kisans and landless labourers. The JMM started by organising gheraos of block and sub-divisional offices and then escalated their campaign and gheraoed local collectorates and the deputy commissioner's offices. Besides this foodgrain worth Rs 10 lakh was looted from a train in Paimar railway station.

In its characteristic fashion the Government has been quick to spot political overtones in these disturbances. But this attitude does nothing to alleviate the incontrovertible reports of human suffering which are filtering from all parts of the state. Mohammad Quraishi, the general secretary of the Giridih district Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) says that the poor of the area are selling their children to save them from starvation. From Gaya district there are reports that poor Harijans have been forced to live on leaves and roots.

These stories all confirm that there are severe food shortages which may ge in the coming months. But the situa not developed suddenly—the signs o ble were visible long before the mo Official sources point out that the drought after the monsoon failed came the floods in August-Se which have been followed by drought. The Agriculture Departm reckons that a 40-lakh-tonne sho kharif production—35 lakh tonnes a targeted 76 lakh tonnes—is ta year. And even this may turn out optimistic assessment. Sources say kharif loss was preceded by the d struction of the 'bhadai' crop in Then the much awaited 'Hathia' ra led to arrive blighting the rab Moreover the year had started wi ficit of 21 lakh tonnes of foodgra 1981–82 the total production ha only 95 lakh tonnes against the 116 lakh tonnes.

Government Apathy: Bureaucr thy is partly to blame for all these s The major irrigation projects whic have improved the position languishing. Most are years schedule. Diesel shortages and the tubewells have all added to the prob

Even when the Government fina get down to action it fumbled. Mish had his hands full with the hearing Patna Urban Cooperative Bank case the Supreme Court, began by de practically the whole state a area", and sanctioned Rs 7 crore the situation. He then ordered the cards"—for free relief—should be is two per cent of the population a ordered the payment of social secur sions to 23 lakh people every m stead of the usual quarterly payme tackle the drought he had the



PICTURES BY KRISHAN MURARI KISHAN

Landless labourers in Bihar (left) and a drought-stricken field: victims of government apathy

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Super speed chart

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Cakes	6 min
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Paneer	1 min
8 Closed toasted sandwiches	5 min
4 Open toasted sandwiches	8 min
Waffles	4 min
Sheesh kababs	8 min

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...programme implementation committees into drought relief committees. ...immediately he found that he ...to task by the Opposition on ...State Janata Party General ...Suryu Rai said the Government ...declared the state a "famine ...of a "scarcity area".

...also objected to the fact that the ...had not bothered to involve ...parties in the relief effort. ...chief Karpoori Thakur de...actions as all that could be expected from a corrupt ministry. Mishra, however, defended his action on the grounds that the creation of new committees would have been an unnecessary and time-consuming exercise.

But the Government was quick to resile from its own decisions. According to a modified order issued the very next day after the first one, Mishra announced that "red cards would be issued to just one per cent of the population and not two per cent as decided by the Cabinet." Mishra reasoned that the number of red card holders had been halved because 23 lakh people were already covered by the social security pension scheme.

While the Government fiddles with its own decisions, the suffering continues unabated. And it remains to be seen whether Jagannath Mishra and his inept cohorts will be able to live up to the trust that the people have placed in them. However, going by the abysmal performance of Mishra's government to date, there is little hope for Bihar's suffering millions.

—FARZAND AHMED

...PRESS BILL

...attle Cry

WHATEVER else the Government is butter-fingered at doing, it is adept at keeping ...ds of its impetuosity in a state of ...ing suspense. The campaign ...the Bihar Press Bill is almost ...months old now, but the ...ment has only indulg...a lot of double-talk—...ing by press freedom in ...breath, and fulminating ...."rag journalism" in ...ert.

But the anti-bill move...has galvanised the na...community of print ...ists. Editors of every ...hue have rallied to...to condemn the long-...implications of 'Jugger...Mishra's brain-child, ...last fortnight's rally by the ...in Delhi once again ...forth the bill's cata...effect. More than 3,000 ...ists, and leaders of ...national level press or...tion, marched from Connaught ...to that favourite soap-box sward, ...Boat Club. Deena Nath Jha, editor ...the *Indian Nation* and leader of the ...Snagharsh Samiti in Bihar, ...large delegation, and the Indian ...tion of Working Journalists ...and the National Union of ...ists (NUJ) were represented by ...state units.

At the Boat Club, the rally was ad...by senior journalists A. Ragha...president of the IFWJ, S. Sahay, ...of the *Statesman*, Upendra Vaj...president of the Delhi Union of ...ists, and Kapil Verma, president ...NUJ. Khushwant Singh, editor of the *Hindustan Times*, and M. Chalapathi Rau, senior journalist and former editor of the *National Herald*, were also present, as were Madhu Dandavate of the Janata Party, Indrajit Gupta of the All India Trade Union Congress, N.K. Bhatt of the Indian National Trade Union Congress (INTUC), and Bharatiya Janata Party President A.B. Vajpayee.

Unanimous Condemnation: The speakers at the rally unanimously condemned the bill and demanded its withdrawal. Significantly, that very day Minister of State for Information and Broadcasting, N.K.P. Salve, told the Parliamentary Consultative Committee attached to his ministry that the Government was taking a "rational and objective" view of the bill, but "rag journalism" had to be curbed. Salve told Parliament that the bill would be sent to the President for assent only after a full dialogue with journalists' organisations.

On October 12, an anti-bill procession in Patna, consisting mostly of youth activists and several legislators, was lathi-charged and tear-gassed, and two days later Prime Minister Indira Gandhi said in the Rajya Sabha that she "neither endorsed nor rejected" the bill since she had not yet "read it".

The Government has already indicated that it may ask Bihar to make changes in the bill, particularly in respect of the proviso that allows even a lowly executive magistrate to throw "scurrilous" journalists into prison for as many as 180 days. Moreover, even the pro-Government INTUC and the NUJ, have come out strongly against the bill.

Official Dilemma: But the prime minister has not distinguished herself by claiming not to have read the bill carefully. Observers in Delhi feel that the Central Government is now trapped in a dilemma—any move to scuttle the bill would immediately weaken Mishra's crumbling base, and add to the uncertainty of his tenure created by the Patna Urban Cooperative Bank case currently being heard by the Supreme Court.

Salve has predictably sought to queer the pitch by accusing the press of providing the Opposition ingress into the agitation. But the essential nature of the agitation has been distinctly non-partisan.

As the anti-bill agitation enters its plateau phase, there is talk of formulating a code of ethics for journalists. But, as *The Times of India* commented editorially, "(the press) cannot possibly wish to take on this (policing) role, so long as those in power find it expedient to patronise those very black sheep whom they say they wish to be disciplined". The rally was yet another expression of journalists' conviction to maintain the momentum of the agitation through a period in which a dithering government is keeping its options in limbo.

—CHAITANYA KALBAG

BHAWAN SINGH

The New Delhi rally: keeping up the pressure

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An overview of the Epcot Centre: b
for tomorrow

EPCOT

Disney's Futureville

MUCH touted as a futuristic fantasy, it was Walt Disney's last dream. The $900 million experimental prototype community of tomorrow, with the awkward acronym Epcot, opened to tourists on schedule recently amidst considerable media excitement and a blitzkrieg of impressive statistics. Part of the 28,000-acre property of the Walt Disney World Resort in Florida,it spreads over 260 acres of scientifically landscaped terrain. With 800,000 tonnes of concrete poured into the project, it took 10 years of round the clock effort of 15,000 workers to ready the centre in time. Expectations of additional enthusiastic visitors to Epcot range around 10 million, making the world's number one tourist spot even more populous.

For all that, disappointment tinged "the first day of the 21st century" for the approximately 25,000 tourists who flocked in. Some of the attractions are still to be completed. And more, some of the shows experienced technical difficulties, forcing the snaking queues to disperse discontented. Said a visitor, overheard expressing her feelings: "It just doesn't seem like Disney to me."

In fact, the reality of Epcot is far different from the Utopian self-contained scientific community envisioned by Disney. Over the years, purely for reasons of practicality, the concept had to be changed, though the name struck. Said Card Walker, chairman and chief executive officer, Walt Disney Productions: "Epcot is our interpretation of Walt's dream. We have built it on a grand scale to stand as a permanent world's fair of imagination, discovery, education and exploration."

High Technology: With two areas called Future World and World Show-case, Epcot today is a twin-themed complex, incorporating forcefully expressed state-of-the-art technology in every area of operation. Coming in with inflated expectations, the average visitor half suspects that he will be transported into a live version of a sci-fi movie. Future World conceivably carries that illusion through, especially in the Epcot symbol, a 18
high geodesic dome structured wit
tonnes of shining steel which represe
spaceship Earth—man's vehicle in
space.

Future World offers six
vilions sponsored by various US
rations on 'tomorrow' themes like
transportation, imagination, co
cation, agriculture and tech
Confronted with touch-sensitive
systems, audio-animatronics
electronic devices to experiment
novative 3-D movies, and gree
where plants prosper on arid
tomatoes sprout from the ceilings,
almost the sense of a time-warp h

In direct contrast to the
neering'—a favourite Disney co
Future World, the World Show-
stereotypical journey into the cul
lage of the nine countries partic
the "world community". All pav
ringed around a 41-acre lagoon
meant to capture the quintessence
life-style for the traveller to absorb

Clichéd Display: The cliché
countries spring to down-scaled
Tourist pamphlets take three-di

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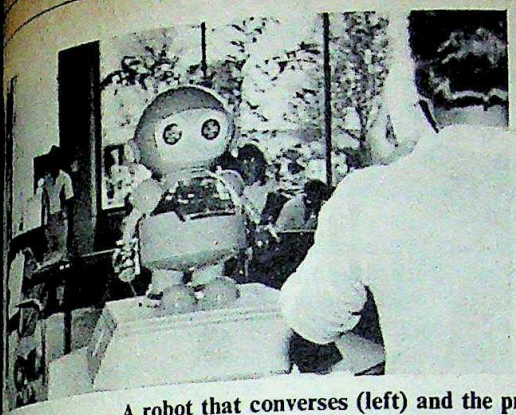

A robot that converses (left) and the prehistoric section: sense of a time-warp

...side a Japanese pagoda, a ...ple of heaven, or a miniature ...the Eiffel tower. There are op-...nading in Mexico, participating ...al Oktoberfest in Germany, ...g and browsing among the pre-...-a-brac displays.

...gourmet fare in the many ... that boast indigenous food—Mexican tacos and enchiladas, French croissants and wine, Canadian tourtiere, Italian pasta, German beer and much more—with even natives to serve, for a more authentic whiff of exoticism. The sensation of having walked through this mile-long picture postcard demands necessary reserves of ebbing imaginative flights of fancy.

To be fair, however, Epcot is more than equipped to provide a day or two of the magic formula—education with entertainment. It is for the most part, an adults world, speckled jarringly at times with the all pervasive "cuteness" of other Disney theme parks.

Although, more fascinating than the Epcot on display, is the Epcot behind the scenes—the complex, highly efficient infrastructure provided for the smooth functioning of the sprawling venture. This is really the 21st century at close quarters, from the drainage canals equipped with unique flood control gates to the newfangled waste disposal system, from the nine acres of underground "utilidors" to the unique all-electronic telephone system.

In transportation, the inductive power transfer system and the fuel efficient monorail system are a preliminary step towards universal road application. As for communications, the giant computer centre located underground orchestrates more than 72,000 Epcot functions per second. In the realm of energy, its photovoltaic system is the largest privately funded solar power installation in the world.

And this is just the beginning. In fact Epcot plans to install prototype technology wherever possible. Among the planned projects are "horizons", a theme area depicting 21st century life-styles, a 6-million-gallon aquarium with a miniature ocean living system, electricity generation from waste water and special effects with laser graphics and computer controlled motion picture production.

As Walt Disney had expressed it: "It will be a community of tomorrow that will never be completed but will always be introducing and testing and demonstrating new materials and systems." If all these ideas are implemented, Epcot will indeed live up to Disney's vision of a "living blueprint of the future".

—ROHINI NILEKANI
at the Epcot Centre

Spaceship Earth towers over the Epcot entrance: Disney's last dream

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TOKTEN

Return Of The Native

A COMMON grouse against expatriate Indians is that they turn their backs on their homeland as soon as they make good in a new country. The expatriates, in turn, complain that though they would like to contribute their expertise, they do not even know where to start because of the sluggish attitude of government agencies. This may no longer be the case. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), in a reversal of their policy not to send specialists back to their own countries for consultations, has initiated a plan that will do just that.

The Transfer of Knowledge Through Expatriate Nationals (TOKTEN) programme, which was started in 1980 and has now gathered steam, is likely to benefit India the most. As one of the countries most affected by the brain drain it will at last receive the expertise acquired by non-resident Indians. The latest figures show that so far 515 expatriate professionals have volunteered their services. Of these 37 have already been invited and 16 of them have finished their assignments, six are in India and 15 more are expected to arrive in the course of the year.

Quick Work: The idea for TOKTEN originated in the mid '70s when the Turkish Government reported to UNDP that an expert assigned to study traffic control had finished his project in a few weeks instead of the normal months. Having looked into the matter, the organisation found it was because the expert, though a naturalised US citizen, was of Turkish origin and had spent the early part of his life there. With personal knowledge of local conditions and problems he was able to finish the problem quickly.

After a few more experiments, it was decided to carry on this system under the auspices of TOKTEN. By the end of 1981, 12 developing countries had signed on for the programme. They are India, Argentina, China, Egypt, Greece, Grenada, Guyana, Pakistan, the Philippines, Sri Lanka, Turkey, and Trinidad and Tobago. The projects vary from micro-electronics, bio-engineering, marine sciences and systems and engineering. Hearing of the overwhelming success of these projects, 15 other countries have expressed an interest in TOKTEN. But India, because of its excessive bureaucratisation, may not fully enjoy TOKTEN's fruits.

For India, the TOKTEN programmes are coordinated by a working committee composed of different ministries, the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, the UNDP and the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR). This group, the expatriates complain, has been less than helpful to experts willing to go to India. The process of applying to TOKTEN begins with writing to the UNDP head office in New York which then sends the letters to the regional office in New Delhi, which forwards all the mail to the CSIR.

Slow Progress: If the applicant is lucky he gets an acknowledgement from the agency with a promise of more information. The additional information could take anything up to two years to arrive. "We keep writing but the wheels of the CSIR and other bodies appear to have halted most of the time," says one expatriate Indian. Adds another who declined an assignment after he had been given the bureaucratic run-around for two years: "If the UNDP really means business it is they who should do all this chasing of papers in India for us."

Most expatriates in Canada are more than willing to do their bit for India. With proper organisation this could save the Indian Government millions of dollars in terms of fees.

Despite these complaints there are people like Dr Anand Prakash who retain their enthusiasm for TOKTEN even after completing their assignments in India. Prakash, who is executive director with Myticulture International Inc, a Canadian organisation involved in the production, promotion and marketing of seafoods, is also senior scientific adviser to the Canadian Government, went to the National Institute of Oceanography in early '81 in Goa to establish a viable seafood industry based on commercial-scale farming of shellfish.

During his six-week stay he was to work on the technical feasibility study carried out at the Institute on the farming of green mussels in Goa's coastal waters. He was able to identify several factors that had stalled the operation and keeps in constant touch with the Institute even after his return. About the project, he says: "The proposed industry will be set up with special emphasis on job creation for the rural poor and on developing a production base ca[illegible] only supplying the local market[illegible] catering to exports."

Another TOKTEN volunteer, [illegible] Dukipatti, an associate research o[illegible] the National Research Council of [illegible] division of mechanical engineering [illegible] adjunct professor of mechanical en[illegible] at Montreal's Concordia U[illegible] Dukipatti is scheduled to leave for I[illegible] few weeks to take up assignment [illegible] Ministry of Railways' Research [illegible] Standards Organisation at Lucknow [illegible] he will work on the possibility of in[illegible] the speed of freight stock to [illegible] kmph.

All this was arranged only [illegible] years of strenuous correspondence [illegible] Indian organisations. Says Dukipa[illegible] a short stint like this one to be me[illegible] the sponsoring authorities or inst[illegible] where the expatriate is to work [illegible] provide with all the information [illegible] problem areas because with [illegible] technological and other facilities av[illegible] Canada he could prepare some a[illegible] documents and models as well a[illegible] computer technology."

Tremendous Saving: The [illegible] programme has, however, resul[illegible] tremendous savings for the fin[illegible] troubled UN. The expatriates who [illegible] these assignments get only their air fa[illegible] some living expenses, less than $[illegible] month as opposed to the normal cons[illegible] fees of $8,000 to $10,000. The non-re[illegible] consultants are also able to help out [illegible] nationals wanting to invest in India [illegible] Eddy Harmon, assistant to the dire[illegible] administration of TOKTEN: "Home co[illegible] feel more comfortable having some[illegible] their own to advise them."

A certain amount of cynicism a[illegible] TOKTEN programme is however, [illegible] among the expatriate Indians. Re[illegible] one: "There is no shortage of [illegible] experts who would like to take a few [illegible] off their work to be in India on a [illegible] holiday." Said another who has just re[illegible] after an assignment with the World H[illegible] Organisation: "When we go there and [illegible] back recommending certain measure[illegible] chances are that they will just stay [illegible] obscure files."

But the general feeling is refl[illegible] Prakash who says that most expatri[illegible] Canada are more than willing to do th[illegible] for India. And irrespective of the [illegible] comments, word is spreading in Ca[illegible] universities about the programme. [illegible] proper organisation this could sa[illegible] Indian Government millions of dol[illegible] terms of fees. The time has come, ob[illegible] to reverse the brain drain.

—SURESH JAIN

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e Immigration Act

CONSERVATIVE Govern- in Britain has decided to changes in British immig- two months before the Act comes into effect on 1983. Information deliberately the British press has created among the Conservative wing. The recent Tory party at Brighton saw a resurgence demands for repatriation of immigrants from Britain. leaking of the contents of Paper on immigration is seen by here as an attempt to fore- right wing revolt when the debated in Parliament.

proposed changes in the White the right of British women foreign husbands to live and Britain. As the law stands, British the right to bring foreign wo-

migrants in Britain: no guarantees

Britain, a right also given to men countries belonging to the European Community. The British woman bring in a foreign husband pro- she was born in Britain or has a born here. This present rule relat- spouses was introduced in 1969 by Labour Government of Harold

reason given then for its introd- was the exploitation of the custom marriages which it was thought would result in an influx of male immigrants from India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. The other fear which still persists is that a law allowing freedom of entry to husbands and fiancés would result in bogus marriages or marriages of convenience which would give easy access to foreign and especially Asian men in Britain.

Backing Down: The law relating to foreign male spouses was abolished by a later Labour Government and re-introduced in 1980 by the Conservatives. Last year three women living in Britain took the British Government to the European Court of Human Rights over its refusal to allow their husbands into the country. The present Government, it seems, afraid that the court will rule in favour of the women, has made changes in the law which will allow at least one of them, a British citizen, to bring in her husband.

The rule preventing foreign women with residency rights in Britain from applying for British citizenship as long as their husbands are resident abroad is also to be relaxed. This means that an Indian or Pakistani woman with leave to reside in Britain may now apply for full British citizenship. If it is granted she may bring her husband or fiancé into this country.

The present law was fought by civil rights and immigrant groups as being discriminatory and sexist in that it was aimed mainly at Asian women resident in Britain who wished to bring their husbands to join them here. Fiona Mactaggart, secretary-general of the Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants, believes that these changes in the immigration rules will not make things much easier for Asian women.

Says Mactaggart: "The changes are welcome in that it will help an important group of British citizens who come from abroad. But it will not help the majority of Indian women in Britain who do not wish to apply for British citizenship because it means giving up Indian nationality as India doesn't allow dual nationality. No law can be a just law that forces husbands and wives to live apart." The cost of applying for British citizenship for people who have arrived in this country after 1973 is now £200 (Rs 3,200) and the average waiting period is more than 2 years with no guarantee that citizenship will be granted.

—BONNY MUKHERJEE

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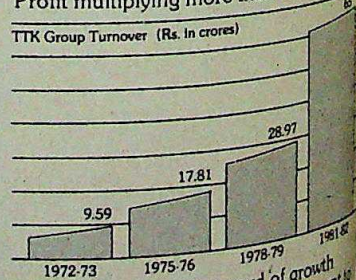

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etting Down To Business

PERHAPS the most important aftermath of the Indira Gandhi visit to the United States is the promise of closer commercial and business ties between the world's two largest democracies. During her several public appearances in America, Mrs Gandhi repeatedly urged American companies to invest in India and guaranteed that their investment would be safe and well protected.

as senior Indian diplomat put it: "A lot of the press the real economic significance of that state visit. How you seen an Indian prime minister tell American business public that they should not have any fears of nationalization and that they can feel secure about repatriation of their

significance of the Indian prime mi- erances has not, however, been lost American Government. "State visits go," said one American diplomat, the follow-up that's important. What now is to make sure that some of that was generated during mee- en us and the Indian delegation participate."

Rapport: While the United States not is not pulling out all the com- oppers to build a better business with India, its officials have implement a methodical, nuts and to help the Indian Government leaders talk directly to American about partnerships and joint ventures.

main architect of this plan is Harry tor of commercial operations for States Department of Commerce. cial element," he said during an interview with INDIA TODAY before he left Washington for a series of meetings Delhi, "is private money. You've got to keep in mind more private money than government money

was reiterating a stark fact of economic life that deve- ntries must live with during the Reagan Administra- government-to-government assistance is dwindling as commitment to multilateral lending institutions such World Bank and International Monetary Fund. The Administration insists that countries like India must turn cial institutions and private business groups for loans ments.

there's still a generally negative feeling about the Indian this country," a State Department insider confided. ple in this country know nothing about India's indu- ugh. India is not considered an attractive business pro- Adds Cahill: "What really needs to be done is to work where Indian officials and businessmen can talk di- on a regular basis, to their American counterparts. They the opportunity to explain and sell their market."

India: In order to give the Indians their commercial Cahill has started mobilising one of the most power- ction-wielding networks of the commerce department ment's district offices. The commerce department has 48 such offices located all across the country. Each district office is reinforced by a district export council consisting of the area's 50 leading businessmen. The Los Angeles district office alone has a skilled staff of 10 government trade specialists. "The punch," says Cahill, "is very strong indeed."

Starting soon, these district offices will become part of 'a sell-India road show'. They will be the sites for innumerable cross-country seminars and special "India days", during which Indian embassy and trade officials and businessmen will have the opportunity to explain and discuss commercial ventures directly with America's business leaders. Seminars have already been planned in Boston, Pittsburgh, Louisville, Dallas, Houston, and Los Angeles. The World Trade Club of Charlotte, North Carolina, is declaring December 8 as "India Day", when Indian embassy officials will be the featured speakers. "The whole purpose is to generate maximum contact between Indian officials and the business community here," Cahill stresses. "It gives the Indians the first real chance to have a forum here."

Reagan and Mrs Gandhi in Washington: commercial ties

The range of innovative and mutually beneficial business and commercial partnerships that might develop between the two countries following the 'road show' are almost limitless. After President Reagan appealed for more private sector involvement in economic assistance to developing countries, the State Department's Bureau of Economic and Business Affairs undertook a comprehensive study to determine what could be achieved. Some 200 business companies and associations participated.

Mutual Benefit: INDIA TODAY received an exclusive briefing on the feedback from the study. Its major focus was: What specific role —and under what circumstances—are private American companies willing to play in assisting developing countries like India improve their economies? The bottom line that emerged was that business would not back a charity programme. In order to be lasting and productive, activities should benefit both the American "giver" and the developing country "receiver". The higlights of the study are as follows:

► On the job training in the United States: Certain types of training are best carried out in the United States. One example is hospital administrators. While the US trains foreign physicians in their droves, it does nothing for hospital managers in charge of laboratories, food services, laundry and equipment. The need is urgent. In most developing countries surgeons may be able to perform skilful operations but the patient usually suffers due to unsanitary post-operative conditions.

In Sri Lanka's 36-acre General Hospital surgeries are postponed during the monsoons for want of clean linen. This is because linen is washed by hand and hung out to dry. At New Delhi's All India Institute of Medical Sciences, kitchen conditions are "primitive". Training hospital administrators would not only lead to improved managerial skills, but also motivate physicians from developing countries to return to their homeland. Many of these physicians remain abroad not just because of income, but because their curative skills are often nullified by unsanitary conditions. In return, the American hospital industry would gain because

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US-trained administrators would place orders for American-made equipment to help them in their tasks.

The training assignments would be paid for by a fund to which American manufacturers of medical equipment would contribute money. Similar training programmes could be organised in agriculture and in building construction. Already, a consortium of poultry industry companies is placing Nigerian teachers and farm managers with farm families in Iowa for nine-month on-the-job instruction. As a quid pro quo the American skills—including laboratory techniques—they take back with them are likely to result in increased orders for American farm equipment.

It works the same way in construction. An Ohio architectural firm with design contracts for 37 public buildings in Nigeria notes that Nigeria could benefit from the use of appropriate American methods. For example, the Gypsum Board for Interior Construction has many advantages in tropical humidity over other building systems in terms of speedier construction, lower price and resistance to deterioration. But in Nigeria the specifications are still written according to cumbersome British standards.

► Trade shows in the US: The study suggests putting more emphasis on inviting pertinent government officials from the Third World to events such as the largest agricultural fair that is held each year in Moutrie, Georgia, where exhibitors can demonstrate their goods and services and show their products in action "in ways that forcefully impress viewers from developing countries". Such fairs could also exhibit "appropriate technology" products made by small US companies for use in Third World countries.

Larger American manufacturers would be encouraged to subsidise the participation of small producers. Last year the John Deere Company helped finance the appearance of the Iowa-based self-help foundation's small tractor in a fair in Mexico City. The simple tractor—designed for assembly in the Third World—represents the "next step up from oxen". It made a tremendous hit. But it could not have been shown at the fair without Deere's financial assistance.

The bottom line that emerged was that business would not back a charity programme. In order to be lasting and productive, activities should benefit both the American "giver" and the developing country "receiver".

► Volunteer Advisers: A volunteer organisation—the International Executive Service Corps (IESC) sends retired business executives to devote about three months in developing countries on projects in which their special expertise is required. "Operating out of a hotel room without formal support links with embassy or aid mission, the volunteer is the antithesis of an ugly American. He seeks no prerequisites, is attached to no bureaucracy, resolves a particular challenge in a brief time and then departs."

An IESC volunteer in Malaysia saved a small food processing company from going bankrupt by improving its accounting and processing procedures and rearranging its production line. In Sri Lanka, a former Sears executive saved a garment factory by reorganising its disastrous operating design, work flow patterns, and staffing. The survey suggests that American businessmen, during periodic business visits to developing countries, aggressively promote the free consultation scheme with host governments.

► Technology flow: The research and development divisions of American companies occasionally turn out goods and processes that are not applicable to the American market. But these items can serve as appropriate small-scale technology for developing countries. A programme is now being implemented under which the US Government will gather such data from American companies and maintain an inventory. American embassies abroad will be asked to encourage developing countries to make requ appropriate technologies and the inquiries will be cabled to the Department of Commerce.

► Support for schools and social studies: Businessmen that American companies can give vigorous support to ed nal institutions. The trend is already discernible. The Inter nal Business Machines (IBM) is setting up computer scienc tutes at the universities of Caracas and Singapore. Union C has built and equipped a technical college in Zimbabwe. tional Telephone and Telegraph Corporation (ITT) has estab major technical and business library at the University of Caltech's Pacific Indonesia supports educational program volving 15,000 children and 600 teachers in schools con and maintained by the company.

► Sale of used equipment: America has a wealth of good surplus equipment that can be sold cheaply. The study mends a programme in which inexpensive, suitable equipme have its quality verified and reliability assured and be chan to entrepreneurs in developing countries. There is a glut o equipment, for example, with which to make copybook school notebooks.

Firms in Illinois and Washington are ready to supply key plants as well as individual pieces of equipment in seed and food processing areas. And the selling firms can be flexible about financial arrangements. Some are willing to McDonnell-Douglas swapped its aircraft for canned ham Rumania. International Harvester exchanged its agri ral equipment for C soyabeans which were processed in Japan.

► Export mix: Develop assistance can be rein through trade. American are willing to share joint duction ventures under a key component of an manufactured in the US the other parts are ma developing countries by ly-owned firms. But the notes: "Import-substitution for its own sake is not the aim.

For several years a large US paint company had been to export a quality enamel finish to developing countries these countries erected high trade barriers against the produ cause they considered it an unnecessary luxury item. Accordi one account here's what happened next:

"Adjusting to the challenge, the US corporation deter that potentially competent 'paint mixers', ranging in size small families to medium size factories existed in most deve countries. Company experts carefully indentified these entr neurs and advised on how to shape up into viable organisa The US producer is now breaking its top-line enamel into co nents and selling them as low tariff raw materials to the re sed paint mixers. Provided with mixing charts and US company guidance, the latter have generated industries."

The survey recommends that American businessmen c Third World economic growth by suggesting improvements laws. "One of the most direct ways to help industri developing countries is to facilitate sales of their produ developed countries. But access to the US market hampe unsynchronised import regulations and practices. Roebuck, for example, buys goods for its operation shipments are sometimes stopped on arrival in Am ports."

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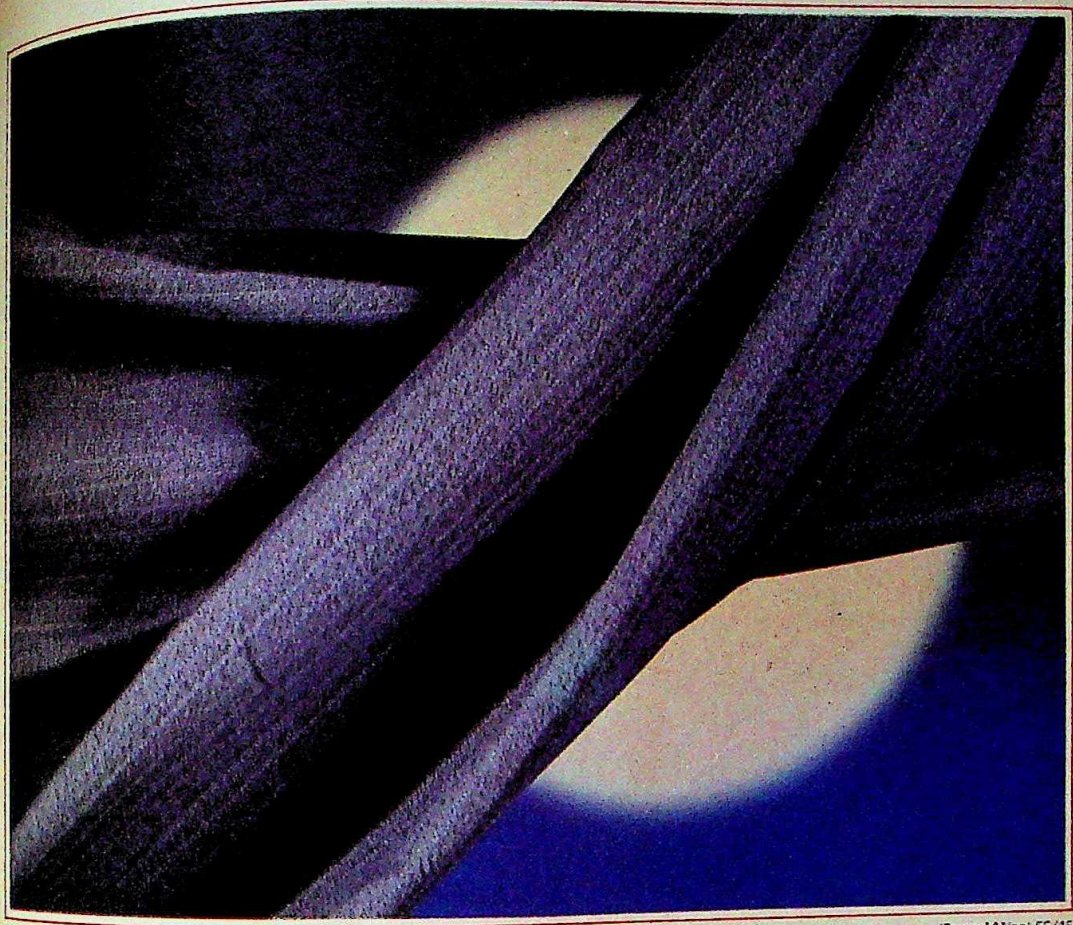

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TIN BIGHA

Corridor Of Controversy

BSF jawans on the Tin Bigha border: severe limitations

LY the most-publicised "gain" of strongman Lt-General H.M. to New Delhi last month was ment on Tin Bigha, the 15,130 sq that India has surrendered on lease to Bangladesh. The deal Bangladesh to establish a long link with its enclaves of Daha- Angarpota, surrounded till now by large tracts of Indian territory.

But while the agreement was being trumpeted as a major breakthrough in Indo-Bangladesh relations, little or no heed was paid to the feeble cries of protest from the people most affected by the deal, the inhabitants of Tin Bigha and its surrounding area. While the border maps of both countries were being altered in New Delhi, it was not even considered important enough to inform the population of Tin Bigha that their lives were about to be drastically altered.

To find out what the reaction to the agreement is among the people it affects the most. Calcutta Correspondent SUMANTA SEN *made the long and arduous journey to Tin Bigha. His report:*

In the wake of the agreement, the 32,000 people who reside in the area have been up in arms and threaten to launch a massive movement if the corridor is constructed.

FOR DECADES, the people of Tin Bigha and its neighbouring areas have been virtually ignored by the world around them. Located in the backward area of West Bengal's northern district of Cooch Behar, Tin Bigha and its neighbours form pathetic pools of poverty and land stretching into the broken by the occasional paddy thatched huts of the villages. The all-pervasive aura of neglect is impossible to miss. There is no electricity in the entire area, whatever little the inhabitants earn from the parched land goes into the coffers of banks. There is not a single village in the district who is not wallowing in poverty, even in that poverty-ridden area the local population's biggest problem is dacoits who make regular raids across the Bangladesh border—13 km away. Under the agreement, the international boundary with Bangladesh will extend right up to the doorstep of the 16 families living in Tin Bigha village, and their anxiety about what will happen then is writ large across their seamed and grimy faces.

But the people most affected by the agreement live in the heavily-populated Kuchlibari area which lies just beyond Tin Bigha. The proposed Tin Bigha corridor will cut right across the area, separating it from Cooch Behar district and, consequently, from India. In the wake of the agreement Kuchlibari's 32,000 people who reside in the 28 villages scattered around the total area have been up in arms.

Residents Plea: The sole representative of New Delhi in the area is the local Border Security Force (BSF) commander and, last fortnight, he faced an irate team of prominent locals who have organised themselves into the Kuchlibari Sangram Committee. The committee informed him in no uncertain terms that they would launch a massive movement if any steps were taken to construct the proposed cor-

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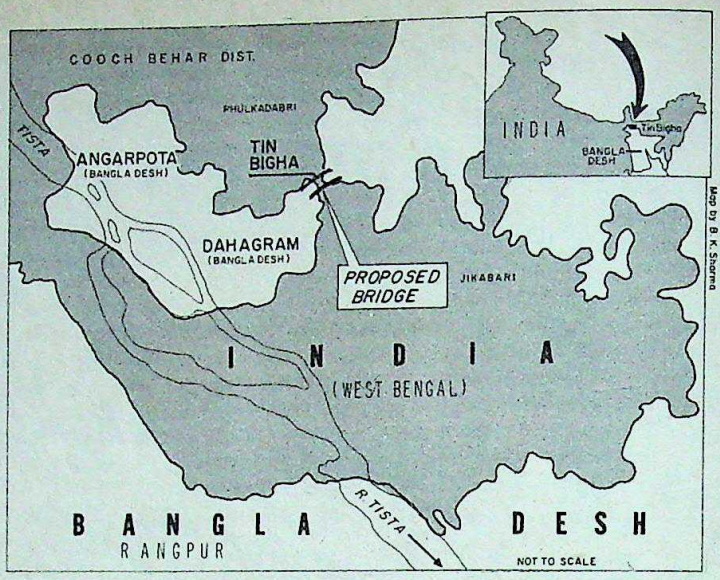
ridor. As their leader, Motilal Kar, a 47-year-old schoolteacher told INDIA TODAY: "By cutting us off from the rest of the country, the proposed corridor will turn Kuchlibari into an isolated enclave with Bangladeshis all around." The same plaintive complaint was repeated to the BSF commander, though in more emotional terms: "How can the mother in Delhi agree to throw her children to the wolves?" The commandant, of course, had no ready answer. Nor can the group draw much comfort from the West Bengal Government's insistence that the construction of the Tin Bigha corridor be accompanied by the construction of a flyover or a subway which would grant the Kuchlibari residents easy access to the rest of the district.



The Tin Bigha corridor, when it comes into existence, will in actual terms be a road 185 metres long and 80 metres wide. It will run through uninhabited country and link Panbari village on the border of Bangladesh's Rangpur district, with the Dahagram-Angarpota area, thus bringing the latter within the mainstream of the country.

But the biggest fear of the locals is an increase in the number of dacoities from across the border which has risen sharply in the past year. Dalim Adhikari, 65, is one tragic victim. Even though he lives next door to the Tin Bigha outpost of the BSF, dacoits stole his herd of six cows recently, leaving him with no further means of livelihood. BSF [illegible] admit that there has [illegible] marked increase in [illegible] but pointed out their [illegible] ness and inadequacies [illegible] have a total of 10 men [illegible] ling 12 villages stretch[illegible] across 10 km of border [illegible] the BSF personnel fear that [illegible] reduction of the distance [illegible] tween the two borders [illegible] only result in an increase [illegible] the forays.

Bleak Future: The [illegible] ties have indirectly cut [illegible] cally into the earning [illegible] of the villagers since the [illegible] cash crop in the area is [illegible] co and the main target [illegible] dacoits is cows. Says [illegible] tindhranath Roy, 70: "[illegible] dung is the best manure [illegible] tobacco and with the increasing [illegible] cows and, consequently, cowdung [illegible] duction has fallen alarmingly." But [illegible] the younger inhabitants are all for [illegible] force to resist the construction of the [illegible] ridor, the older generation seems re[illegible] to a bleak future. Says Sadhu Burman: "If things go on like they are, we will [illegible] have to abandon our homes and take [illegible] jobs in the tea gardens of Jalpaiguri."

Tin Bigha farmers ploughing their fields with their village in the background: fears and forebodings

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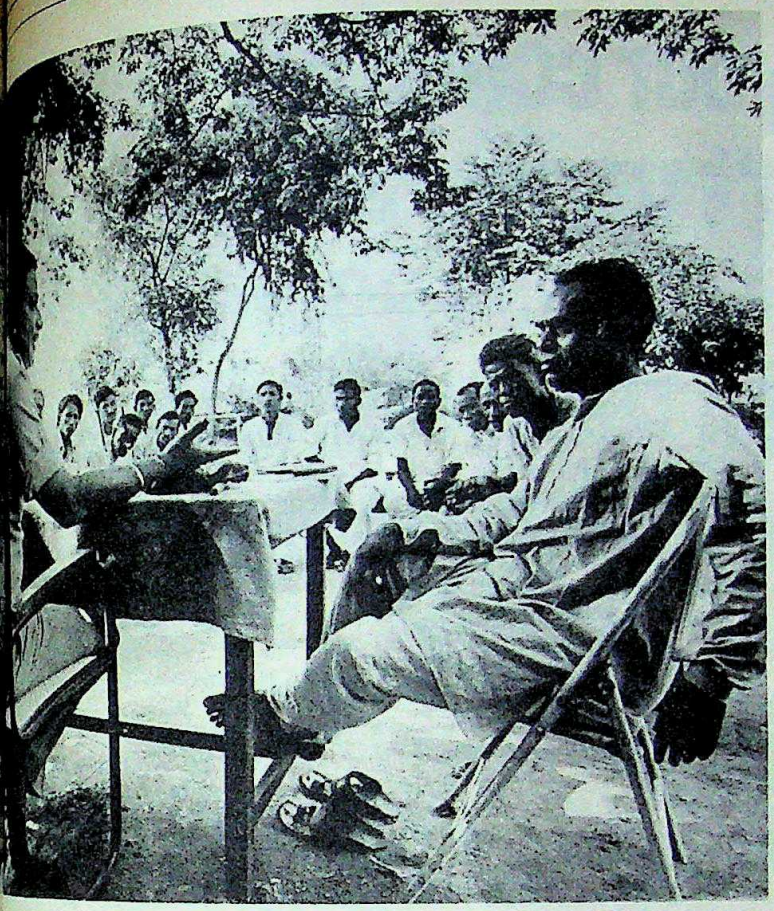

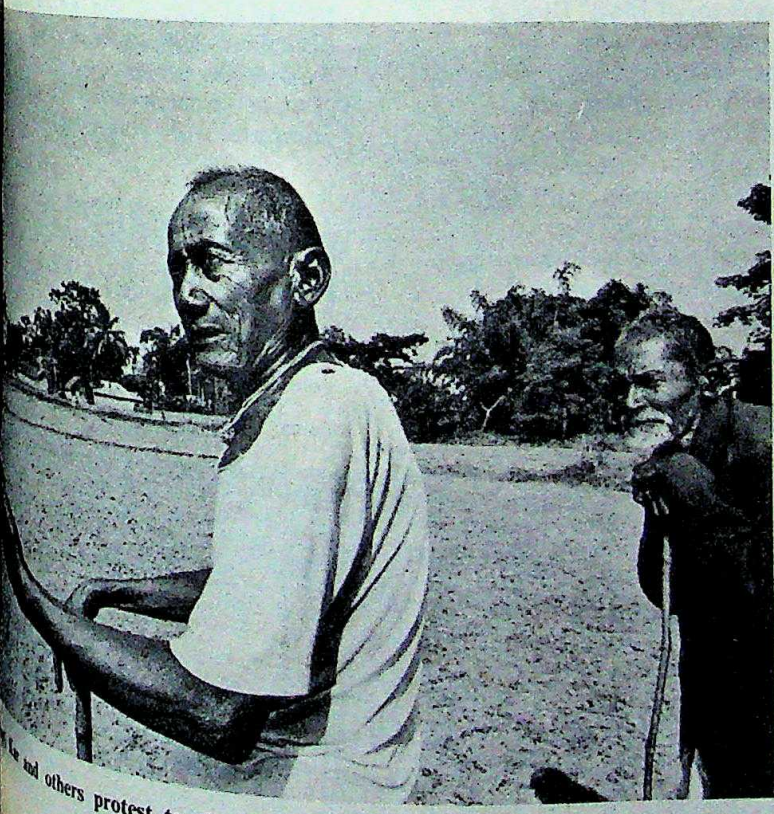

...ke and others protest to the BSF commandant and (above) Dalim Adhikari surveys his fields: increasing fears

The other fear that looms as large is the influx of smugglers that the corridor is bound to bring. At present, there is little or no smuggling simply because there is very little to be taken out on either side. But once the corridor comes up, it will provide a direct link with the railhead of Patgram in Bangladesh for both merchandise and customers.

The fears are not one-sided. Even the residents of the Bangladesh enclaves of Dahagram and Angarpota express their own apprehensions regarding the proposed corridor. Till now, the Cooch Behar authorities have permitted them to visit the Indian markets of Dhapar Hat and Mekhliganj in India, else they would have starved to death. But now, with the proposed corridor, they will have to journey 13 kilometres to Patgram market, where comparable prices of everyday items are considerably higher. Further, even though 7,000 of the total population of Dahagram and Angarpota are Muslims, they are clearly more at home with their neighbouring Indians than with the faraway Bangladeshis.

Growing Controversy: Meanwhile, the Tin Bigha agreement is gradually building up into another major controversy within the ruling Left Front in West Bengal. Though the party leaders in Calcutta have raised no objections to the agreement, the Forward Bloc, an important Front constituent, has made no bones about its displeasure with the agreement and has openly threatened to resist it. Their reasons are mainly political.

The Forward Bloc has its most important base in Cooch Behar district and stands to lose a large measure of its local popularity if the Tin Bigha agreement fructifies. Said party leader and Agriculture Minister Kamal Guha, who hails from Cooch Behar: "Unless we know what exactly will be the fate of the people of Kuchlibari, we cannot agree to the Tin Bigha agreement." But since Mrs Gandhi had discussed the agreement with Chief Minister Jyoti Basu before meeting Ershad, it is obvious that the Front has given its stamp of approval.

The apprehension in the minds of parties like the Forward Bloc, residents of Tin Bigha and police officials in Mekhliganj is whether Bangladesh would continue to abide by the terms of the agreement, a result of the mutual suspicion with which both sides have viewed each other in the past.

With the Forward Bloc's opposition growing, there could well be serious differences within the party. As things stand the proposed corridor may succeed in connecting two points of Bangladesh but at the same time create breaches elsewhere.

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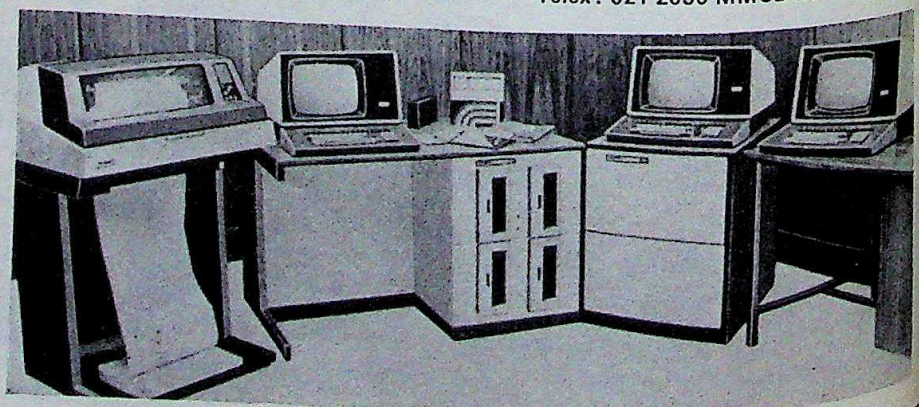

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ck With A Bang

TRIUMPHANTLY waving an old yellow rice ration card, Prime Minister R. Premadasa, one of the United National (UNP) final rallies: "Do you wish back to ration cards, permits and long daily queues at the cooperative? A few hours after President J.R. Jayewardene made political history by Sri Lanka's first presidential poll, Minister Premadasa told INDIA "It is we who took the offensive economic issue by posing the of whether they wanted to return policies of the past or whether they our open economy."

only did President Jayawardene comfortably on the first count, but he the first Sri Lankan politician to party to two consecutive victories. a notoriously demanding and conscious electorate has taken a delight in "throwing the rascals President Jayawardene, who carried national district except Jaffna, the north improved on his party's performance, by polling nearly 53 of the votes. His main rival, Kobbekaduwa of the Sri Lanka Party (SLFP) got 39 per cent.

SLFP's performance should be the light of several crippling dis- and drawbacks. In the first place Sirimavo Bandaranaike, deprived of rights by the Parliament two could neither contest nor cam- The party went through a disas- national feud that led to an open year. In the rival faction was her Sirima Bandaranaike, MP. Though he Maitripala Senanayake's group year, he had constantly shown approval of the way in which party were conducted. Pitted against him hardcore radical group led by his son-in-law, Vijay Kumaranatunge. It group which thwarted Anura by picking Kobbekaduwa. Kobbe- entered Parliament only in 1970 one term as a cabinet minister.

Margin: Once the campaign got the Bandaranaikes played a de- unenthusiastic role which further SLFP demoralisation. In the SLFP has collected six lakh to top the 2.5 million mark. increased its vote by only 2.5 lakh to reach 3.4 million. "Nobody should underestimate the strength of the SLFP or the loyalty of its grass roots supporters," said Alavi Moulana, a trade unionist.

Jayawardene: making history

H. Kobbekaduwa: Jayawardene's main rival

The polls have exposed the steady electoral decline of the traditional left. While the pro-Soviet Communist Party (CP) wisely stayed out of the contest and threw its organisational weight behind Kobbekaduwa, the candidate of the socialist Lanka Sama Samaja Party (LSSP), the island's oldest left party, Dr d' Silva, veteran Trotskyite leader was able to draw in a mere 58,000 votes. The Peoples Liberation Front (JVP), the party which launched the 1971 youth insurrection and is still the idol of the radical youth, fared much better. Its leader Rohana Wijeweera got 2,75,000 votes, just over 4 per cent.

The JVP's percentage is important. At the forthcoming Parliamentary elections, the new proportional representation system, district-wise, has an unusually high cut-off point of 12.5 per cent. It is only in the deep south where the 1971 uprising was especially violent that the JVP got 14 per cent in one electoral district.

President Jayawardene will not be at all pleased by the Tamil voting pattern in the troubled north. The Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF), the main opposition party in Parliament, asked the Tamils to "boycott" the elections to demonstrate the fact that they were "a nation apart". Their separateness has now been dramatised by the very poor turn-out in Jaffna. Only 200,000 (or 44 per cent) voted from the thickly populated Tamil district. (The average is 80 per cent).

What the UNP will find particularly galling is not that Kumar Ponnabalam, the sole Tamil candidate, beat Jayawardene by getting 40 per cent of the votes cast but that the President was thrown into third place. Relations between the Tamils and the UNP are bound to be more strained, resulting in a tougher line in Jaffna and a stronger military presence.

Some hard economic options stare the Government in the face: price increases, sharp cuts in public spending and subsidies, and devaluation may be on the card. The budget was postponed to allow the President to get a fresh mandate. He will now lead a more confident UNP to the Parliamentary polls. The budget will follow.

A sad and disillusioned d' Silva said that his humiliating defeat will not detract from the importance of the issues he raised. He claimed that more burdens will be heaped on the masses, dictatorial trends will be strengthened and Sri Lanka's economic sovereignty and non-alignment would be in peril.

—MERVYN DE SILVA in Colombo

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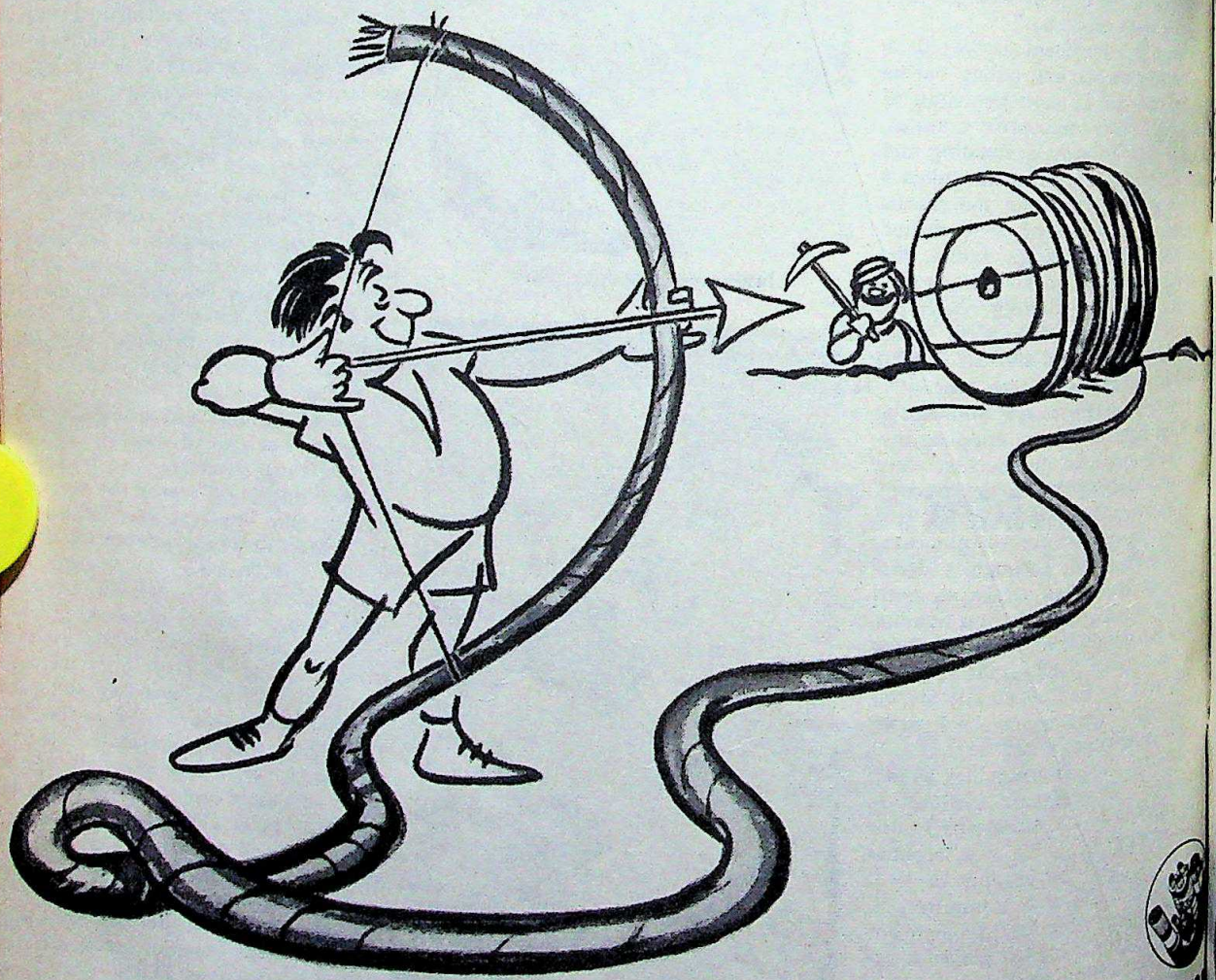

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TAMIL NADU

Midday Manna

ON JULY 1 this year, Tamil Nadu Chief Minister M.G. Ramachandran sat down to lunch with the children of Pappakusichi village in Tiruchirapalli district. This was the inaugural meal of his ambitious Midday Nutritious Meal Scheme, a Rs 150-crore project which gives over 68 lakh underfed children in the state one square meal and 400-odd calories a day, through 52,000 centres, including 31,000 schools.

The scheme is laudable in a country where one third of the children live below the poverty line, where about 50 to 60 million children suffer from malnutrition, and at least 70 per cent of children from poor families suffer from growth retardation due to malnutrition. Other states are thinking of following Tamil Nadu's example. However, the Opposition accuses MGR of promoting himself at government expense. Correspondent PRABHU CHAWLA *reports from Madras:*

FOR ARUMUGHAM, the five-year-old son of a farm labourer, a hot meal of boiled rice, vegetables and sambhar used to be a distant dream. His father Thulasimani earns Rs 4 a day, and that too only seven months a year, barely enough for the *ragi* (maize) and *cholum* (broken rice) that was the staple diet of the five-member family. Last month, however, Arumugham started going to a panchayat union elementary school at Mamallapuram, a small town 72 km from Madras. Now he and 144 other children between the ages of four and nine enjoy a nutritious lunch every day.

The Midday Meal: The scheme is probably the shrewdest political move of the durable matinee idol's career, combining as it does social benefit with political profit. At each of the feeding centres, the people in charge of the feeding do not fail to remind the children that the food is a gift from MGR, a sort of replay of his role in the box-office hit *Annamittai Kai* (The hand that feeds) a decade ago. At one such centre, the waiting children were asked: "Who is giving you this *sappadda* (food)?" Chorused the children in reply: "MGR is giving us this *sappadda*." Accused Murosoli Maran, a Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK) Rajya Sabha member: "MGR is grossly exploiting the state's machinery and finances to project his own image by distributing alms. When he has failed on each front he has started this to divert the people's attention from their hardships."

MGR was determined to dish out his *sappadda*, and turned heaven and earth to find the money for it. Incredibly, the state contingency fund is providing most of the money—the fund was upgraded from Rs 50 crore to Rs 100 crore through a bill passed in September 1981. A Chief Minister's Nutritious Noon Meal Programme Fund (CNNPF) was created and donations to it were exempted from income tax. Although the response was lukewarm, MGR raised another Rs 10 crore by way of one day's salary from government employees, one month's salary from ruling party MLA's and MP's and one show's takings at cinema theatres. The Finance Department is also considering a weekly Rs 10 lakh raffle: the winner gets only the interest on the sum and pays 2 per cent of that to the CNNPF.

S.R. PUTTASWAMY

MGR: shrewd political move

The state Government had to resort to these means because with a deficit of Rs 300 crore, it dares not impose fresh taxes. As it is, the scheme entails an expenditure of Rs 50 lakh a day, a far cry from an earlier and limited scheme for which only Rs 5.63 crore was provided. In fact, 45 paise is spent on each child per school-day. Asserts Health Minister H.V. Hande: "The entire expenditure is even equal to the annual loss of Central Government undertakings. We here to look after the well-being of people and it is the people's money is being spent on them."

Double-edged Move: On the face the scheme is working. It has school enrolment by over 70 per cent duced truancy by over 80 per cent number of drop-outs by over 90 per Said Revenue Minister S.D. Somasundaram, inaugurating the urban scheme Medathubalam in Coimbatore district is epoch-making. Governments may and go, but this scheme for 20,000 will go on." However, financial experts sceptical: how can a with a massive deficit budget sustain a pro whose cost will go up year? It might also open Pandora's box with weaker sections like ed destitutes and the demanding their share the *sappadda*. MGR announced that a pro for a similar project for destitutes was under deration.

Unfortunately for generous chief min Tamil Nadu is no bo ful reservoir of rev With the crop failure the decline of ind MGR might defer to lism and axe other sch so that the children may have their lunch. Already the state Government not been able to procure funds for ing water. Most of the irrigation, and road construction plans are de because the coffers are almost empty one, clearly, has addressed the crux issue, whether a deficit state like Nadu isn't jumping the gun with such ambitious welfare measures which no one will have political will ever to end.

MGR pushed his child very quickly over nancial and admini hurdles. Finance Minister R. Nedunchezhian had tioned it only in passing February budget speech the scheme was implem without the formal ap of the legislature. A very powered committee set that the sambhar bowls run dry: MGR heads the Secretary K. Diri

PICTURES BY A.N. RAGHAVENDRA RAGHUNDAN EXPRESS

Jayalalitha and state Rural Industries Minister K.A. Krishnaswamy: ambitious welfare measure

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...ecretary, backed up by over two ...senior officials and politicians—MGR's heir apparent Jayalalitha, no opposition politician within a mile of the committee and ...level watch-dog groups that provoke and remove hurdles.

...d Planning: Two government are responsible for the meals: Welfare Department (SWD) and ...rate of School Education (DSE). ...serves 80 gm of rice, 10 gm of ...of oil and 50 gm of vegetables ...more than 23 lakh children ...the ages of two and four at ...ures. The DSE supplies 100 gm of ...gm of dal, 7 gm of oil and 50 gm ...ables to over 45 lakh children at ...0 schools including those in the ...ss. It costs 44 paise each to feed ...ger children, and 45 paise each to ...lder children. The cooking and ...ngements were, until recently ...over 131,000 primary and middle ...chers—no staff was recruited for ...t. But the teachers revolted and ...ced that part-time cooks and assistants be employed. The cooks earn Rs 2 a day and their assistants Re 1.

The chief minister and his team of trusted bureaucrats led by Chief Secretary Diriviam ensure the uninterrupted supply of grain and finance. Each centre receives a monthly quota of rice and dal; each school also maintains a fund—initially Rs 1,750—to purchase vegetables and firewood and for incidental expenses. The state Civil Supplies Corporation provides the food for the urban centres, while district-level cooperatives look after the rural centres. Teachers were verbally insructed—no written orders—to give the scheme priority even at the cost of the three Rs. Initially, the teachers joined in enthusiastically. Said M. Gopalan, who teaches in an elementary school in Kudumiyanthope village in Chingleput district: "I enjoy feeding hungry children and I don't mind even spending my holidays at this job."

THE MATINEE idol's personal triumph has drawn plaudits and attention from other chief ministers and even Prime Minister Indira Gandhi who has reportedly sought details. The DMK gnashes its teeth but has to keep quiet, over the political mileage that MGR has drawn out of his midday meals. Ruling party leaders have gone to town on it. Jayalalitha inaugurated an urban meal centre in Gopalapuram in Madras last month and declaimed proudly: "It should be a matter of pride for us that while an affluent nation like America has gone back on its promise of free food for its children, Tamil Nadu has implemented a scheme of such magnitude for its children in the shortest possible time."

According to a study by three senior researchers of the Gandhigram Rural Institute, Madurai—Dr B.S. Nagarajan, N. Narayanswami and R. Dhandapani—the meal has accomplished many of its avowed objectives. They conducted a sample survey of 1,632 children in 12 feeding centres and found, among other things, that parents could go to work secure in the knowledge that their children would be fed and taught well, that over 95 per cent of those interviewed felt that the food was of good quality, that when up-

The scheme is probably the shrewdest political move of the durable matinee idol's career, combining social benefit with political profit. At each feeding centre, the people in charge do not fail to remind the children that the food is a gift from MGR, a sort of replay of his role in the box-office hit *Annamittai Kai* (The hand that feeds) a decade ago.

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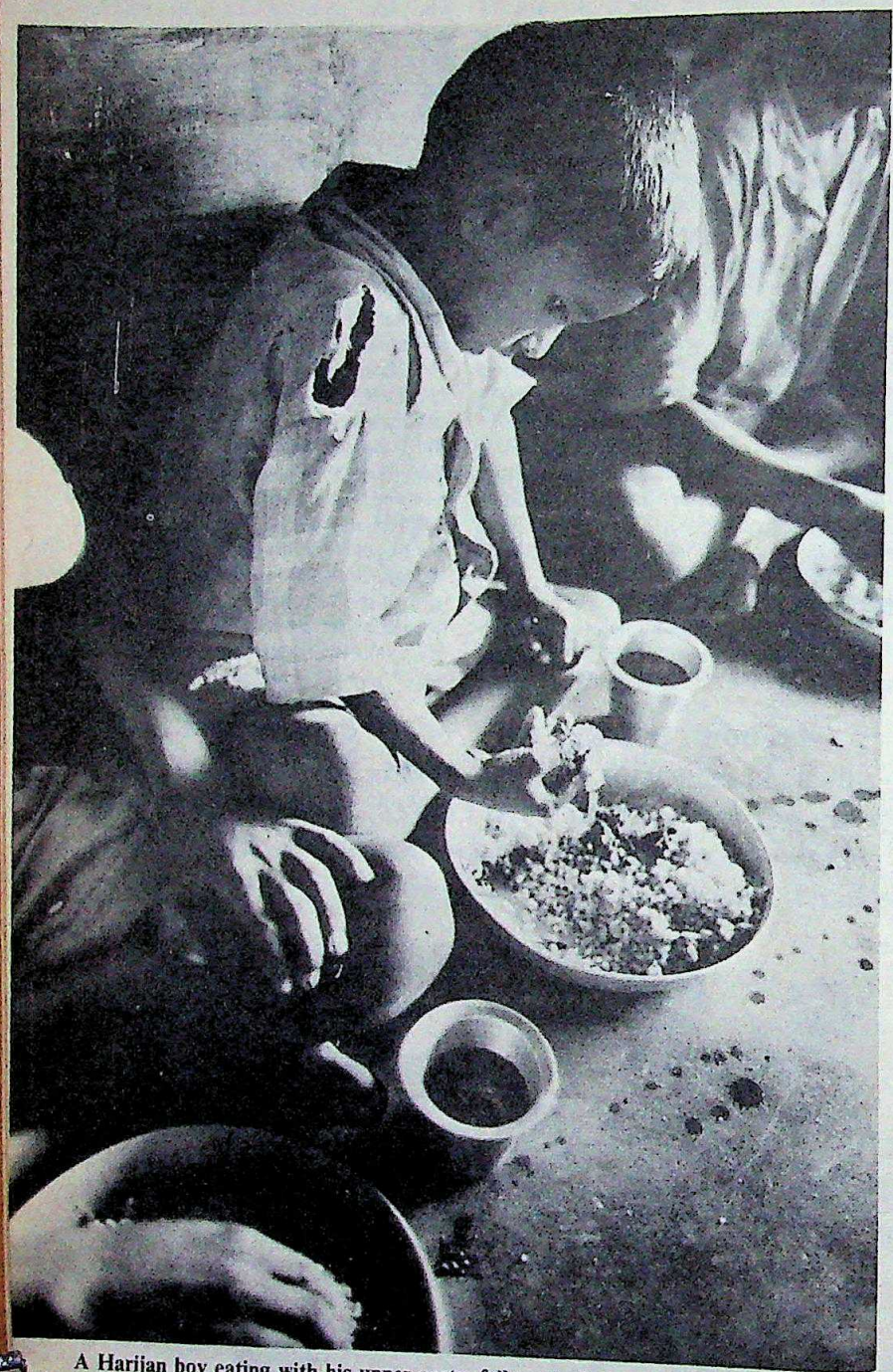

A Harijan boy eating with his upper caste fellow students: no discrimination

per caste and Harijan children eat together communal harmony receives a boost, and hat attendance in schools has shot up rom the usual 45 per cent to over 95 per ent.

There is, of course, the darker side. Substandard meals have been served at nany centres. Examples:

► August 12, 1982: Five weeks after the cheme was launched, 63 children were taken to Tirumayan hospital after they had lunch at the Hirudayapuram village feeding centre in Pudukkottai district. There had been rumours that a lizard had been found in the meal, hence the rush for the check-up. Seven children were admitted for a thorough examination.

► September 17, 1982: Of the 260 students of the Walarjabad school in Kanchipuram, 175 were taken to the hospital soon after they were served the meal. While the others were discharged 38 stayed in hospital. The children ch that unpalatable *pongal* was serv them; doctors, however, certified th cessive use of oil had caused the stomachs.

► September 28, 1982: Mashar in North Arcot district was prey mours that a lizard's tail had been in the meal. Many mothers dosed children to induce vomiting. Attend school nose-dived by over 50 per cent next day.

Logistics Problems: The scheme encroached on the schools' original serve. Said the headmistress of a co ration school in Madras: "Educati the main casualty so far. We have to at least six to eight teachers a day making all the arrangements. Moreov headmistress has been reduced to an countant and her room converted grocer's shop." Sources say that the jority of the 31,000 schools have slipped a two-hour teaching schedule as opposed the five-hour one earlier. Said Muthuswami, general secretary, T Nadu Teachers' Federation (TNTF) a member of the state Legislative Co "We welcome the scheme but we d want education to suffer either. It is u to burden the teachers with non-aca duties." Added a young schoolte in Chingleput: "MGR is boos his personal popularity at the cos education."

Space is another problem. Accor to the government order, each school have a separate kitchen, store-ro dining-hall and washing room. Hardly Tamil Nadu school is so generously dowed, and everybody in the school feeling more than slightly cram Headmasters and headmistresses are sponsible for the scheme in their sc and invariably their offices have bec store-rooms and classes are being hel the open air. State-run schools are ing it somehow, but private schools gone to court against the order.

On September 20, T.V. Sund murthy, president of the Madras Elementary & Middle School Ma ments Association, filed a writ petition the Madras High Court; the petition lenged the circular of the chief educa officer directing school managemen run separate kitchens in the schools. Sundaramurthy: "The authorities we reatening the withdrawal of the sch recognition and stoppage of grants managements failed to implement scheme." Now, the state Governme started constructing additional roo many urban schools while thatched chens have come up in the villages.

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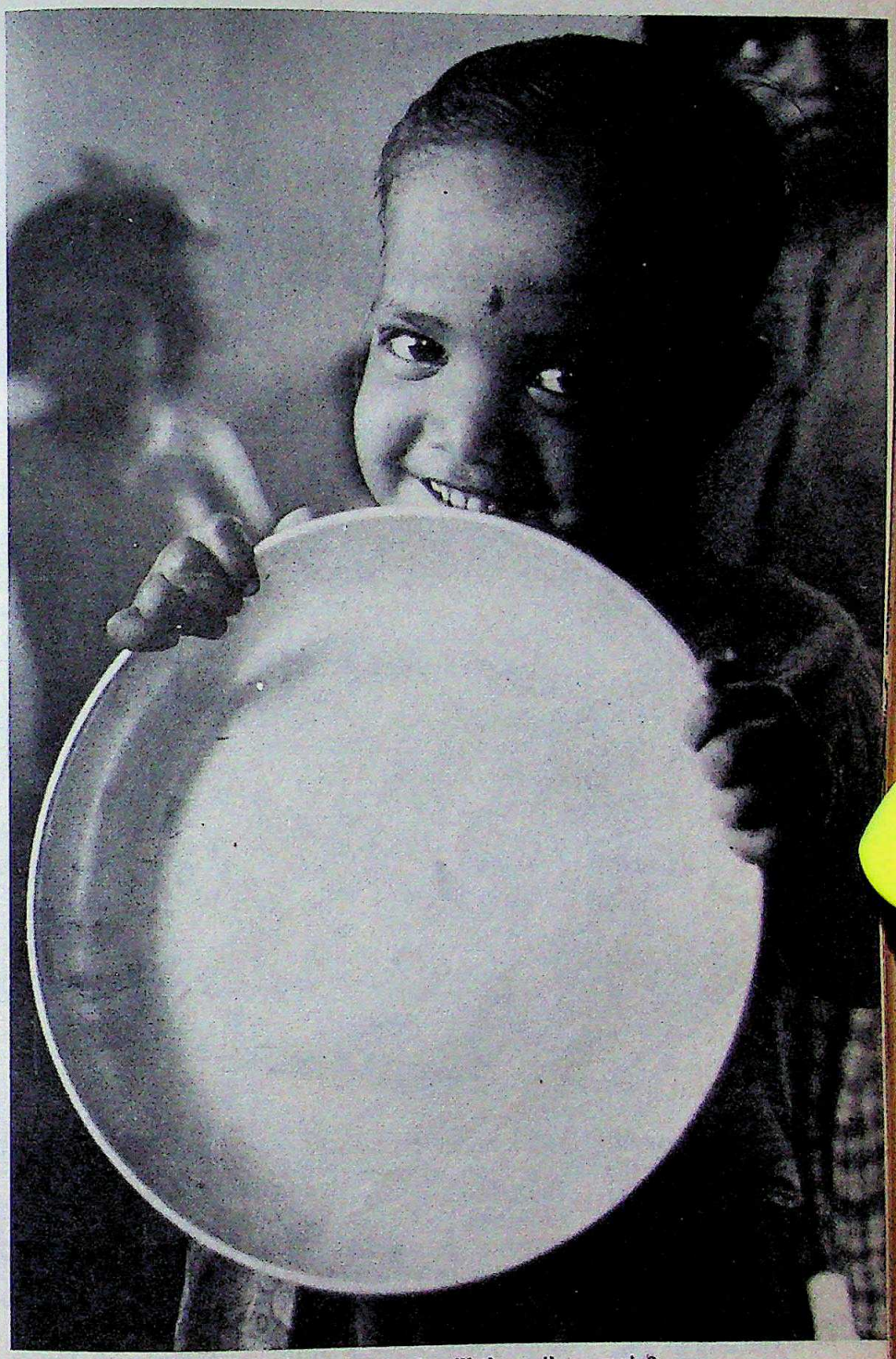
...ages: Fuel is also a headache. ...ol is granted 3 paise per child ...account but this is just not en... headmistress of a school with ...on its rolls says that it needs ...of firewood but she gets Rs 15 ...only 25 kg. She admits that ...by cutting trees on the school ... In many villages, school... often be seen cutting trees to ...day's meal. They must also fetch ...distant places; although most ...hand-pumps, the water can... for cooking.

...more serious is the looming shor... foodgrains. Green vegetables are ...in short supply. The state ...desperately casting around ...is thinking of enforcing the ...Paddy and Rice (Declaration ...tioning of Stocks) Order, 1967, ...though rarely implemented with ...makes it obligatory for a person ...foodgrain stocks to the district ...ies officer if he holds more than ...of paddy or 13 quintals of rice. ...running out as well: the state ...lakh tonnes annually, the meal ...having pushed the demand up by ...tonnes, but production is a mere ...tonnes.

...chers' Protest: Besides these sup... logistics matters, the state ...has come under attack from ...who are grumbling very lou... having to attend school on all ...of the week—without any extra ...C.R. Lakshmikanthan, a teacher ...of the Legislative Council: ...are being harassed and hu... According to teachers' trade un... ...ticians demand free foodgrains ...stocks: if the teachers resist, they ...and abused.

...Meenakshisundaram, general sec... ...the Tamil Nadu Elementary ...Munnetra (TNESM), says: "The lo... ...committee members interfere with ...affairs. Rogues in the villages even ...female teachers. Cooperative bo... ...controlled by the politicians are short... ...supplies."

...teachers have taken to the streets ... On October 16, the TNTF orga... ...demonstrations at the district level ...demanded that teachers be freed of ...meal duties. The TNTF has also ...to boycott the scheme for one day ...November 15. The TNESM's plan of ac... ...includes sending 31,000 letters of pro... ...MGR and the formation of a pro... ...at the district level to protect ...from possible attacks from rul... ...volunteers. Both organistions ...claimed membership of over two



Waiting for the food: will the smiles remain?

lakh and have decided to boycott the scheme completely from January 1, 1983 if the state Government doesn't make alternative arrangements. Says Meenakshisundaram: "There should be a separate organisation for the scheme. The Government promised to recruit 31,000 part-time teachers but the Finance Department turned down the proposal because funds were not available."

As the teachers prepare for a showdown, MGR seems unruffled. Said one of his senior aides: "Anyone who tries to sabotage the feeding of poor children by raking up controversies will surely lose public sympathy. We are, however, prepared to sort out genuine problems." There is no doubt that, for the moment, the people of Tamil Nadu are prepared to listen to nothing against their generous chief minister and his 'hand that feeds'.

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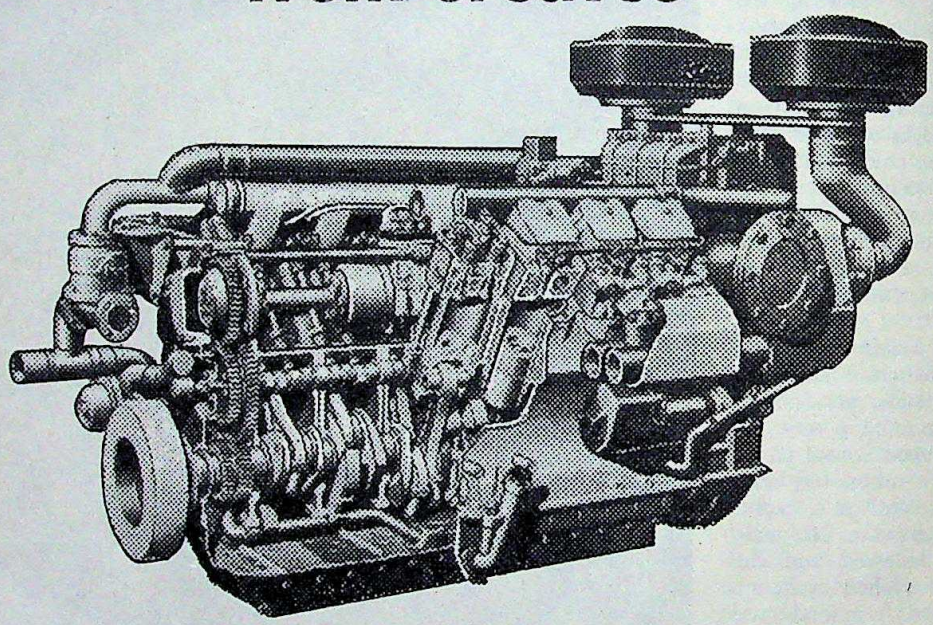

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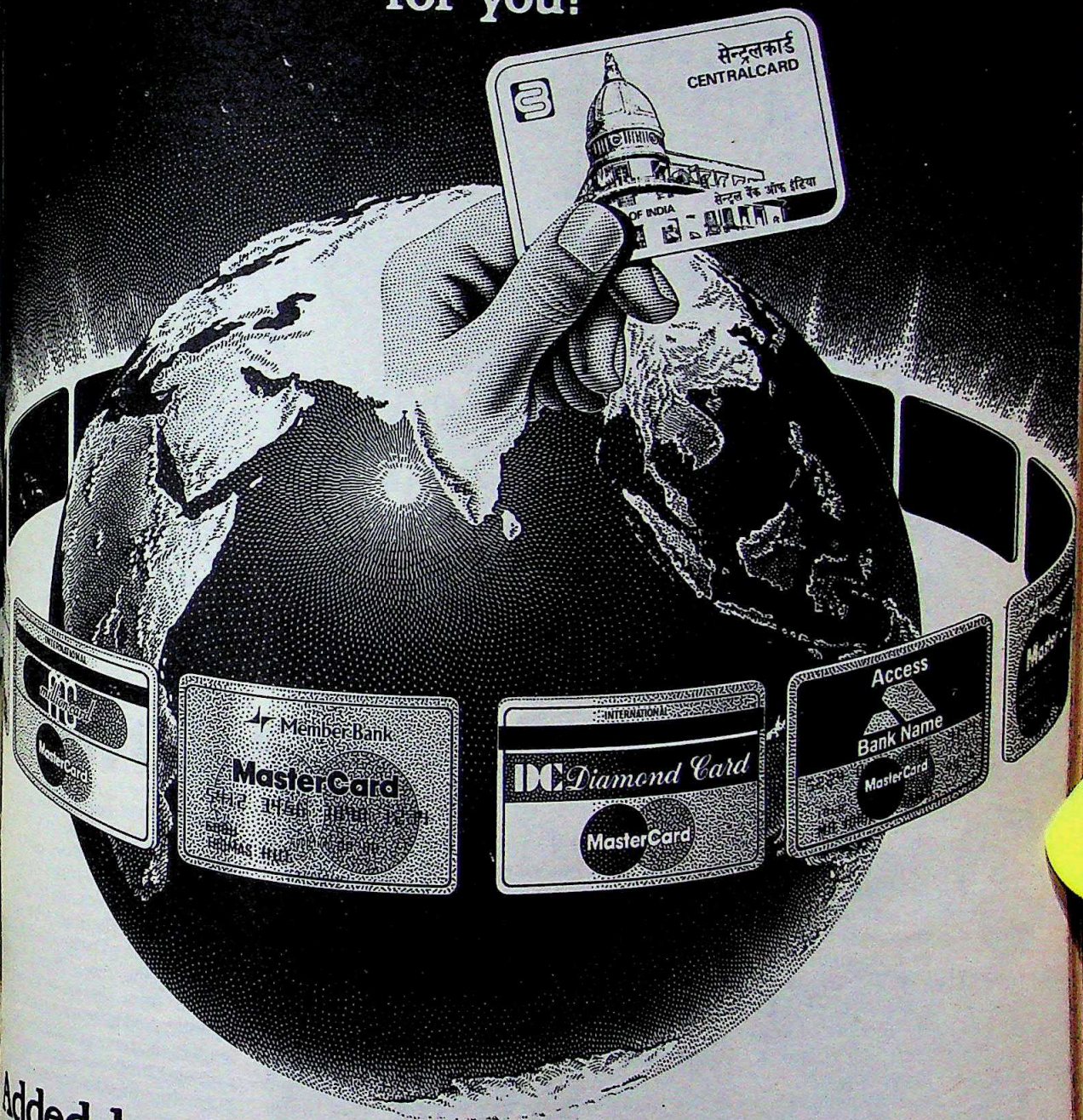

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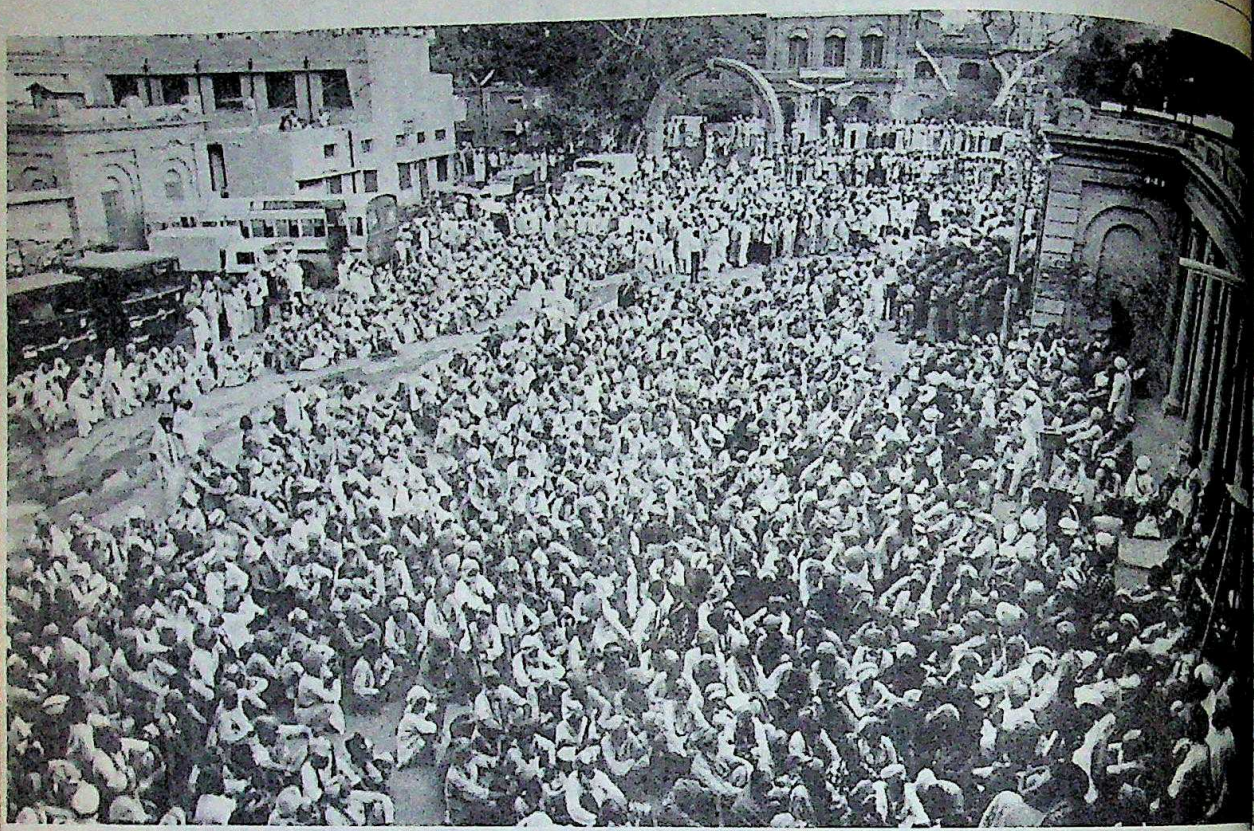

Morcha volunteers court arrest outside the Kotwali police station in Amritsar: a state torn apart

SIKH MILITANCY

Bracing For A Showdown

IT STARTED with sporadic signals: the murder of a local editor, the hijacking of a Srinagar-bound flight, and the banning of a few oddball characters issuing passports to a fictitious nation called Khalistan. Then the incidents began to repeat themselves: the plane hijacks became more frequent, the number of arrests piled up, and the killings and firings in Punjab became almost commonplace.

By this summer, the seemingly disparate acts of violence in Punjab had begun to accumulate. This was more than a bunch of madcap fanatics asking for the impossible. As the divided Akali leadership took up the cry for battle, Sikh protest suddenly became an organised, militant and increasingly violent business. By last fortnight, when the state's jails were emptied, the figure of political prisoners who had courted arrest stood at a staggering 25,000. In just over a year, the death toll in police firings reached 70; and shoot-at-sight orders in the sacred Sikh citadel of Amritsar had become such a fact of everyday life that the killing of a blue-robed Nihang or the smouldering of a bus carcass shocked no one any more.

What did provoke a swift response was a demonstration on October 11 outside Parliament House, when a *jatha* of militants tried to storm the building, ending up with four killed and scores of police and demonstrators injured. If the incident provoked a series of fire-fighting measures from a hitherto apparently somnolent Central Government, it did so in typical belated fashion. By the time Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's veteran trouble-shooter, former foreign minister Sardar Swaran Singh, began "to seek clarifications" from the five-member Akali Dal Committee at the historic Fatehgarh Sahib gurudwara near Patiala, it seemed to be another initiative that promised too little too late. True, the two sides were at least facing each other across a table rather than in the streets. But given the varying predilections of the negotiating sides, it was obvious that the power games would continue while one of India's richest states was being torn apart by religious militancy and communal conflict.

Ineffectual Dealing: On the one h was an uncertain Mrs Gandhi who see suddenly to have woken up to the seri ness of the situation after nearly two yea agitation. On the other hand was befu Chief Minister Darbara Singh whose r defusing the rising Akali movement shifted from the ineffectual to the zealous. And in between there were the leaders themselves, their bitter differenc pursuing moderate and extremist lines, porarily papered over in an attempt to power of any kind from the Centre.

The confusion among the protag themselves indicated the gloom that the state, with Mrs Gandhi dragging negotiations in the hope of tiring the ment, as has happened in Assam. But been caught up in the absurd divisions her own camp with elements Congress(I), having boosted the fringe as a counterweight to the unable to tame the monster. The Akali similarly reflects the pulls and tensions Akali camp. Of the five, two, Prakash

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NOVEMBER 15

and Harchand Singh Longowal are moderates (*see box page 72*). The others, G.S. Tohra, Jagdev Singh and Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale are short of extremists.

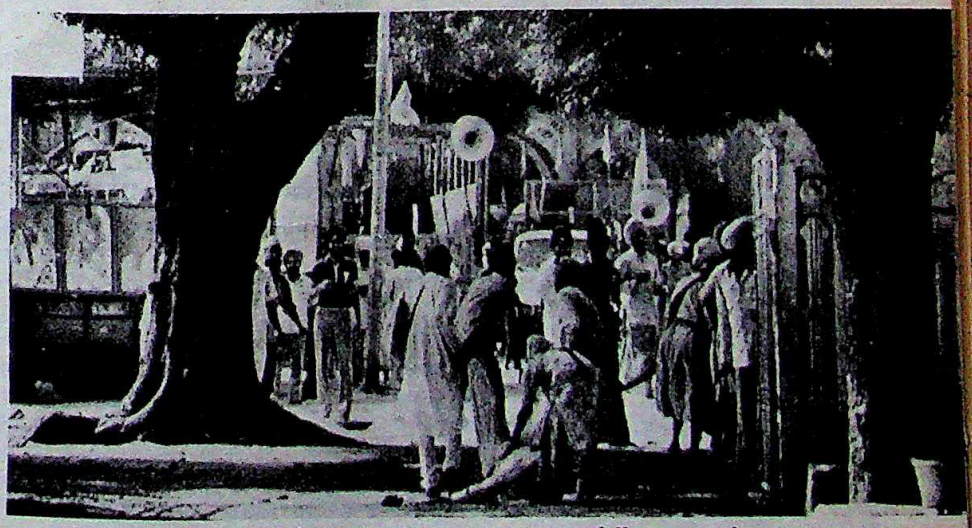
Using their individual political interests as irreconcilable, the Akalis were showing signs of losing the momentum they had gained during their three-morcha. Having succeeded in staging a protest that snowballed into a show of impressive state-wide dimensions, demands, it seemed, were only the tip of the iceberg in their struggle for power. The options are obvious: there is no that Mrs Gandhi can accept most of the Akali demands which range from the mildly separatist to the merely symbolic. There is also no way the Akalis can retreat from the settlement talks without compromising their credibility with their followers. There is little that a man like Darbara Singh—who has been overlooked by both the Akalis and the Centre—can do to provide a face-saving mechanism. "If I say anything now," he wistfully remarked to INDIA TODAY last week, "there are people who will take my words amiss—this way or that way. I don't want to be dubbed a hindrance in the final settlement of the issue." Adds Darbara Singh: "I am not dealing with foreign powers but with my own men." Darbara's son-in-law had courted arrest in Amritsar. "If we decided to sit and talk, all things can be sorted out but the ball is lodged in the Akali court," Singh said.

Battle Lines: In the political vacuum that ensued since the talks began—with both sides unable to see eye to eye with each other and the Centre—trouble in Amritsar has taken a turn for the worse. Overnight the issue is no longer for Akali demands; it has burst out again as a communal clash between Hindus and Sikhs. And as battle lines appear drawn, the *dharam yudh* may develop into a bloody communal clash of a kind that Punjab has not seen since Partition.

The Akalis blame the Government for the scenes of looting, arson and killing, the Government blames the Akalis, and Hindus and Sikhs each other, there seems to be no one can immediately quell the roused passions of the Akalis released from jails or the backlash that has begun to occur. Akali Dal chief Harchand Singh Longowal: "The state Government is hatching conspiracies to create tension and disturb peace in the state... Darbara Singh is hellbent on creating communal trouble to save his chair." Responds the chief minister: "We are trying to ensure peace in the border state although but the Akalis are politicising each incident to create unrest in the state." Asserts Badal, former chief minister of Punjab from 1977

Violence in Delhi: rioting Sikhs outside Parliament...

...a gutted bus smoulders on the road...



...and demonstrators carry away a fallen comrade

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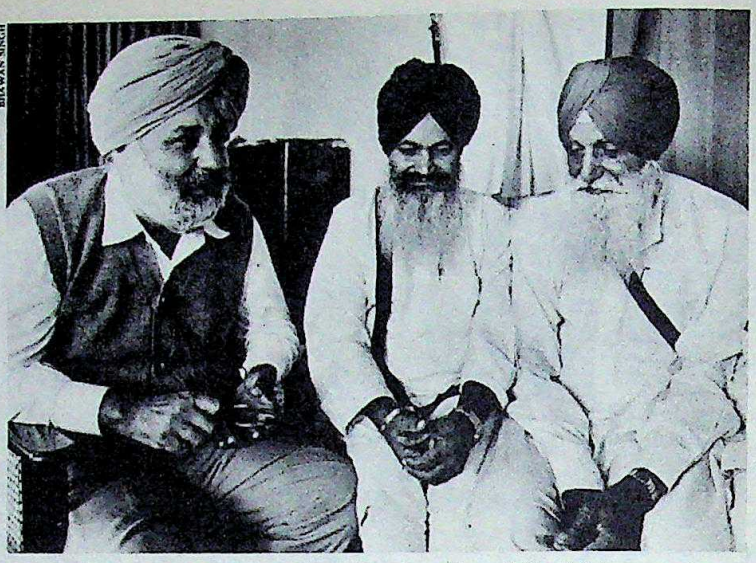
1980: "This agitation has been thrust upon us. We were keen to discuss across the table all our demands and in fact had placed these before Mrs Gandhi. But she ignored (us). If any of our demands hurts any other sections in the country, we are prepared to sit back and discuss. But if our demands are genuine, Mrs Gandhi should accept these." Adds Gurcharan Singh Tohra: "We have tolerated injustice for too long, and the Centre has treated the Sikhs in particular, and Punjabis in general, with contempt. We have decided to undo this wrong and vow before God never to go back and fight to the last for our rights."



BHAWAN SINGH

Badal, Longowal and Tohra after their release from jail: divisions continue

Communal sentiments, which have been simmering ever since the Akalis started their strident protest, have come out in the open with Hindus perceiving their survival threatened. Says an elderly Hindu resident of Amritsar who has been a daily visitor to the Golden Temple all his life: "It is now dangerous for us to go to that side of town—things were never so bad, not even during Partition." And adds *Hindustan Times* Editor Khushwant Singh in a recent column: "Who would have believed in 1947 that a day would come when Hindus and Sikhs would be rioting against each other? A major contributing factor in this crisis has been the resurgence of fundamentalism in all our religions."

In Sikhism, the revival in fundamentalist religion has arived in the form of a tall, bearded, hawk-eyed figure—a 35-year-old sant called Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale who talks like a minor Ayatollah Khomeini. Squatting languidly on the roof of the five-storey Guru Nanak Niwas, addressing his *sangat* (audience) of followers against the magnificent backdrop of the Golden Temple, Bhindranwale is the single most important Akali leader today. Devious, voluble, purist, mystical and convinced of the moral superiority of his religion he does not officially claim to be a politician—he is not a member of the Akali Dal—yet he has emerged as the messiah for every extremist Sikh faction.

Singularly, he has managed to push moderate Akalis like former chief minister Prakash Singh Badal and Akali Dal chief Longowal to take a hard line. At the same time he has converted older hard-liners like Jagdev Singh Talwandi of the other Akali faction and Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee (SGPC) head Gurcharan Singh Tohra to his line of thought. Almost no Akali decision today can be made without his covert support. The ambiguity of his position—he sits all day long spouting his narrow views against Hindus, against Mrs Gandhi, even against sections of the Akali leadership—makes him a political enigma and enhances his personal charisma.

"Those who accept less than the Anandpur Sahib resolution will be punished by the *panth* (faith)—they will be done away

SIKH LEADERS

Many Views

AS THE scenario of Akali politics becomes more complicated—spawning factions of extremists and moderates pulling in different directions—the stances taken by individual leaders can appear confusing. So can their personalities which, to a lay observer, may almost seem interchangeable. Yet the Akali leadership is made of disparate characters; below are thumbnail sketches offering details of their personalities, characteristics and the political lines they pursue:

Prakash Singh Badal: Former chief minister of Punjab, the 55-year-old Akali leader who was released from Ludhiana jail last fortnight, is a rich landlord from the cotton-growing region of the state. A deceptively mild-mannered, urbane figure who loves his liquor, Badal can exhibit the shrewd cunning of a peasant in his politics. Though he likes to project himself as a moderate, he is capable of leading a strong separatist movement.

A graduate of Foreman Christian College, Lahore, Badal's two tenures as chief minister have been tarnished by allegations that he was involved in shady land deals. Backed by an ambitious wife, Badal is probably the only Akali leader

Longowal has taken a hard line on Akali demands, arguing their case cogently and with the greatest degree of conviction.

with a strong political base and an untiring capacity to organise and fight an election. Yet in office he was known to be a poor administrator, leaving over 1,000 files unattended when his last chief ministership ended in 1980. At present, he is the best bet to bring about a consensus between Akali leaders and the Centre.

Harchand Singh Longowal: The short, stocky president of the Akali Dal from Sangrur district, was known at one time to vacillate between various Akali factions. Today all that appears changed. As the mastermind behind the morchas that have continued without pause since August, Longowal has taken a hard line on Akali demands, arguing their case cogently and with the greatest degree of conviction. He has even managed to convince a number of opposition leaders like Sharad Pawar about the controversial Anandpur Sahib resolution which demands autonomy for Punjab state. A man of simple habits, he is unmarried.

Gurcharan Singh Tohra: He has been president of the all-powerful religious body of Sikhs, the Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee (SGPC) for the past 13 years. Starting his political career over two decades ago, Tohra was initially promoted by the Communists who marked him as a leader of small peasants. A small landlord from Sirhind in Patiala district, Tohra has shown remarkable agility in his politics with a keen sense of survival. He has in the past squarely faced the challenge of the Badal-Talwandi com-

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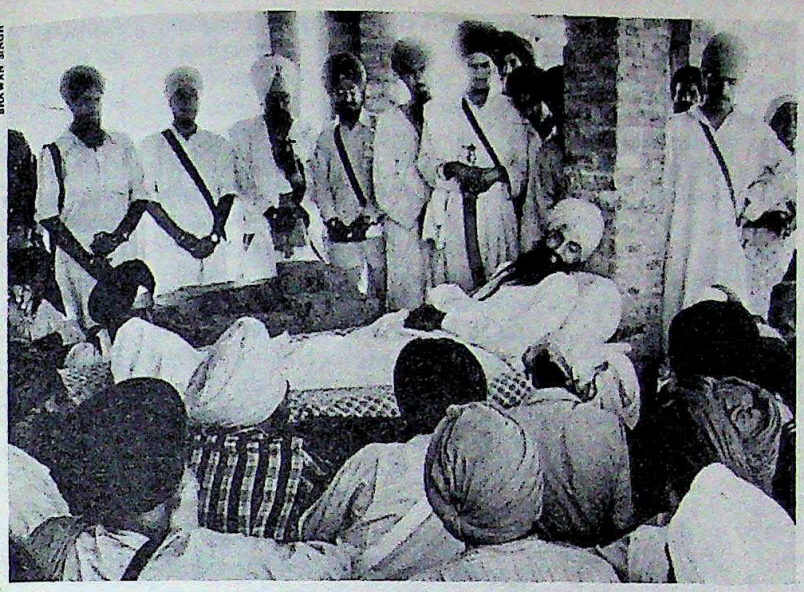

BIRJA N SINGH

Bhindranwale surrounded by the faithful: focus for fundamentalism

...he storms before the ...crowd that brings ...ferings of a few ru... ...berating Sikh leaders ...Congress(I)—he calls ...*ny de ghulam* (the ... courtiers)—one ...and castigating her ...y Swaran Singh the ...Bhindranwale is a law ...himself. And his advent ...forefront of the agi... ...has run almost paral... ...the swelling of Sikh ...in protest.

Violent Emergence: It ...Bhindranwale's impli... ...in the murder of ...editor Lala Jagat ...on September 9 last ...and his widely-publi... ...dramatic arrest on ...ber 20 resulting in ...firing at Chowk ...that propelled him—and the Sikh ...ment—into the limelight. Violent ...followed his arrest—five Hindus ...lled when Sikh youths fired in Jullun... ...September 20, another person was ...Tarn Taran on September 21, and ...the plane hijacks began. Bhindranwale ...eased in November last year—since ...his power and popularity has grown. ...sought refuge in the Golden Temple, ...no longer a pawn being used in the ...power game.

"There was a time last year when Bhindranwale was probably being used both by the Akalis and the state Government to push their political interests," admits a journalist in Amritsar, "but it's no longer true. He has outwitted them both to become a major force himself. Today, he receives more donations in money than any other individual Akali leader." His importance was even acknowledged by the Centre when Swaran Singh met him because he was assessed as a major factor in the agitation. Said Singh: "I wanted ...meet anyone and everyo... who could help sort out t... Punjab tangle."

Bhindranwale's role ... the present agitation h... also been pivotal. Above a... this has deflected it to ... extremist tack. He pr... empted the Akali morcha ... several weeks, demandin... among other things, t... release of his associates li... Bhai Amrik Singh, preside... of the Sikh Students' Fede... ation. Although the Aka... had started their agitati... on May 6, following t... arrest of their men ... Kapoori, a small villa... after Mrs Gandhi inaug... rated a Sutlej-Beas ca... diverting local water to Ha... yana, their morcha did n... initially get off the ground. Akali facti... leader Jagdev Singh Talwandi's separ... morcha in New Delhi had also failed ... attract attention. But it was only af... Bhindranwale launched his morcha ... Amritsar on July 16 that the Akalis s... pended their agitation in Kapoori, held ... joint council on July 24, and reopened th... morcha with a flourish on August 4.

Acts of violence, each more flagra... rapidly followed after the Akali ch... announced that a procession of protest...

...ne, using the Anandpur Sahib reso... ...tion on autonomy to embarrass Badal ...and his Akali regime.

A shrewd manipulator, he has stea... ...ily cultivated contacts with militant Sikh ...leaders abroad, and after Sikh leaders like ...Harkishan Singh Surjeet of the CPI-M and ...Giani Zail Singh of Congress(I), is ...known to be the most individualistic of ...Sikh politicians. Sometimes known as ...father of the movement demanding a ...separate Sikh state, Tohra is extremely ...well-read in Sikh scriptures though his ...formal education extended no more than ...the village middle school

...ger Singh Talwandi: A member of the ...Akali Sabha, Talwandi was president of ...the Akali Dal till he was ousted two years ...ago. Forming his own Dal, he retained ...control of the Dal office in Amritsar, and ...is today a maverick, hard line leader with ...a small band of followers, and has a ...strong antipathy towards Tohra. As pre... ...sident of the Akali Dal, he was first used ...by Badal and later Tohra used him to ...settle scores with Badal, leaving him ...dangling in the lurch.

A warm emotional man, given to outbursts in foul language, Talwandi is the least communal of Sikh leaders and an efficient organiser. Married and the owner of a medium-sized farm near Jagraon in Ludhiana, Talwandi, in the present

Bhindranwale has emerged as the most controversial Sikh leader, a militant and often flagrantly communal messiah.

alignment, will probably join Badal to get his back against Tohra. He is also the only leader among the Akalis who can profess genuine influence over Bhindranwale.

Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale: The 35-year-old, bearded *sant* from Moga village succeeded to the *dera* (religious seat) of Chowk Mehta after the death of Sant Kartar Singh. Since then he has emerged as the most controversial Sikh leader, a militant and often flagrantly communal messiah of the Sikh faith. His role as a spokesman became evident after the Sikh-Nirankari clash in Amritsar four years ago. Ever since he has been crusading against the Nirankaris in his attempts to purify the Sikh religion.

His followers were pitched against the Akalis in the last SGPC elections with Congress(I) support, but lost miserably. Lala Jagat Narain's murder and other events brought him fully into the limelight last year: he was arrested in September last but later released. Since then he has made an official building on the brink of the Golden Temple his home. In the present morcha he counts as the most strident, vocal and important Sikh leader without whose assent no decision can be held acceptable. A shrewd—though some Akali leaders say cowardly—operator, he is the arch enemy of Hindus in Punjab but increasingly regarded by many Sikhs as their saviour. He is married with four children.

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would travel from Anandpur Sahib to the capital in commemoration of 34 Akalis who were killed in a bizarre accident when a train rammed into a bus carrying them at a railway crossing at Tarn Taran on September 11. When the procession struck Delhi on October 11, violence erupted near Parliament House in which four were killed, 100 injured and four motorcycles, one bus and a police van burnt as the police fired 16 rounds and burst 160 teargas shells.

Sikh chauvinism was on the ascendant again. Not since Master Tara Singh and Sant Fateh Singh in the 1960s with their Punjabi Suba movement had it been revived in so virulent a form. Nor had their demands been voiced in so militant a manner.

Though the Akali morcha lists a long register of demands the crux of their crusade lies in getting the Centre to accept the Anandpur Sahib resolution of 1973, passed on April 13, 1981 (*See box page* 75). According to the resolution demanding autonomy, the state of Punjab would control all authority in matters of civil aviation, finance and others, leaving only subjects of defence, external affairs, communication, currency and railways to the Centre. The resolution challenges the existing Centre-state relationship and, if accepted, would grant Punjab greater autonomy than even Jammu & Kashmir which enjoys special status under Article 370 of the Constitution.

Transferring Power: The Akalis maintain that the resolution isn't designed to wrest special power but only calls for a transfer of power from the Centre to state. Says Punjab's former finance minister Balwant Singh: "To strengthen unity-in-diversity, states should be more powerful. The Anandpur Sahib resolution only reiterates that we should become a federal republic in the real sense of the word."

Publicly adamant though they are about the acceptance of the resolution, the Akalis are privately quite aware that it would be impossible for the Centre to concede it completely. And it would be for the present government—or any government at the Centre to even mildly consider giving in to the controversial demands of the resolution. Mrs Gandhi can no more accept the Akalis' resolution that she can slice off a piece of the North-east and hand it to the Assamese or cut off Tamil Nadu for Tamilians," admits a political observer in Chandigarh.

Still, in the process of building up pressure, the Akalis hope to extract the maximum number of concessions from the Centre.

Some of them are so minimal that, had she been better advised and alert to the developing nature of the agitation, Mrs Gandhi woud have accepted them long ago, possibly defusing the movement. Another major Akali demand is the sharing of the Sutlej-Beas waters. Claiming that Punjab's share of waters from rivers in the state is less than adequate, and has further been reduced with the construction of the Kapoori canal which diverts waters to Haryana, they want the matter to be settled by a sitting judge of the Supreme Court.

Power from the Bhakra Nangal dam is yet another issue. Akalis believe that not only is their share inadequate—the scheme at present supplies power to Haryana, Delhi, Uttar Pradesh and occasionally Rajasthan—but the authority for distributing it should lie with the state rather than the Centre. The Centre is unlikely to concede such a demand. Says an Energy Ministry official in New Delhi: "The Bhakra Nangal Management Board (BNMB) is a national asset, not a state's property and only the Centre can decide equitable distribution. If the Akali demand were accepted, then all power plants in the country run by us would demand being transferred to the states in which they happen to be located."

Power Loss: Despite the power situation being appalling in Punjab's cities—Amritsar last month was suffering cuts up to 15 hours a day—the state diverts per cent of its power supply to agricul[illegible] Power cuts in rural areas, therefore, [illegible] minimal and the Punjab State Electri[illegible] Board is said to be suffering a loss of Rs [illegible] crore due to heavy subsidies spent on pow[illegible] supply to farmers. In few other states, fact, is power subsidised for agricul[illegible] at all.

Economic and political demands [illegible] as these are backed by an equally powerf[illegible] register of religious and social demand[illegible] chief among them:

► Declaration of Amritsar as a 'holy ci[illegible] although the state Government has alre[illegible] banned the sale of liquor and cigaret[illegible] within an area of 200 met[illegible] around the Golden Temple. [illegible] Akalis want to see the wh[illegible] city freed from shops selli[illegible] either commodity.

► Relay of *Gurbani* (the [illegible] of the holy book) from [illegible] Golden Temple: the Cent[illegible] Government has permitted [illegible] lay of readings from the sac[illegible] *granth* daily in the evenings, [illegible] the Akalis would like to se[illegible] transmitter installed inside [illegible] Temple. This has been turn[illegible] down.

► High among the deman[illegible] is for the Central Governme[illegible] to enact an All India Gu[illegible] dwara Act which would en[illegible] the Akalis to control all [illegible] gurudwaras in the state. At [illegible] moment, elections to the va[illegible] ous state level Shiroma[illegible] Gurudwara Prabandhak Co[illegible] mittees are held under [illegible] framed separately by ea[illegible] state; the Akalis want a sin[illegible] all-embracing pyramidal stru[illegible] ture which by definition wo[illegible] wield enormous clout. Co[illegible] tions at the country's gurudwaras are [illegible] officially assessed by Home Ministry sou[illegible] at Rs 150 crore a year.

► Renaming the Flying Mail train fr[illegible] the capital to Amritsar as the Gold[illegible] Temple Express. This demand has also b[illegible] denied.

► The Akalis want the Government co[illegible] of 1980, which changed recruitment to [illegible] army on the basis of a state's populat[illegible] rather than on merit, to be withdrawn. [illegible] present there are 15 per cent Sikhs in [illegible] armed forces but if the new rule is app[illegible] Akalis allege, Sikh representation will [illegible] nge to 1.5 per cent. Both Defence and Ho[illegible] Ministry officials have turned down [illegible] demand on the ground that other states [illegible] justified in their protest against heavy [illegible]

BHAWAN SINGH

Blessed are the sacrifices of those who, in the holy war, have been made mince meat of under a train and engine.

—translation of the statement on the hoarding

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ANANDPUR RESOLUTION

The Demands

THE WORKING Committee of the Shiromani Akali Dal constituted a 12-member sub-committee on December 11, 1972 to formulate comprehensive policies and programmes. The sub-committee comprised S. Surjit Singh Barnala, S. Harchharan Singh Tohra, S. Jiwan Singh Umranangal, the late S. Gurmeet Singh Kular, Dr. Bhagat Singh, S. Balwant Singh, the late S. Gian Singh Rarewala, S. Partap Singh Lalpura, S. Jaswinder Singh Brar, S. Bhag Singh, Maj-General Harbakhsh Singh and S. Amar Singh Ambalvi.

The committee after serious deliberations at several meetings submitted a comprehensive report which was adopted by the working committee through a unanimous resolution at Shri Anandpur Sahib on October 17, 1973. The general house of the Akali Dal endorsed the resolution at Amritsar on August 28, 1977 and it was also endorsed by the open session of the 19th All-India Akali Conference on October 28 and 29, 1978 at Ludhiana. The Akali Dal contested the 1977 elections to Parliament and the state Assembly on an election manifesto based on this resolution. The text follows.

General Aims

The Akali Dal shall be active and committed to the realisation of the following aims:

- Propagation of the Sikh way of life and removal of atheism and un-Sikh thinking.
- Maintaining the feeling of a separate independent entity of the Sikh Panth and creation of an environment in which the "National Expression" of the Sikhs can be full and satisfactory.
- Banishing illiteracy, untouchability, social inequities and caste-based discrimination which are contrary to the great teachings of the great Gurus.

Religious Aims

The following are some of the religious aims of the Dal:

- Bringing about a new all-India gurdwara law which will ensure a more efficient and meaningful management of places of worship and community centres and at present and helping in the achievement of re-integration of ancient Sikh preaching orders (such as Udasis and Nirmalas) into a dynamic Sikh society without encroaching upon their financial resources and property.
- Bringing all the gurudwaras of the world under the banner of one organisation to make the Sikh religious procedures and proceedings uniform throughout the world and pooling and making effective the aggregate resources of religious propagation.
- Obtain free and self-regulated access to and control of Sri Nankana Sahib and other Sikh sacred places from which Sikhs have been torn asunder in the recent past.

Political Aims

The political aims of the Panth are definitely ingrained in the orders of the 10th Guru in the pages of Sikh history and in the perspective of the Khalsa Panth, the purpose of which is the pre-eminence of the Khalsa. To give this "birthright" of the Khalsa a practical shape, creation of the necessary environment and achievement of a political constitution are necessary steps. To achieve this end the Dal will use all possible means.

...to maintain an independent entity of the Sikh Panth and to create an environment where the "National Expression" of the Sikhs can be full.

The resolution says:

- The areas which have deliberately and intentionally been kept out of Punjab—Dalhousie in Gurdaspur district, Chandigarh, Pinjore, Kalka and Ambala, Una tehsil (Hoshiarpur district), the Nalagarh region, Shahbad and Guhla blocks of Karnal district, Sirsa tehsil, Tohana sub-tehsil and Ratia block of Hissar district, six tehsils of Ganganagar district in Rajasthan and other contiguous Punjabi-speaking and Sikh areas should be immediately included in Punjab and made into a single administrative unit wherein Sikhism and the interests of the Sikhs "can be especially protected".
- In this new Punjab the authority of the Centre should be confined only to the defence of the country, foreign relations, communications, railways and currency. All the residuary subjects (departments) should be under the jurisdiction of Punjab which should have the right to frame its own constitution for these subjects. Punjab would contribute its share of the necessary finances for Central subjects in the ratio of its members in the Lok Sabha—13/541 of the budget.
- The Akali Dal will strive to make the Constitution of India federal in the real sense and ensure that the authority and representation of all the states are equal at the Centre.
- The organisation considers the present foreign policy (framed by the Congress Government) "defective, ineffective and dangerous for the country and harmful for mankind". The Akali Dal will support a foreign policy based on peace and helpfulness to the cause of promotion of national interests, especially the cause of friendship with and goodwill for the neighbouring countries where Sikhs live and their sacred places are situated. The Dal is firmly of the view that its foreign policy should not be subservient to the foreign policy of any other country.
- To obtain justice for Sikhs and other servants of the state and Central governments, and to raise an effective voice and wage a struggle in the event of injustice done to any of them, are special planks of the Akali Dal programme.
- The Akali Dal will specially work for the maintenance of the traditional position of the Sikhs in the three wings of the defence forces and try to ensure that the demands and requirements of the Sikhs in the defence services get the required attention of the Panth. The Dal will also seek to make the kirpan a part of the uniforms of the Sikhs in the defence establishments.
- The organisation considers it its primary duty to obtain proper facilities for the rehabilitation of the former members of the defence forces in civil life, to organise them for safeguarding their rights and self-respect and to make their voice effective.
- The party is of the view that all men and women who have not been convicted of any offence involving moral turpitude by a court of law, have the right to possess small arms, such as revolvers, pistols, guns, rifles or carbines, and no licence is needed for these. Registration is enough for keeping them.
- The Akali Dal wants a ban on drinking and smoking at public places.

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ruitment from one state.

► Finally, thorniest among the Akali demands is the handing over of Chandigarh city as the exclusive capital of Punjab. Although Punjab, as it exists today, was created in 1966, it was not till 1970 that Mrs Gandhi announced that Chandigarh should be handed over to Punjab. Following violent protests from Haryana, her award was not implemented and Chandigarh reverted to Union territory status. Mrs Gandhi has since been unable to implement her own decision—last fortnight Akali leaders demanded immediate handing over of Chandigarh to Punjab as a pre-condition for withdrawal of the morcha when her emissary Swaran Singh saw them. Almost simultaneously, Haryana Chief Minister Bhajan Lal issued a strong statement asserting that the transfer of Chandigarh was fraught with other problems, and a delegation of Congress(I) leaders from Chandigarh saw the prime minister opposing such an eventuality. Their plea: that such a transfer would adversely affect the Hindi-speaking population of the city. A hastily-conducted survey was flashed, claiming that 80 per cent of the city's population is opposed to such a transfer.

Last fortnight, while Congress(I) leaders in Chandigarh and Haryana were protesting against the transfer of Chandigarh to Punjab, Congress(I) leaders in Punjab were supporting the Akali demand. Said Vinod Sharma, Congress(I) MLA and general secretary of the Indian Youth Congress: "Yes, Chandigarh belongs rightly to Punjab and must be handed to us immediately. But the Akalis should not confuse their political and religious demands with the Chandigarh issue."

In fact, there is a wide body of opinion which asserts that the main purpose of these demands is political. After all, it is clear that when the Akalis were in power during the Janata coalition they raised none of these in spite of the affinity between the Punjab and central governments at the time. For example, neither Prakash Singh Badal, when he was Union agriculture minister for four months, nor Surjit Singh Barnala, who replaced Badal in June 1977 did anything tangible about the division of water from the Bhakra system which ranks high among the Akali demands now. At no time in the 30 months that they ruled Punjab, did the Akalis raise the Chandigarh issue or the enactment of an All India Gurudwara Act. Says Braham Mahindra, a Congress(I) MLA from Patiala: "Where were these Akali leaders when Morarji Desai was making fun of their demands in the Cabinet meetings." To some extent, of course, the Akalis had no intention of disturbing the coalition. More important, it confirmed the belief that at the time their primary aim was political power.

Centre's Dilemma: The Akali agitation has created a major crisis for the ruling party both in New Delhi and Chandigarh. It is estimated that the Congress(I) cannot accept at least 35 extreme demands—and if it were to give in to the remaining ten it would be forced to do so at a massive weakening of image. "If the Congress(I) begins to accept Akali demands it will be accused of succumbing to threats and agitations as well breeding communal strife for having sat over them for 18 months," admits a ruling party politician in New Delhi.

PRAMOD PUSHKARNA

Akalis say openly that they want complete autonomy for the state which is a debatable question, full of many implications.

—Chief Minister DARBARA SINGH

Worse is the Congress(I) fear of eroding its power base in Punjab. The ruling party was able to oust the Akali regime in the May 1980 state elections by shrewdly exploiting the divisions in the Akali camp and reaching out to the substantial non-Sikh population —about 47 per cent in the 1981 census—in the state. Its base remains largely in the state's Hindu and backward communities, and if the Akalis are allowed to emerge victorious in their present battle, the Congress(I) will not only lose its mandate but have to face the grudge of the non-Sikh electorates elsewhere. As it is, the party came with a wafer-thin majority of five in the house of 117, winning 63 seats compared with the 39 that the Akalis won (the rest went to the communists and others). The Assembly poll was a great disappointment for the Congress(I) which had won 12 of the state's 13 Lok Sabha seats in the general election just five months earlier.

It is to preserve her tenuous hold on the state that Mrs Gandhi has delayed negotiations with the Akali leaders. First, she delayed arriving at any settlement because it was likely to affect the Haryana polls in May. Now she has to face the electorate in Delhi as well as Jammu & Kashmir—and major concessions granted to the Akalis at this juncture would affect non-Sikh voters in the areas.

Clearly, Mrs Gandhi has lacked competent advisers on the subject. If marginal concessions were to be granted, they should have been offered at the outset of the agitation, not at this belated stage when it is impossible for the Akalis to quell the momentum. During the last two weeks Mrs Gandhi, repeating the Assam pattern, invited leaders of all the opposition parties for discussions. And each of them, while in favour of a settlement, emphasised that the Punjab problem should not be taken as a problem of the Akalis only. The Opposition also constituted a committee comprising representatives from all the major opposition groups to negotiate with the Akalis. The Janata Party chief Chandra Shekhar flew to Chandigarh and had long parleys with Longowal.

Conflicting Interests: But there is hardly any common ground for agreement because the Lok Dal(C) and the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) are diametrically opposed to one of the Akali demands. While the Lok Dal has an eye on Haryana, the BJP is opposing the Akalis because it hardly has any Sikh following in Punjab. Both BJP and Lok Dal have threatened to launch an agitation if the Centre accepts any of the Akali demands without consulting the opposition parties. Said Devi Lal, former Haryana chief minister: "We will launch a mass movement if any unilateral agreement with the Akalis is signed."

Appearance of all the opposition parties on the Punjab scene has made it difficult for Mrs Gandhi to clinch the issue. Though it is clear that Mrs Gandhi brought in the opposition leaders only to project an anti-Akali point of view, now she cannot ignore the Akali demands without taking the opposition leaders into confidence. Says Baldev Prakash, Punjab BJP chief: "It is not an Akali problem alone. No agreement

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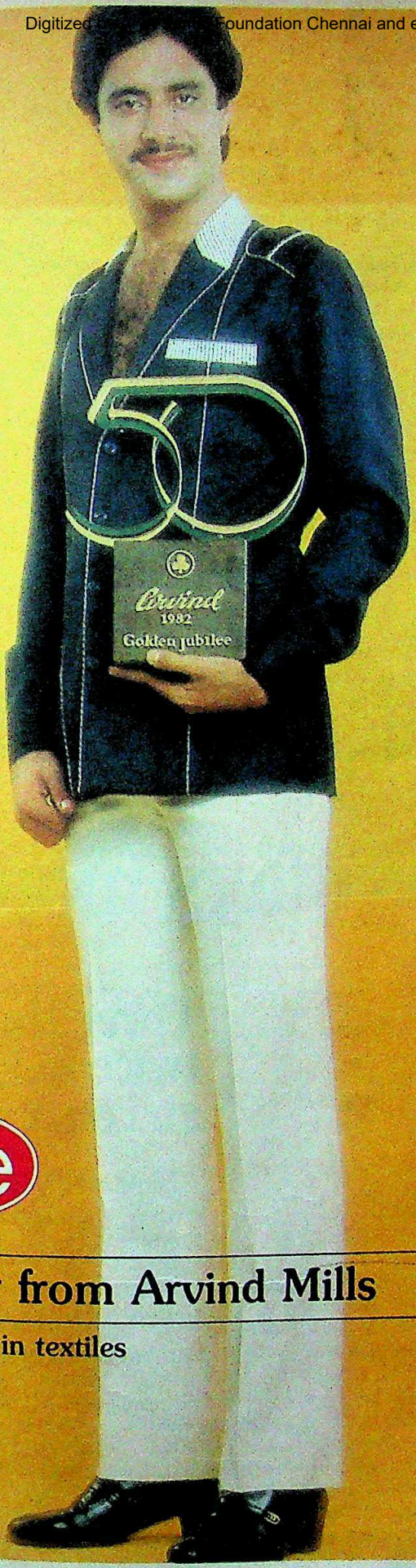

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QANTAS
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The deserted Ludhiana jail after the release of the Akalis: concerted action

...manent peace in Punjab if all the ...ns and parties are not taken into ...

...ing among Sikh leaders of the ... as well as unethical leap-frogging ...ed matters. Last year, it was the ...-Darbara Singh rivalry that help... militant Akalis gain ground. ...eader Bhindranwale himself, at ...-mid rumours that he was secretly ...ported by the then Union home ...Zail Singh—was obliquely suppor... Centre in the manner in which he ...d to announce the date of his own ...Akhra Chowk. Lately, Mrs Gandhi ...termined her party's confidence in ...passing Chief Minister Darbara ...ar negotiations with the Akalis, ...ly or through specially-appoint... ...ies like Swaran Singh.

...mination: The lack of a coherent, ...d policy at the Centre to tackle ...ency has intensified the areas of ...the situation, through deliberate ...ment delays, has been allow... ...ism, to drift. Says Akali Dal ...ngwal of his encounters with Mrs ...: "We went to see her three times ...demands—first time in October last ...ar, in December, and this year in ...the first two times she was sym... ...ent ear and even willing to concede ...ur demands. The third time she curtly said the negotiations had ended. Now tell me, who closed the door?"

Although the Akalis, on their part, have come together in a spirit denying individual political interests to mount a cohesive morcha, the first strains of their pulling in separate directions are evident with a settlement on the cards. Extremists like Bhindranwale and Talwandi may have successfully pushed moderates like Badal and Longowal to the frontline of the agitation, but signs of dissent breaking out are already evident. Some sniping has already begun. "Ask the morcha dictator (Longowal) about his demands," remarked Bhindranwale sarcastically to INDIA TODAY last week, "I am just a small worker doing my bit for my faith and have no big ambitions."

Political ambitions, on the other hand, have clearly motivated leaders like Badal to take a harder line. And in the case of Gurcharan Singh Tohra, president of the SGPC in Amritsar, it is ambition of another kind: the SGPC elections are due next month and Tohra would like to see Akali sympathies of the moment divided to retain his presidency. Badal, who maintains a strong antagonism towards Tohra from the days of his chief ministership, would like to see his own lobby strengthened if an Akali government were to be formed in the state again.

Tragically, however, differing political interests in the Akali leadership would only mean a prolonging of the agitation. "This time there may be no peace even if an Akali government is elected," says an editor in Chandigarh, referring to the comparatively peaceful Akali Dal government headed by Badal that ruled for three years till 1980. But although the Akalis claim that their politics represents the essence of the Sikh faith, their numbers in the legislature demonstrate otherwise. Of a total strength of 117 members there are 37 Akali MLA's—all Sikhs—as opposed to 47 Sikhs belonging to other partles—16 in the Congress(I) and 10 in the Communist Party of India (CPI).

And their spiritual beliefs also vary from leader to leader. From the militant extremism of Bhindranwale who sees the present agitation as a "revolt against Hindu *zulum* (repression)", is the mild-mannered ministrations of Longowal who calls himself "a lover of peace," Akalis are not representative of all Sikhs nor of Sikhism in its broad-based interpretation. Yet in their present crusade they have temporarily come together in pursuit of power.

In the process, they have come to support, even advocate, a rising militancy that seems to find an echo of approval in the rural areas. The popular support the Akali morcha has received since August, say observers, is a sign of grievances created not only by growing disparities but rising

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OPINION

Vox Populi

"Hindus and Muslims are like two real brothers. There are scores of families having Sikhs and Hindus. They cannot clash. Only extremists are doing the mischief. We are not against religious demands, but the Government must keep the rights of other religions in view before it allows time to the Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee (SGPC) on the radio or declares Amritsar a holy city. There have been threats to our lives. Letters have come asking us to stop preaching our religion. Why must the walled area be holy? Why not the entire municipal area?

—Gopi Chand Bhatia, dry fruit merchant and president of the Durgiana Mandir Committee.

"We have lost confidence in the Government and are constantly planning our own defences. Everyday there is something, and scared people shift their stocks out of the city centre, the Golden Temple area. The business community has lost faith in all political parties. We were never afraid of wars and lived through trying times thrice. But the daily communal tension is ruining us."

—Sham Sunder Bhatia, a Rashtriya Swyamsewak Sangh activist.

"I belong to the panth, *and whenever there is a call I am duty-bound to respond. We should be our own masters, determine prices of agricultural produce, wheat and rice, and make Punjab prosperous."*

—Gurdip Singh, 80, a rich farmer from Nangal Slala and an Akali activist since 1955.

"Write that we want our own government and no Congress business, and that until we have more powers we shall not be allowed to rule. Women with babes in their arms shall also come when the panth *calls, and there is no going back."*

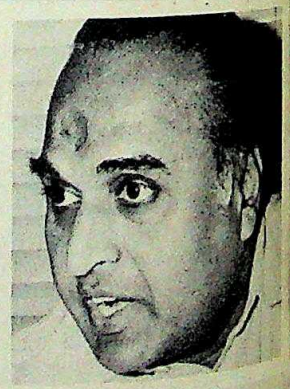
—Joginder Singh, 45, a villager from Jullundur.

"My father, who come to attend that historic (1919) Congress session, fell in love with this city and never went back, but we are tired of these leaders spreading the communal virus. Amritsar was the city of real peace and the cradle of the freedom movement and now look at this. Shall it give birth to separatism?"

—U.N. Mukherjee, 63, whose family had participated in the freedom movement.

"I once headed the social welfare board of Punjab and have been struggling for the welfare of women. Today, I am leading my own jatha *along with my brother-in-law, Iqbal Singh. The Anandpur Sahib resolution is the main thing. If Mrs Gandhi accepts this we shall be happy or else we will fight on as our gurus have taught us."*

—Manji Kaur Mann, 42, member of an Akali family from Khuri Kingra village in Jullundur.



"Business is suffering untold loss. Production is being cut. Any day when there is violence, sales in textiles and woollens remain dull for seven days at least. These have fallen by at least by [illegible] per cent and over the past five years have come down to Rs 10 crore from Rs [illegible] crore. Outside trades, when they read reports about firing and processions withdraw their orders, leaving us in the lurch."

—M.B. Sekhseria, vice-president (sales) OCM

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"How would you think a poor ...b land to till and a family to feed ... home to languish in a city jail ..." says an Amritsar-based acade- ... a sign of there being enough to ... the village, and enough in the ... look after the land."

...eligious Roots: The fairly wide- ...ense to the morcha—a religious ...ngs has more to do with the com- ... and religious development of the ... Khushwant Singh sees the ...ndamentalism as a latent fear of ... back to Hinduism". Says he: ...ally no social or religious barrier ...hs and Hindus except the Khalsa ...keeping long hair and not shaving ...hism is really a 'bearded' Hindu- ...ab—Sikhs and Hindus observe ... festivals, they intermarry and ...ship at Sikh gurudwaras."

...l and urban Sikhs view extremist ... quite differently," adds M.S. ... professor of political science in ... Guru Nanak Dev University, ... that one of the major causes for ...rity in towns is the signs of ...ion among younger Sikhs— ... their hair or observe the rituals ...ligion. Another common fear ...s, of their declining ...s in fact not quite ... although there has ...gnal drop of 2 to 3 ... the Sikh population ... the census does not ... account the large ... Sikhs who have been ... abroad or elsewhere ...try over the past 30

... socio-economic pro- ...ile in Punjab shows ... be a well-off people ...gher life expectancy, ...tality rate and a ... capita income than ... average. Ironically ... so prosperous a ... the literacy rate of ... per cent in Punjab is ... lowest in north India ...ficant reason for the ... number of illiterate ... who have been joining ... the Akali morcha.

...al Capacity: The ... must be seen in the broader ... of sweeping social and economic ... has occurred in Punjab since 1965 ... was carved out as a Punjabi- ... Yet, the state's political pro- ... last 10 years has shown that ... nor the Akali Dal can rule ... today by themselves. Since the basis of the Akali demand is religion—not language—even if it were geographically possible to redraw the boundaries of Punjab and Haryana to create a larger Punjab with a more assured Sikh majority, there is no certainty that the Akalis would be able to rule successfully by themselves. If the ruling party succumbs to Akali demands, with their element of built-in blackmail, it will prove more conclusively that, since January 1980, Indira Gandhi's leadership finds it harder to restrain the growing tide of regional politics.

If the ruling party succumbs to Akali demands, it will prove that Indira Gandhi's leadership finds it harder to restrain the growing tide of regional politics.

On the other hand, if the ruling party can succeed in bringing the Akalis into the mainstream of Indian politics by removing their legitimate grievances, and by dealing with their agitation with a mixture of justice, compassion and firmness, the effects could be wide-reaching. The Sikhs' identity problem is no more acute than the identity problem of tribals in Bihar and Madhya Pradesh or the non-Assamese in Assam or Muslims all over India. "No other community has received more government help to rehabilitate themselves after Partition," admits a Sikh in Amritsar, "what our community also has to realise is that we have no future without India."

In fact, separatist movements like Khalistan find little echo in Punjab, and even public opinion has given the idea a decisive 'no'. (INDIA TODAY, Oct. 31, 1981). As if in evidence, nobody has raised the ubiquitous "foreign hand" charge in the current agitation, and clearly none of the demands of even the most militant of Sikhs contemplates even remotely any future except as an integral part of India.

If the ruling party succeeds in bringing the Akalis into the political mainstream by removing their legitimate grievances, and by dealing with them with justice, compassion and firmness, the effects could be wide-reaching.

What the prime minister can do is to take advantage of the Akali agitation to set up a national commission to consider redrawing state boundaries and redress legitimate grievances of linguistic and ethnic groups of which the States' Reorganisation Commission did an incomplete job in 1950. Or take up the issue of Chandigarh, despite opposition from Haryana, since she was unable to resolve it when it first arose.

And the Akalis also must begin to view their agitation realistically, calling an end to the rampant bloodshed and rising communal tension. They must face the divisive factions existing within their party and sort out the ideological conflict. They must recognise the fact that if they were to attain power, extremists among them would have to be severely contained. Unless both sides accept the basic realities of their situation, and come to terms with them, no amount of consultation or negotiating is likely to yield results. And as they delay immediate action, the trouble in Punjab could rapidly accelerate into a terrible explosion.

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LOBSTERS

A Giant Leap

IN A STARTLING discovery, marine scientists recently found that the Indian species of lobster, *Panulirus Homarus*, grow fastest when they have been blinded. The technique was developed at the Kovalam (Madras) field laboratory of the Cochin-based Central Marine Fisheries Research Institute (CMFRI) and involves the removal of the eyestalks of the lobsters. Although unsuccessful in the case of Australian and American spiny lobsters, this method has inexplicably yielded spectacular results in India, by increasing their moulting frequency—a periodic shedding of shells by which crustaceans like lobsters, crabs and prawns grow.

This is achieved by inducing a hormonic reaction when the 'moulting inhibiting hormone' in the 'X' gland located in the eyestalk of the lobster is neutralised. As a result, an unprecedented growth rate of 1 to 2.5 grams per day has been achieved as against the normal growth of 0.3 grams per day, says Dr E.G. Silas, director of CMFRI.

A series of recent experiments have been carried out by scientists E.V. Radhakrishnan and M. Vijaykumar on individual as well as groups of lobsters employing this technique. In one of the experiments both the eyestalks of 10 lobsters weighing 84.5 grams each were ablated and they were reared in the experimental tank for 165 days. These lobsters grew to a mean weight of 432 grams. In the unablated group of lobsters of similar size and weight in the same conditions, the growth over the period was only 57 grams.

Remarkable Growth: In another trial involving 14 lobsters, the average weight increment was 110.6 grams in 108 days when the corresponding growth for normal lobsters was 37.5 grams. In repeated trials with varying numbers from 4 to 18, eyestalk ablated lobsters recorded growth increases of 1.45 to 2.5 grams per day. The experiments lasted between 36 and 165 days and in all cases the lobsters were fed liberally with clam meat. Said Dr Silas: "Incredible as it may appear, in one experiment a lobster with an initial weight of 254 grams attained 402 grams after a single moult in 31 days. This shows a weight increase of 4.7 grams per day as against the normal growth of hardly 12 grams per month."

Earlier attempts at growing lobsters in captivity to augment production had met with only partial success. The main constraints encountered in their culture were the long duration of their larvae life and also their slow growth rate. While it had been possible to successfully culture spiny lobsters from juveniles to a marketable size in the Kovalam laboratory during the past few years, the growth achieved had been only comparable to their normal growth in nature.

The ablation experiment was first conducted on prawns, search commenced in 1975 and cessful in 1980. Quite similarly, lation of the hormone-contai gland in the eyestalk of the prawn increased moulting frequency. But growth and maturity of the pra enhanced, the results were not as as in the case of lobsters.

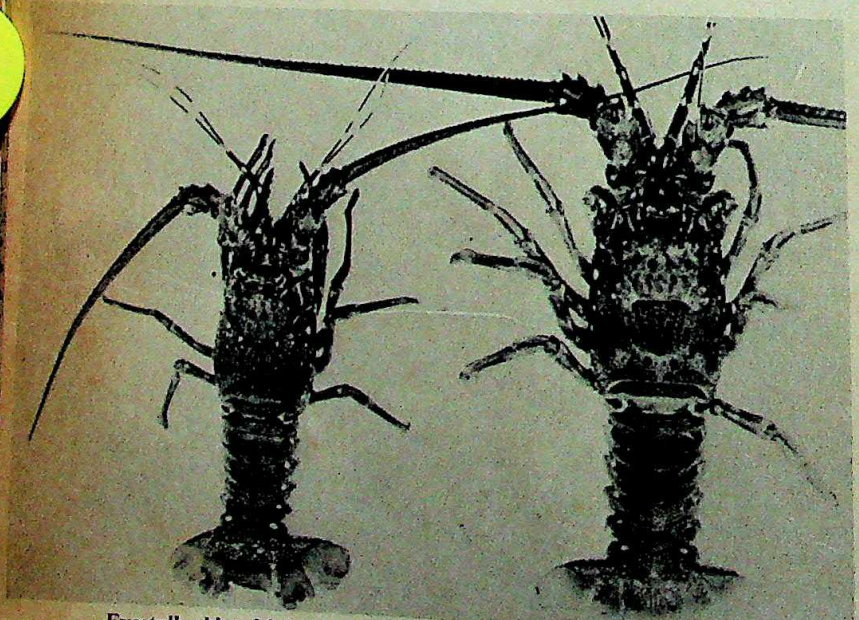
Practical Effect: With a kilo lobster meat costing nearly Rs clearly one of the most expensive items. While India exported nearly tonnes of lobsters last year, the the discovery on the industry is Normally, the estimated growth lobsters to a marketable size of ab grams is about two years. By th technique, however, it will be poss achieve this weight in five to six and to double this in another two months. Such phenomenal growth up great possibilities of developing cally fast growing 'giant' strains, an ing the *Panulirus Homarus* a very candidate for culture. These spec found along the Kerala coast, espec Vizhinjam and Neendakara, and searchers are concentrating on these

However, questions of morality tinue to hang in the balance. In ing controversy, animal lovers have the scientists of cruelty towards Parrying the criticism, CMFRI has that there has been no 'observable' either in the mortality or in the vioural patterns of lobsters.

Moving helter-skelter after a they returned to normalcy two da travelling in groups in their typica system'. Their antennae, tactile in could sense food us usual. The velopment puzzling scientists was ergence of a knob-like structure fourths of an inch long, at the site removed eyestalk.

Further, Dr Silas questions and cry being raised in the case of while rabbits, frogs, rats and fish to be experimented upon. S.N. executive secretary, SPCA, Madra that the Prevention of Cruelty to Act, 1960, does not make experim on animals, including operations ratories, an offence. Indeed a co for the control and supervision of ments on animals which was form the enactment of the act was abol the Janata government in 1977 arguments notwithstanding, scien handmaid of entrepreneurs, has scored a dubious victory.

—G. SHAHEED



Eyestalk ablated lobster and (right) three-months later: amazing find

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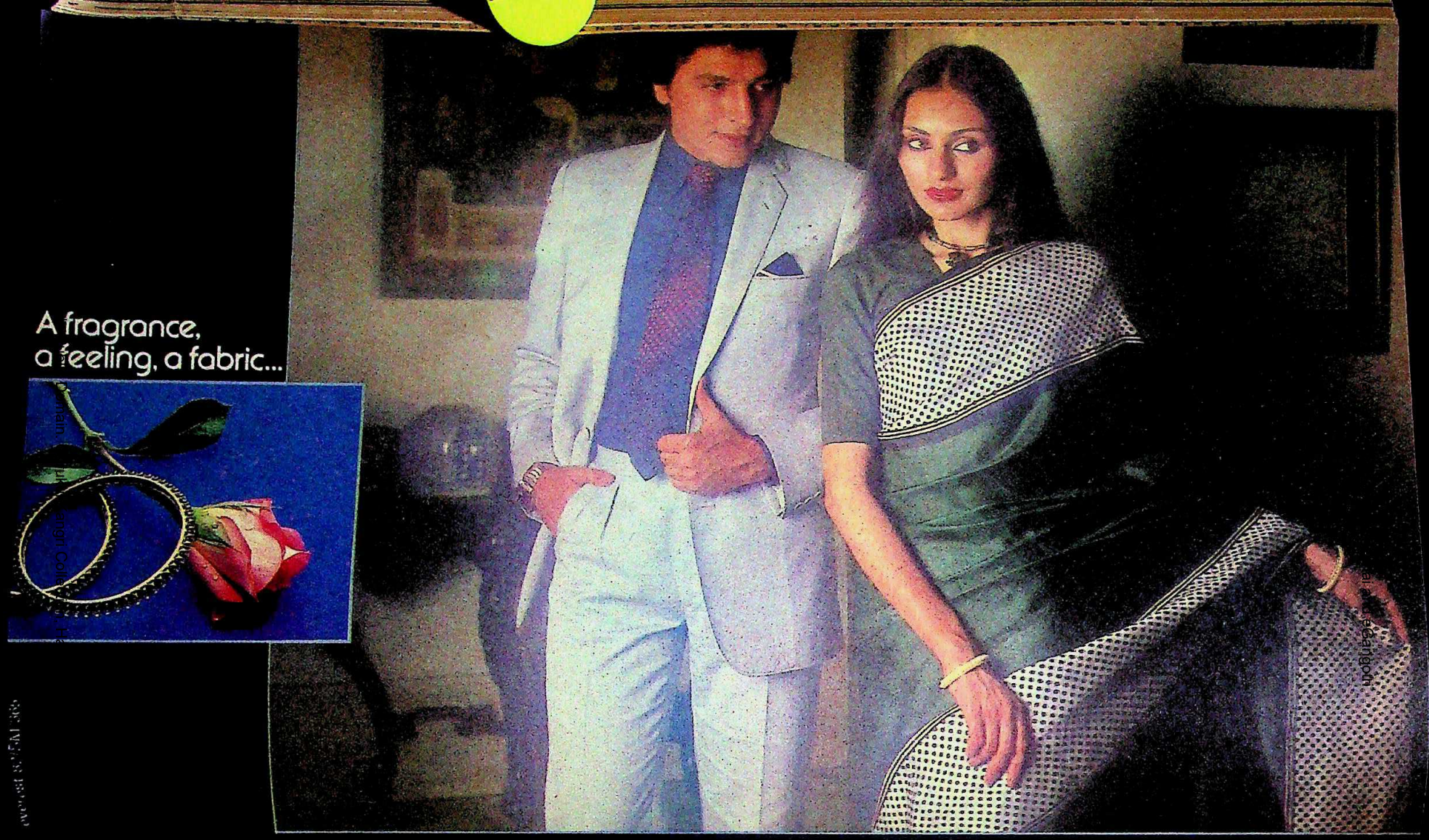
A fragrance,
a feeling, a fabric...
A fabric so beautiful you can't call it by any other name.

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e Battle Behind The Lines

ED: Executive editor for a large chain. Applicants must be Delhi- have their own residential accom- Experience not an essential prere- will essentially entail implement- of the management and oc- assignments. Applicants must familiarity with internal as well politics. Contacts in the corridors will be an added qualification. must be flexible in order to adjust constantly-changing requirements of necessitated by ambitious plans. Idealists and those with a spirit need not apply.

R VETERAN media-watchers, the appearance of that fictitious advertisement is an event that they fervently hope will not occur. By last however, it was becoming painfully obvious that the advertisement, or one similar lines, might well become inevitable and when it does it will be more of an than anything else, for the chain the sprawling *Indian Express* and the post in question is currently by this year's Magsaysay Award the best-known journalist in the Arun Shourie.

Viewed in mere historical terms, departure from the *Express*, if it will be just one more in a seemingly In the past four years, the the *Express* group has been 13 editor-level employees a steady procession including brightest stars in the Indian firmament: S. Mulgaokar, Singh, R.V. Pandit, Kuldip Bhattacharjea, Kevin Rafferty, Jha, Hari Jaisingh, Bikram Vohra, Darryl D'Monte, Dom Moraes and N.J. Nanporia.

Inspiring Lead: But the axing of Shourie will surely rank as the unkindest cut of all. Since January 1979, when he joined the *Express*, Shourie has taken the paper to new and unscaled heights, inspiring colleagues and the *Express* stable of reporters to some of the biggest scoops in the paper's history—work that has gained recognition not just in the Magsaysay Award but many others picked up on the way. Suddenly, it has all turned sour and the simmering feud between Shourie and his new nemesis, the paper's proprietor, Ram Nath Goenka, has become an unpalatable public issue.

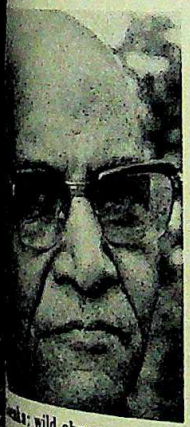
The storm first broke, of all places, in the pages of *Surya* when the magazine's new owners published private correspondence between Shourie and *Express* editor-in-chief B.G. Verghese. The letter, in Shourie's inimitable and impulsive style, expressed his misgivings about the non-publication of an article he had submitted on the now-infamous Kuo Oil deal involving the prime minister's house. It also detailed the manner in which Goenka operated and the pressures on him. The private missive ended with the line: "As I have said a number of things about Ramnathji, some of which will enrage him and some of which will amuse him, I am sending him a copy of this letter."

Goenka was obviously not amused and last month, in an interview published in Shobha Kilachand's little known 'people' magazine *Celebrity*, he lashed out at Shourie in a series of wild and highly improbable charges. The one that shocked most readers was that Shourie was a plagiarist who used material obtained by others under his own name. Goenka also claimed that the Antulay story had been put together from his own sources and given to Shourie who had undeservedly got the credit.

Turnaround: Goenka, in his uncharacteristic tirade, accused Shourie, among other things, of a "total lack of balance" at a time when, ironically enough, the *Express* group was advertising its achievements using Shourie's investigative stories as examples of "balanced" reporting. Says Shourie: "What was total commitment till yesterday is total lack of balance today. If he felt that way, why did he give me a platform to reach 3 million readers?"

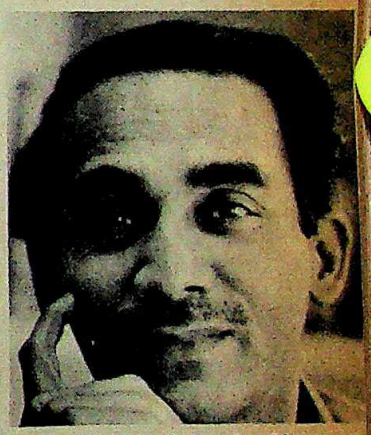
Though Goenka has, in a rejoinder to *Celebrity*, objected to his statements being distorted and inaccurate and given the sequence of events that resulted in the interview—which he insisted was off the record—the damage had undoubtedly been done. "The Crusaders Clash", as *Surya* headlined the Goenka-Shourie rift, was out in the open and nobody viewed it with more concern than the staffers at the *Indian Express*. "If Shourie is forced to quit as a result of the article it will cause irreparable harm to the paper," says a senior *Express* correspondent in Delhi, adding: "He has brought a new momentum to the paper and is the only editor who constantly encouraged us in our stories with advice and follow-up ideas." Says one of the paper's special correspondents: "There is already an air of disillusionment and demoralisation. The bite has gone out of the paper and I doubt if the occasional bark will be enough."

In fact, over the past few months, there has been a noticeable change in the content of the paper and in its editorial page. Its strongly anti-government stand surfaces much less, though there have been occasional leading articles with bite. Instead there is emphasis on development stories



Goenka: wild charges

It was not just a case of one journalist lashing out at another in print but the proprietor of the most powerful newspaper chain in the country levelling very serious charges against his very own executive editor.



Shourie: injured pride

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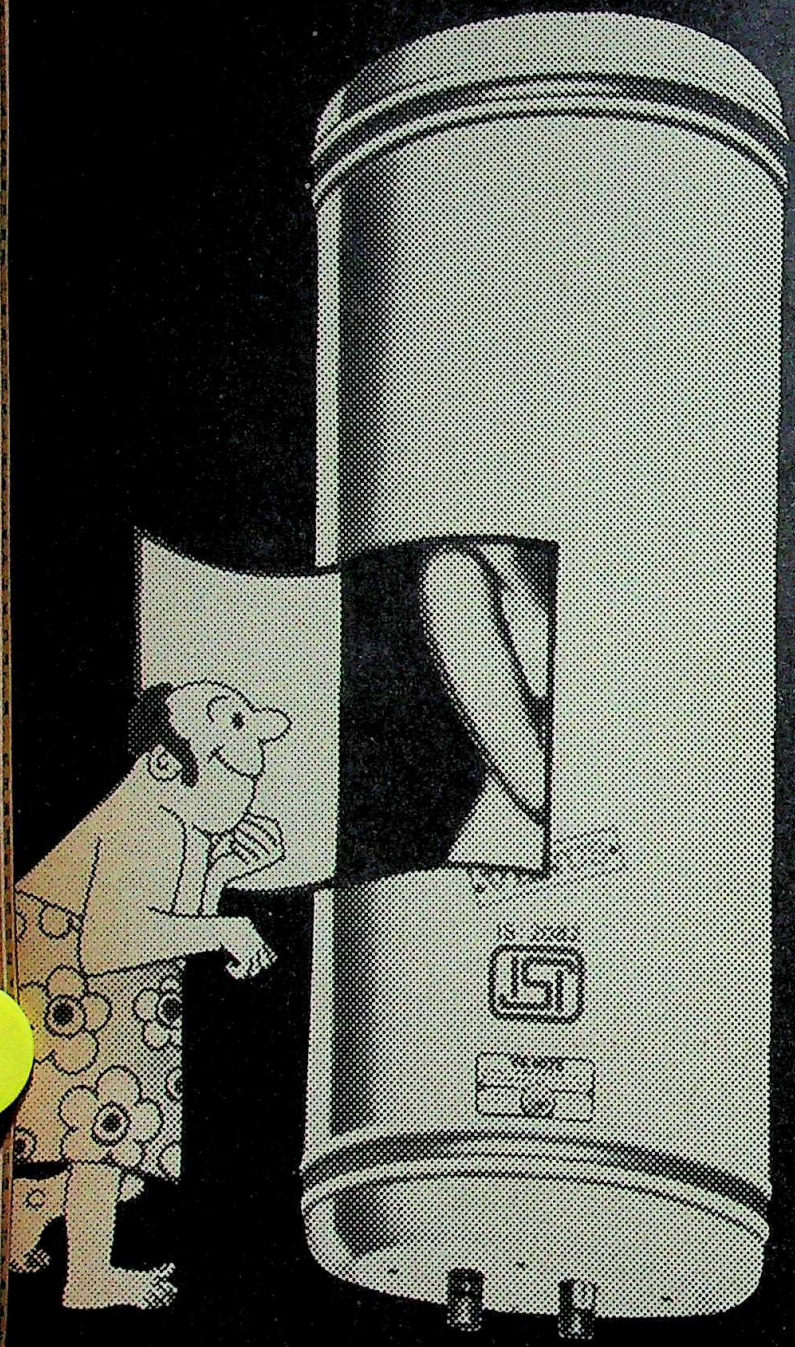

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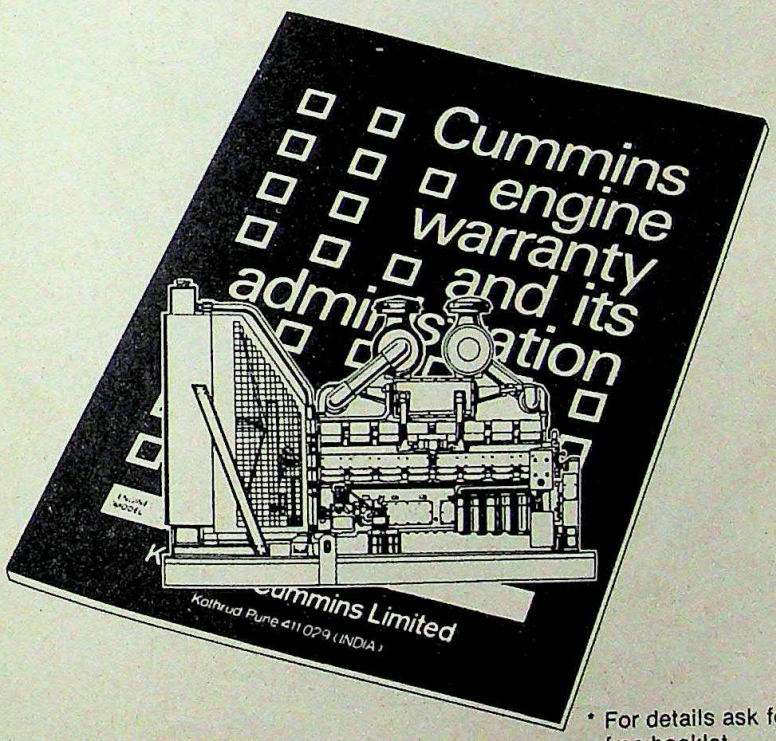

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Outsiders, too, are worried. "Goenka has a nasty habit of playing his editors against each other but if he loses Shourie it will end the oppositional role that the *Express* has developed all these years. George (Verghese) is a good friend of mine but he is a bit of a boyscout. It will also add grist to the rumours that Goenka has made some kind of a deal with Mrs Gandhi to get rid of Shourie in return for something. Everybody knows he is financially very vulnerable," says Romesh Thapar, editor of *Seminar* and one of the most respected journalists in the country.

However, sources close to Goenka scoff at the allegations that he has made any kind of deal with Mrs Gandhi. They point to the fact that recently the Government's case against Goenka over the new Express building in Delhi was reinstated in the Supreme Court under orders from the prime minister's office.

They also point to the fact that Goenka's passport, which he had sent for renewal last March, was returned to him with a note saying that it will not be renewed till a case pending against him from the Emergency days is disposed of. The sources also claim that there is no financial pressure on the paper and there is enough collateral against any outstanding loans in the State Bank of India.

GOENKA as well as Verghese declined to comment on the issue, but discussions with *Express* senior staff and others who have been present at certain private meetings which have a bearing on the rift are revealing. In fact, the sequence of events and the convoluted internal games involved would, ironically enough, provide material for the kind of story that the *Express* is famous for and, in fact, what Shourie himself has written on numerous occasions.

According to insiders, the first hint that Shourie was being made a sacrificial lamb surfaced in late June. Shourie had submitted his devastating article on the Kuo Oil deal but Verghese, for some mysterious reason, persistently stalled publication on one excuse or another. Finally, in exasperation, Shourie penned his now-famous letter to Verghese which, equally mysteriously, found its way later into the pages of *Surya*.

Goenka was evidently not amused and, according to sources, dashed off a letter to Verghese which clearly implied that he would have no objection if Shourie was asked to leave. Significantly, a copy of the letter was dispatched to Goenka's daughter-in-law Saroj. It is fairly common knowledge that Saroj, who operates her own little clique in the *Express*, has no love for Shourie.

Suspicions Confirmed: In early July, Shourie returned to Delhi from Bangalore to find the Kuo Oil article had still not been published, even though the paper's legal advisers had cleared it without any objections. On July 8, in an obvious bid to force Verghese's hand, Shourie had 50 copies of the article cyclostyled and distributed to various MP's on the opening day of Parliament's monsoon session. The same day, Verghese released the piece for publication. Shourie being Shourie, immediately smelled a plot to oust him by Goenka with Verghese being the reluctant instrument and confided his fears to some close associates. Shourie's suspicions seemed to be confirmed shortly after when Kamal Nath, the Congress(I) MP named in the oil deal, happened to meet him.

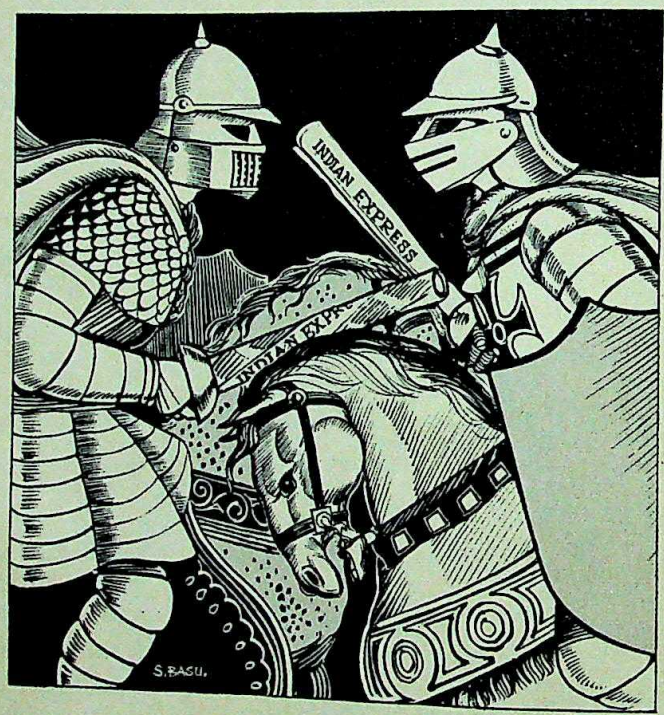
Apparently, bearing out his forebodings, Nath, according to Shourie, flatly stated that Goenka had struck a deal with the prime minister to have Shourie removed. He also stated that Verghese's appointment as editor-in-chief had been "cleared by us" and also quoted from the letter Goenka had written Verghese [illegible] Shourie's removal. Finally, in his [illegible] bravado act, he challenged Shourie [illegible] have any anti-government article [illegible] the *Express* under his by-line.

Manipulations: As if to [illegible] Nath's challenge an article on the [illegible] Press Bill written by Shourie was [illegible] publication. Temporary reprieve, however, [illegible] arrived in the form of the Magsaysay Award for Shourie in September. A [illegible] editor of another paper recalls [illegible] Shourie that his job "was safe for another month". But the remark also indicates that the Goenka manipulations were, [illegible] then, common knowledge in media circles.

The real storm, however, which [illegible] long in coming in the form of Goenka's controversial interview [illegible] *Celebrity* Editor Kilachand. Goenka, in his rejoinder [illegible] the interview, states that [illegible] interview contains "omissions, inaccuracies, misjoinders [illegible] overstatements and the [illegible] and insists that it was [illegible] the record interview.

In his letter to *Celebrity* Goenka claims that: "[illegible] (the published interview) [illegible] have been from memory [illegible] you had not used the [illegible] recorder nor had you [illegible] any notes. I told you that [illegible] draft was far from correct [illegible] had again reminded you [illegible] it was not for publication. You insisted on publication. I then very reluctantly [illegible] provided the matter [illegible] cleared by the editor-in-[illegible] of the *Indian Express*, [illegible] B.G. Verghese."

Standard Gambit: [illegible] however, quite possible [illegible] Goenka's reaction was [illegible] classic one to most of [illegible] record interviews which have become a [illegible] dard gambit in Indian journalism [illegible] statements made deliberately in the [illegible] the moment only acquire their real [illegible] ance in the cold, harsh light of [illegible] Kilachand, who reacted strongly [illegible] Goenka's rejoinder, says that he said [illegible] more than was actually published but [illegible] didn't use it since I felt it was in extreme [illegible] bad taste". She also is convinced [illegible] Goenka knew full well that the interview [illegible] going to appear in print. "If he did not [illegible] to discuss the Shourie affair why did he [illegible] to meet me and at some length? I am [illegible] family member nor am I a confidante of [illegible] meet him as a journalist and he knew [illegible] fectly well that I was going to [illegible] interview since I had sent him the [illegible]



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what appeared," she adds. said." according to Kilachand, no time in penning his own lengthy rejoinder to against him in *Cele-* categorically disproves one Goenka allegedly made regarding the Antulay exposé. precise dates and timings of with each of his sources also exactly what material each.

ever, the first part of the letter provides a key to the Shourie-Writes Shourie: "It is the has chosen this time—an a magazine—which is novel. therefore not important—he something or the other of the his editors—but why he says it now and why he says it in

Shourie goes on "Mr Goenka is a and so there is rage; there is someone notice me down to the me in public of This is no the anxiety which letters that between Mr Verghese and minister's office they were distri- (*Surya*) and of the Cong-

ends the letter by Goenka deserves for the Antulay story as for that has appeared in the it is only because of him possible for persons like me like the Antulay one during years...Hence it is that while and well know the reasons that to advertise his sudden dis- infirmities, I cannot under- compulsions that led him to and files and sources—such compared to what is his due and

the protagonists lashing out a point, it now seems that the that senior journalists have bring about between the two more difficult. If the Goenka bad taste it also symbolised the feud between the two has epic and irreversible propor- retrospect, not just a case lashing out at another in print but the proprietor of the most powerful newspaper chain in the country levelling very serious charges against his own executive editor, and that too, one who has made the *Express* a household word. Above all, it could spell the end of a symbiotic relationship between the two that has restored the position of the media to its rightful place in the democratic scheme of things. Says Ramesh Thapar: "Shourie's leaving is not an internal matter at all. It affects all of us in the profession. Goenka and Arun are a two-man army and it would be tragic if both were to destroy each other in the bargain. The only winner, I fear, will be the ruling party."

Unpredictable: His concern is almost universal as far as the media is concerned and the more optimistic are still hoping that Goenka will do one of his legendary about-faces and kiss and make up with Shourie. Paradoxically, however, it is that unpredictable facet of Goenka's character that has been responsible for the current crisis of confidence in the *Express*. Shourie, who fancies himself as something of an amateur psychologist, has made a clinical study of the man in the last four years they have been together and has analysed him in depth in the letter that was published by *Surya*.

It now seems that the rapprochement that senior journalists have been trying to bring about between the two has grown even more difficult. If the Goenka interview was in bad taste it also symbolised the fact that the feud has reached epic and irreversible proportions. It could spell the end of a symbiotic relationship that has restored the position of the media to its rightful place in the democratic scheme of things.

Apart from the historical precedents which have shown that at some point or the other Goenka locks horns with all his editors, usually resulting in their quitting, he is essentially a politician who takes a childish glee in playing political games, and Shourie details his technique in great depth. Says Shourie in his letter to Verghese: "I have worked with Ramnathji closely for three years. Permit me to recount two or three rules of thumb, among many, by which he operates. These form a background to the recent exchanges between him and the Government...

► "Like every good guerrilla fighter Ramnathji whenever necessary concedes space to buy time.

► "When he receives signals that could be interpreted either way, he sends back signals that could be interpreted either way.

► "He believes that the time to reach out to a person is when the person is isolated and down and out, that is, when the other person is in need—recall the article he wrote just after Sanjay's death saying that everyone would rally round Mrs Gandhi.

"Each of these rules of thumb today lead Ramnathji to go on with exchanges of the kind that he has been having with the Government. He feels at the moment that to ward off any difficulties from the State Bank we should buy time by opening some kind of dialogue. He also perceives that Mrs Gandhi is today isolated and is in need... he is the one man who has the skill and stamina to sail that close to the wind and still not let the boat capsize. If, going by his preference at the moment, we draw in the sails, the paper would have a quieter time but it would have lost its character, it would have lost the very reason for its existence.."

Varied Reactions: It is precisely that final note of Shourie's that elevates the feud into one that is of more than local importance. Unfortunately, though *Express* staffers are worried about what will happen if Shourie leaves, there are enough people within the empire who would hardly shed tears if the break becomes final. One, of course, is Saroj Goenka, Goenka's ambitious daughter-in-law who has her own candidate for Shourie's post and has, according to the *Surya* article, already demanded Shourie's resignation in a letter to her father-in-law. Some time ago, that would not have made much of a difference but in recent months, according to *Express* insiders, Goenka has started to take her advice more often and her group of loyalists, most of them based in the south, from where she operates, has grown in influence. *Express* staffers are also convinced that one reason for Saroj's growing influence is that Goenka's advanced years—he is now past 80—are beginning to tell.

Whatever the truth of that belief, it is undeniably true that the *Express* has lost much of its punch in the past month or so. Says a staffer: "Nobody has told us to stop writing anti-government articles but the unspoken message is to cool it and this is reflected in the paper." And, if the trend continues, the only winner will be a certain occupant of 1 Safdarjung Road.

—DILIP BOBB

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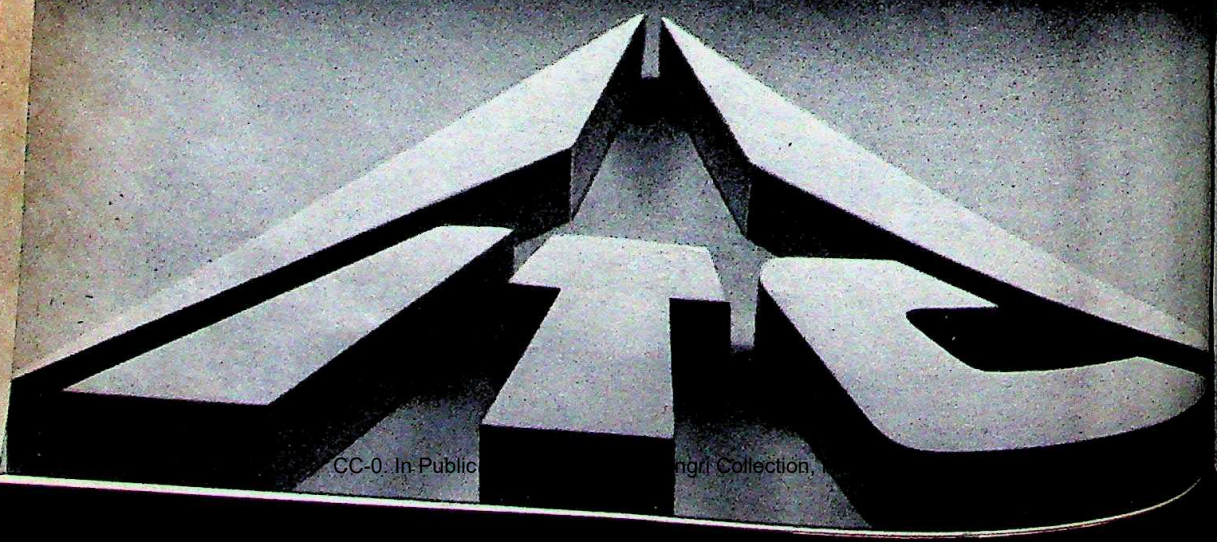

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TABLE A: AVERAGE INVESTMENT

INVESTMENT PERIOD	AMOUNT INVESTED	AMOUNT
14.2.83 to 31.5.83 3.5 months	× Rs 125	= 437.5
1.6.83 to 31.5.84 12 months	× Rs 250	= 3000.0
1.6.84 to 30.6.85 13 months	× Rs 500	= 6500.0
Total		9937.5
Less : Sale proceeds of 5 ITC shares in July '84 @ 36.80	Rs 184 × 12 months	= 2208.0
Net total		7729.5
Average investment per month (for 28½ months)	= 7729.5 / 28.5	Rs 271.21

TABLE B: CAPITAL GAIN

(i) Sale proceeds of 10 ITC shares based on the market price prevailing on 30.9.82	Rs 368.00
(ii) Accumulated interest between 14.2.83 and 30.6.85 exchanged for 10 ITC shares	Rs 134.41
(iii) Capital gain opportunity = (i)−(ii)	Rs 233.59

TABLE C: YIELD OVER 28½ MONTHS TILL JUNE '85

(i) Sale proceeds of 10 ITC shares @ Rs 36.80 per share	Rs 368.00
(ii) Average investment for the period 14.2.83 to 30.6.85	Rs 271.21
(iii) Yield for the 28½ month period till 30.6.85 = (i) × 100 ÷ (ii)	135.69%

TABLE D: RUNNING YIELD FROM JULY '85

(i) Original investment per Bond	Rs 500.00
(ii) Less : Sale proceeds of 10 ITC shares @ Rs 36.80 per share	Rs 368.00
(iii) Net investment from July 1985 = (i)−(ii)	Rs 132.00
(iv) Annual return from July 1985 till 1991 @ 15% p.a. compounded half yearly on full principal of Rs 500	Rs 77.81
(v) Annual running yield from July 1985 = (iv) × 100 ÷ (iii)	58.95%

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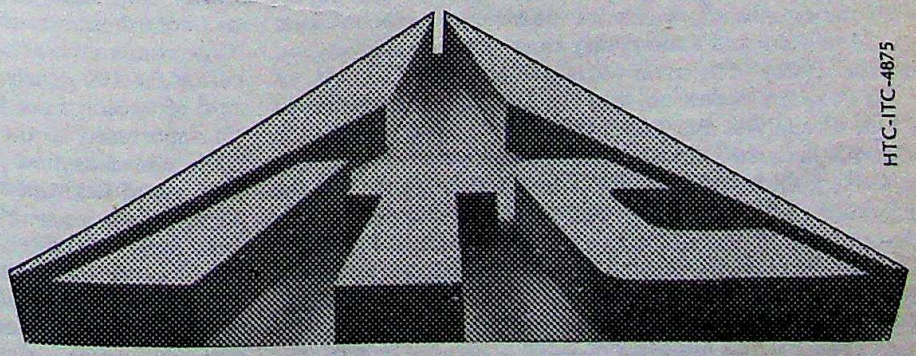

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PAKISTAN

Scrambled Strategic View

IN SOUTH Asia, no country's strategic environment has been shaken as much in the last three years as Pakistan's. The events of this period have also rudely jolted the strategic perceptions of the Pakistani non-military elite of the world, of the South Asian region, and of Pakistan itself. The military-bureaucratic-industrial alliance that rules Pakistan has been finding it difficult to mesh its own strategic perceptions—which are of an old vintage—with the perceptions of the non-military elite, which are reaching beyond the doubts of yesterday to grasp for Pakistan a clearer and stabler tomorrow. The result of the regime-elite dichotomy in strategic perceptions can be seen in the current dilemmas of the ruling alliance. It knows that the basic premises of its foreign policy are fraying and new frontiers need to be explored. Still, like all closed ruling establishments, it is afraid of bold innovative change. What it finds safe is slow, gradual incremental adjustment to regional and international change. That comfortable option, alas, is being denied it by forces over which it has little influence and less control.

How profoundly the Pakistani non-military elite's strategic perceptions of the world, the region and of Pakistan have changed since 1980 became evident at a national symposium held in Islamabad towards the end of August. Though the symposium's agenda was Pakistan's relations with the US, the 15 papers written by Pakistani scholars covered the entire spectrum of the country's strategic relations. Its friendship and alliance with the US and China, its hostility-relationship with the USSR, its pathological interaction with India, its interests in South Asia and the Persian Gulf, its capabilities to defend these interests, its strength and weakness as a nation.

The sentiment may sound utopian in 1982 but it certainly shows that at least segments of the younger generation of Pakistan intellectuals have travelled a long way from the siege mentality of their older compatriots.

The symposium was organised by the Institute of Area Studies at the Quad-e-Azam University, Islamabad. It was inaugurated by Agha Shahi, Pakistan's ebullient former foreign minister, who has played a key role to set up the institute. It is interesting to note that the institute's Director, Lt-General A.I. Akram (retd) wrote a series of articles in the *Muslim* immediately before the symposium under the general caption: Make Peace, Not War. A comparison of General Akram's strategic perceptions of the region and of Pakistan with those of the scholars who wrote papers for the symposium reveals the differences and dichotomies between the military and non-military elites' strategic thinking.

Unstable Policy: The main focus of the symposium was, of course, on Pakistan's relations with the US. Agha Shahi himself set the tone of analyses and assessment when he brought out the contradictions between US and Pakistani interests in South Asia and the Persian Gulf and underlined the limited breath and the basic instability of Washington's commitments to Pakistan. "The US connection has constituted a fundamental factor in Pakistan's foreign policy for much the greater part of its history," noted Agha Shahi. But US foreign policy has been far from stable, changing "according to the predilections of the political party in power and shifts in the mood of the US electorate." After the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, the integrity of Pak the status quo in the Persian Gulf became very importa US. However, the US "remains unwilling to consider own interests would be threatened in any contingency e direct Soviet armed attack". In other words, the US share Pakistan's fear of India and has no commitment t kistan in the event of a war with India. "This lack of co in US and Pakistani interests extends to the Gulf region Agha Shahi observed, the Rapid Deployment Force upon with misgivings".

The scholars who contributed papers to the sy showed a remarkable consensus on five major strategi though they differed sharply in evaluating specific aspect kistan's strategic relations with the external world. The fi of consensus were:

► it would be dangerous for Pakistan to depend hea US to maintain internal stability and defend its frontiers;

► Pakistan must remain non-aligned and refuse to a US in the Persian Gulf;

► Pakistan needs to nor relations with the Sovie through a political settleme Afghan problem;

► improvement of relati India must get high priorit kistan's foreign policy;

► the main threat to comes not from outside, bu inability to find a stable system based on the freely will of the people and its i give political and emotional satisfaction to the ethnic m of Baluchistan, the NWFP and Sind.

Threat perceptions of the scholars were far from m While older men like Professor Pervaiz Iqbal Cheema, di the centre for strategic studies at the Islamabad Univers Professor Mohammed Ahsen Choudhri, head of the de of international relations, Karachi University, shared th ry's threat perceptions from India and the Soviet Union, scholars did not. Sayed Mehtab Ali Shah, of Islamabad U ty, averred that Pakistan's perception of an Indian threa wed after the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan—an obse that doesn't exactly jell with several pronouncements of Zia-ul-Haq. Shah also touched on the sensitive terrain of ca's contribution to the Pakistan offer of a no-war pact to "The continuous tensions between India and Pakistan w ful to the US policies in the subcontinent. "The relative tion of tension since Pakistan's offer of a no-war pact w an opportunity to the US to consolidate her position in ...The normalisation process in the region is one of the c interests of Pakistan and the US." Shah, however, asked to be "more positive" than its no-war pact proposal. "I that India will undo Pakistan should be given up." If made a "functionalist" approach to relations with In Indian response would be certainly positive".

"A long-term understanding with India must now b high priority objective for Pakistan," affirmed Dr Sahibz

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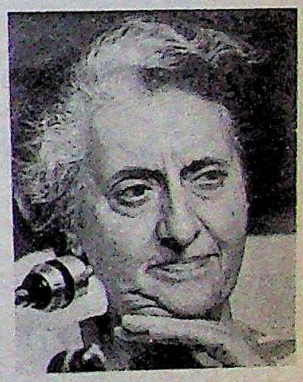
...versity. Though she had doubts about the intent... Gandhi—"perhaps she wants to prove that Paki... from the Simla Agreement" or maybe "she ...Pakistan by breaking up the Peking-Washing... axis"—Professor Hasan advised General Zia to ...from the Indian prime minister's diplomacy. "If ...can take a move towards the West by visiting the ...can also broaden her foreign policy base by making ...into a solid non-aligned bloc." Picking up this theme, ...scholar, Mujtaba Razvi, of Punjab University, de... ...is one and only one way of ensuring the security ...that is, to keep the influence of all three po... ...China and the Soviet Union, out of the subconti... ...states of South Asia should evolve a common econo... ...strategy and it is incumbent on them to strain ...solve their disputes so that the northern littoral of ...Ocean may remain aloof from superpower rivalry...- ...security environment in South Asia may be establis... ...sentiment may sound utopian in 1982, but it certainly ...least segments of the younger generation of Pa... ...journals have travelled a long way from the siege ...their older compatriots.

...ment: Several scholars cautioned the regime in Isla... ...the US attitude toward India had begun to change ...change further in the years to come. Professor Mo... ...Aizen Choudhri foresaw a sharp improvement in ...relations, while American affection for Pakistan might ...a Democrat were elected to the White House in 1984. ...danger that American arms and the massive arsenal ...arms will enable India to establish her hegemony in ...with or without the consent of superpowers." Two ...the Gulf region, Rashid Ahmed Khan and Imtiaz ...saw little congruence in American and Pakistani inte... ...area. Khan said Pakistan was not necessarily com... ...the status quo in the Gulf states in which the regimes ...more from within than from outside. Pakistan's ...neutrality" with regard to the Gulf region, he added, ...compromised" by the triangular military linkages ...Pakistan, the US and Saudi Arabia. Bokhari observed ...Gulf states, found American friendship to be "more a ...than an asset", and wished to keep their distances from ...in the Gulf.

...of the Pakistani scholars used the word "invasion" ...to the Soviet military lurch into Afghanistan. They ...the Government not to provoke Moscow which enjoyed ...of influence and intervention in Pakistan and could ...the country if it wished to. The academic experts were ...of Pakistan living in good neighbourly relations ...USSR and Afghanistan. Said Syed Mehtab Ali Shah: ...must try to find some accommodation with the Karmal regime," and could ask Syria and Algeria, both close friends of Moscow, for help. Pakistan also "has to make some accommodation with the Soviet Union".

In contrast with the views of a majority of the scholars who wrote papers for the Islamabad seminar, General Akram, in his *Muslim* articles, described the Pakistan-US connection as "a beneficial relationship", crafted not with silken threads of love but with harder timber of mutuality of interests. A relationship which "we are not about to destroy to oblige India". He equated Pakistan's security ties with the US with India's with the USSR; if the treaty with Moscow did not injure India's non-alignment, nor did the treaty with Washington injure Pakistan's. General Akram denied that Pakistan had any intention to give bases to the US, but it would not abjure its "sovereign right" to do what it willed with its bases and facilities to buy a no-war pact with India. Nor was the Indian position that the two countries have an identical policy about bases acceptable to Pakistan. "India can do what it likes with bases in its country...we are not telling them whether to give or not to give bases. But our decision...reflects our sovereignty and cannot be made conditional to the signing of a no-war pact with India. What we do with the soil of Pakistan is our business and nobody else's." On Kashmir, the General took an equally firm posture. "The Indians seek nothing more or less than a legalisation of the present status quo...We stick to our earlier stand on the principle that the people of the land should be allowed to decide the matter in a just and democratic manner." Kashmir, he said with a philosophical flourish, should be left to "our children" in the hope that "they will be wiser and more accommodating than we have been". But as long as Kashmir remains a dispute, and the political climate in the subcontinent is weighed down with the accumulated fears, suspicions, hatreds and animosities of the past, Pakistan, said General Akram, could not conclude a treaty of friendship with India. A no-war pact, truly observed by both sides, could however lift that weight.

"A long-term understanding with India must now become a high priority objective for Pakistan." "If Mrs Gandhi can take a move towards the West by visiting the US Pakistan can also broaden her foreign policy base by making South Asia into a solid non-aligned bloc."



General Akram's 10 articles presumably reflect the Pakistani regime's strategy to make peace, not war with India. He does not touch on the tougher questions of Pakistan's relations with Afghanistan and the USSR, nor dwell on Pakistan's role in the Persian Gulf. On the issue of bases, however, some of the scholars participating in the Islamabad symposium seemed to entertain reservations about the regime's declaration of intentions. Dr Zulfikar Ali Khalid, of Islamabad University, and several others pointed out the dangers that could come from Pakistan's offer of bases or facilities to the US in a contingency in the Persian Gulf. Khalid implied that at the crucial moment, Islamabad might not be able to resist Washington's pressure if Pakistan's security dependence on America remained overly heavy. Pakistani placement of bases at the disposal of the US, Khalid warned, would deal a "severe blow" to the "emerging rapprochement" with India, and might "invite harsh retaliation from the Soviet Union".

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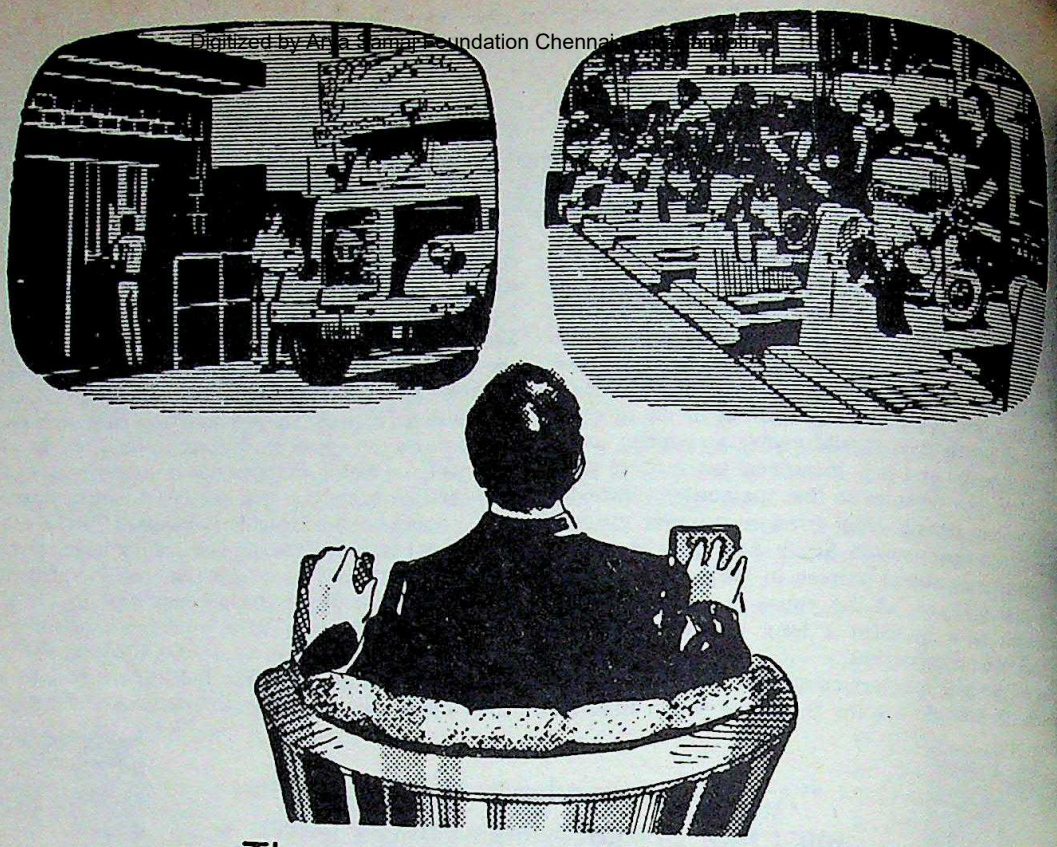

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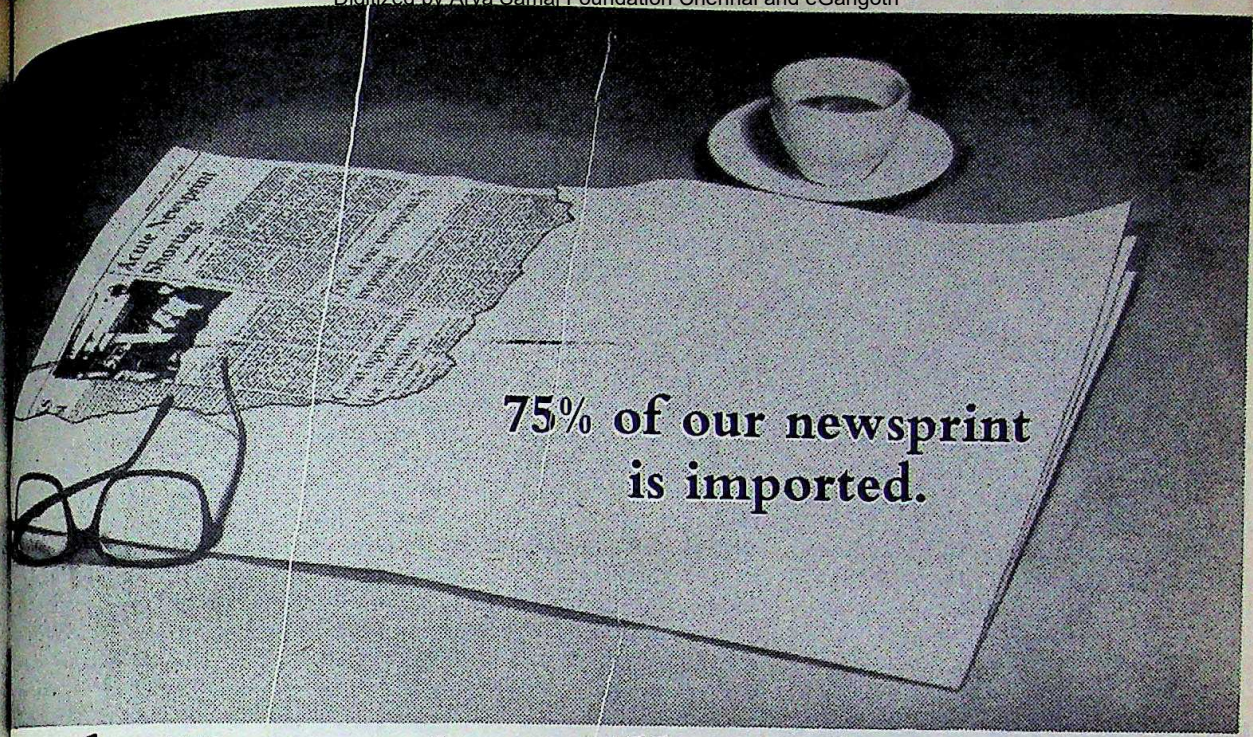

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COUNTER-INSURGENCY

The Art Of Survival

DEEP inside the jungle in northernmost Mizoram, a lone man brews a tin mug of tea in the early morning haze. He is squatting on the bamboo floor of a makeshift shelter covered with banana leaves. Beneath it falls away the precipitous hillside, all 3,000 feet of it densely carpeted with bamboo and teak jungle. There is little undergrowth—the sunlight strains weakly through the canopy.

Suddenly the electric silence is punctured by the ululating battle-cry of the 3 Battalion, the Sikh Regiment. Sten guns held at firing position, the 'pursuit party' descends pell-mell towards the 'insurgent' in the hide-out. The 'insurgent' scrambles to his feet and disappears in a trice into the jungle. While a 'search party' scours the hide-out for hidden ammunition or weapons, the pursuit party chases the fleeing insurgent. Half an hour later, his hands tied realistically behind him, he is brought to the company commander.

Realistic Setting: Operation *Ghus-Bhent* is almost near the end of its three-day rigours. It takes the exhausted Sikhs more than an hour to cover the distance—only 1,000 yards as the crow flies—to the road. The jungle's floor is dangerously muddy, leeches keep dropping down from their perches, some have to be pulled off; many men slip and sprawl in ungainly heaps. The smells of the jungle are all-pervasive for the soldiers—the odours of the foliage mingling soldiers' perspiration and the repellant they have dabbed them with.

All the soldiers involved in this se are 'students' undergoing a "pre-induction course" at the Counter-surgency and Jungle Warfare (CIJWS) at Vairengte, 40 km from Unlike true-to-life insurgents, who on beaten tracks through the daylight, the soldiers are expected into uncharted jungle, navigating pass, under cover of darkness.

The CIJWS was set up in May campus sprawls over 80 acres

PICTURES BY BHAWAN SINGH

A search party scouring the jungles for insurgents during Operation *Ghus-Bhent*: ideal training terrain

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The 'insurgent' in his makeshift hide-out: realistic war games

Vairengte village. The site was because, being near Mizoram's in Assam's Cachar district, insurgency was not too endemic in that area, and the hillsides provided ideal training for the troops. By then, the Naga insurgency had been raging for 14 years, while the Mizo revolt was four years old.

The school has attained tremendous importance in the army's operations in the North-east. Its specialised training for the thousands of troops rotated through the region every year is indicative of this importance. The rank of the school's commandant was upgraded last August from brigadier to major-general. Says Major-General Ardeshir Gustadji Minwalla, the present commandant: "The idea of counter-insurgency was wrong in that troops were inducted on an *ad hoc* basis. The soldiers weren't physically or mentally prepared to fight insurgency. They suffered from fear of the unknown and battles were unsatisfying for officers. What was needed was a collection of techniques, doctrines and concepts to fight insurgency."

Vital Training: One of the army's most elite schools, the CIJWS differs from other institutions because it trains entire battalions or units comprising the officers, JCO's, NCO's and other ranks. Foremost in the minds of the 60-odd instructors, all of whom have served "active" stints in the North-east's insurgency-ridden areas, is the knowledge that they are training men to fight a war without strategy. "It doesn't take a majority to make a rebellion," the officers are told. "It takes only a few determined leaders and a sound cause." And at the end of the five-week course, if a unit is rearing to go to its allotted base in Mizoram, Manipur, or Nagaland, it is cautioned: "Insurgencies never die. They simmer."

A few months before a battalion arrives at Vairengte, its officers go there for a full-scale orientation course. In addition, officers of units serving in the region are sent to units elsewhere in the country to prepare those for their subsequent postings. Only recently have units' tenures in the North-east been reduced from three to two years. By the time an entire battalion arrives at the CIJWS, its men have already got a good idea of what they will encounter both at the school and later on in their assigned areas of operation.

Background training for officers includes study of the school's data bank of news clippings on insurgency, and of specific counter-insurgency operations—both successful and unsuccessful. Training films help newly arrived troops to get an overview of the task awaiting them. Three years back, the school began to teach the major languages of the insurgent regions —Nagamese in Nagaland, Manipuri in the Imphal valley, and Lushai in Mizoram—using local tutors. Officers are also assigned to study important counter-insurgency campaigns—the last course, for instance, plunged deep into a study and analysis of the Greek and Malayan insurgencies, and the Naxalbari movement at home in India.

The troops are also expected to carry out in-depth studies of the tribes they will be living with in their assigned locations. Such studies include the people's customs, traditions, religion, dress, food, and lifestyles. Even the lowliest soldier is taught the lie of the land he will encounter; he is

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told, for instance, that in Mizoram the rivers usually run from south to north, and the hills from north to south, whereas in Nagaland the ridges run from north-east to south-west. Expert trackers teach the fine art of jungle tracking—a broken line of ants here, a scratched tree-trunk there, a trampled leaf, a footprint, all help troops chase a fleeing insurgent.

Jungle Warfare: The average jawan spends three of his five weeks in the school in jungle exercises. The jungle can punish the fittest of soldiers—thick and virgin, its steamy heat drains energy rapidly. Leeches are particularly dangerous—even if one is pulled off the skin, the blood continues to flow from the tiny puncture, because the leech secretes a liquid that prevents the blood from clotting. The jungles are also home to giant mosquitoes that can induce the fatal cerebral malaria.

But the soldier is taught that he can befriend the jungle and use it to his advantage. The school's motto drums this into him—"Fight the guerrilla like a guerrilla." Apart from the peculiarities of jungle warfare and the dangers of urban insurgency like in Manipur, the soldier is classified for quick-reflex shooting at fleeting targets. He is tested for jungle survival—how to trap and eat snakes, jackals, monkeys, or crows; how to distinguish between edible and poisonous mushrooms; how to make a fire using ordinary torch batteries and some wood shavings. He is also taught the guerrilla's favourite booby-traps for the soldiers—ranging from the pit filled with bamboo stakes to a trap that can yank a man off a mountain road with a heavy stone around his ankle.

Instructors show how to dig a pit, cover it with a polythene sheet, and collect water in a container inside the pit as it condenses below the sheet. In Mizoram, the soldier can make 'tea' by boiling the bark of the *thingpui* tree, get edible milk from the sap of the *vuakduap* tree, and water from the hollow *thurpui* vine. Ammunition cans make excellent pressure cookers for rice or dal. "Again and again," says Minwalla, "we tell the men to conserve their rations, to live off the land, to survive." Some of the instructors are ex-guerrillas, and they make the best teachers.

Ambush: Other important training exercises carried out in the school's realistic "lecture halls" teach the soldier the brass tacks of counter-insurgency operations. A dummy village, with wire-operated cardboard 'people', is used to teach the "cordon-and-search" method where a raiding party of soldiers surrounds the village, pounces on the houses, and fires selectively at "fleeing" insurgents, taking care to avoid civilians and cattle. Another group of soldiers is taught how to react to the guerrilla's favourite method of attack—the ambush. The area abounds in ideal ambush sites, and soldiers are expected to charge "into" an ambush party, guns blazing, instead of providing easy targets on the "killing ground".

In areas like the Mizoram theatre, army convoys on the 185 km Silchar-Aizawl road have to be properly protected. Soldiers are taught how to sit in their one-tonne and three-tonne vehicles, guns at the ready, while a 'point man' stands with his sten gun planted atop the vehicle's cabin. The trucks have to have their overhead tarpaulins off and their tail-boards down to enable quick jumps on to the road. Hours before a convoy passes, the road is "opened" by groups of soldiers who scour the bordering jungle for possible ambush parties. This is one of the dullest of counter-insurgency operations, tying up hundreds of men; yet, the slightest laxity has often led to devastating ambushes. All that the guerrilla, in real life, needs to do is to let off a rapid, two-minute burst of machine-gun fire, or a couple of rockets, and take to his heels. The CIJWS also teaches soldiers the fundamentals of intelligence-gathering and the importance of going into an operation with full knowledge of the terrain and the rebels' tactics.

Mental Preparation: The most important part of the training at the CIJWS relates to 'Psy Ops' (psychological operations)—the "hearts and minds" part of counter-insurgency. The school's D Commandant and Chief Instructor, nel Prem Paul Singh, 45, is a psy-pert. "Military operations touch o fringe of the problem," he says. "O is to isolate the hostile, both phy and mentally. Since he is dependent population, we have to establish co bility and rapport with the people. T curity forces represent the Govern Therefore we have to 'sell' the G ment to the people."

The school's courses teach the that the army has to carry out de mental and administrative work in areas where the Government's reach mited. "The onus is on us to bre barrier between the Government a people," says Singh. "We have to d myths that the people here comprise sular, monolithic, impregnable socie this is jargon used by people w ignorant and cannot deal with the bitors' in communication."

CIJWS trainees storm into the jungle after a mock ambush: mental preparation

UNDERLYING the psy-op ning is the vital recognition th people of the North-east suffe cultural shock when the security move into their area. Using tenets p "manipulation of the behavioural p of estranged people", the troop taught to demonstratively erase the nic variation" or the "nativistic di ial". Ultimately, says Singh, the ought to grow so close to the peop a soldier killed by the insurge

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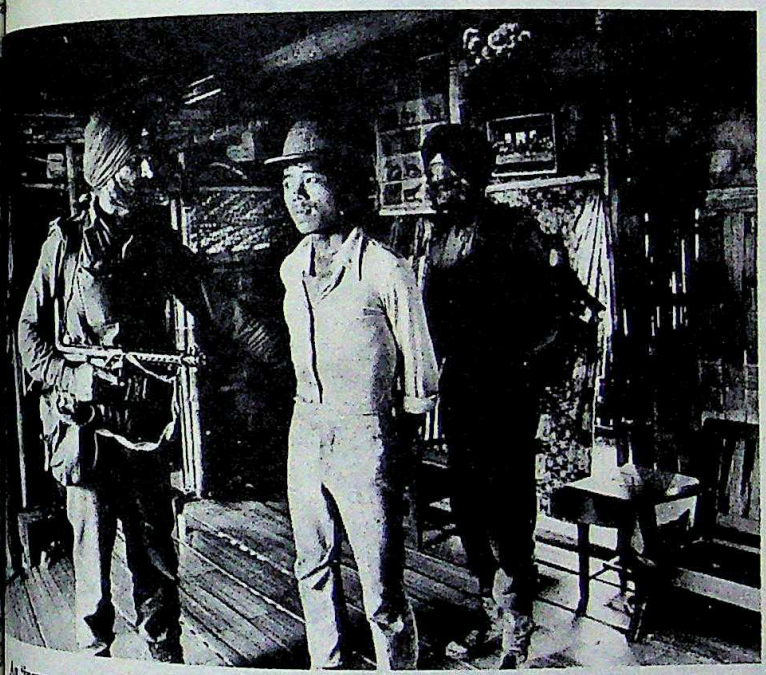
like a fellow-villager. "In many ...s today," he points out, "the ...commander represents the Go... A successful post commander is ...part of the Village Council."

...ic action training includes the ... of principles that help the ...popular aspirations and the ...needs with the greatest ...can muster. "Be progressive," ...is told. "Respect the culture ...of the people. Create a favou... ...image. Enlist the peo... ...ation in civic action projects."

Participation: Such projects ...the construction of school ...the building of roads, provision ...grounds and the construction ... Army doctors provide the ...medical aid in many areas. ...also involved actively in tran... ...essential supplies to many remote ...expert advice is offered on the ...of proper sanitation and hy... ...ing of fields in traditional ...areas, and in encouraging ...and fish breeding. Infor... ...in every army camp help ...villager communicate with ...the outside world. At many ...army even tries to teach the vil... ...skills.

...are pitfalls. The US Army, ...even has 'construction batta... ...get annual fiscal allocations ...government. Yet, in Vietnam, ...derived little benefit from its "seal the victory" campaign. Although it spent almost $40 million annually on constructing roads, buildings and developing agriculture, local participation was very minimal, and the Viet Cong guerrillas met no opposition when they destroyed such "enemy propagandist" facilities.

The CIJWS itself has tried to implement all its doctrines in Vairengte. Says Village Council President Zamzela: "We have always had a very good relationship with the school." J. Lalhmachhuana, president of the village's Young Men's Association and headmaster of the government middle school, says that much of the village's development owes itself to the school's presence. A "services" team frequently plays football matches with the Vairengte team, and the sunken ground, levelled by army bulldozers, is ringed by villagers and jawans who participate loudly and happily in the game. Three years back, half of Vairengte (pop: 3,100) was burnt down in a fire. The school's personnel rushed to help, and an instructor was later awarded a Vishisht Seva Medal for his bravery in rescuing people from the fire.



An 'insurgent' rounded up during the operation: learning from the past

Singh himself remembers the recent surrender of four guerrillas of the Mizo National Front (MNF). One of the four was apparently courting a girl in Vairengte, and struck by the school's kindness to an old man who was rushed by it to Silchar for medical attention, and whose funeral later on it participated in, the four rebels decided to surrender to the deputy commandant personally. Some years back, says Singh, when drought hit some Mizo villages, the local post commander put his men on half-rations and shared the food with the villagers.

Man-management: "There are no set answers to any situation," says Major-General Minwalla, "only what we perceive. Decision-making has to be calm, logical and analytical, and decisions should not be taken in anger, hurry or fright." Every two years or so, the school's instructors are changed. "If you specialise you stagnate," says Singh. "Therefore we change instructors. Our syllabi are not static, either." Adds Minwalla: "We function as a think-tank: conceiving, comprehending, analysing. We teach the troops that they should not do anything with ulterior motives; they should remember that the army is incorruptible." Outstanding 'graduates' of the school are often recalled as instructors, thus ensuring that the quality of the faculty is always maintained at the same high level.

Ultimately, however, no amount of training can help a soldier react in textbook style to the hundreds of situations he may face in the field. While government spokesmen in Manipur and Mizoram insist that the insurgency has been broken, the facts tell a different story. The CIJWS is normally equipped to process about seven battalions every year. Yet, it is currently handling as many as 13 or 14 annually—an indication that far more troops are being routed into the insurgent areas than ever before. Current estimates put the total army strength in Mizoram, Manipur and Nagaland at around 15,000, and many officers feel that the number is too high. "What is the point in sending hundreds of troops jungle-bashing?" asks one. "What we need is small groups of highly skilled men. Instead, in Mizoram, pickets of the Central Reserve Police Force protect police posts. Is that effective man-management?"

Nevertheless, the CIJWS has already attained a reputation for being one of the best counter-insurgency schools in the world. By 1985, the school will move to a new, 300-acre site near Haflong, in the North Cachar Hills, about 150 km from its present site. Minwalla envisages regular seminars in which army commanders will participate and exchange notes, and visits to counter-insurgency schools in other countries. Already, the CIJWS has trained soldiers from Bhutan, Kenya, Bangladesh, Ghana, Afghanistan, Iraq, Singapore, Nepal, Sri Lanka and Botswana. "I'm truly going to enjoy my tenure here," says Minwalla.

—CHAITANYA KALBAG in Vairengte

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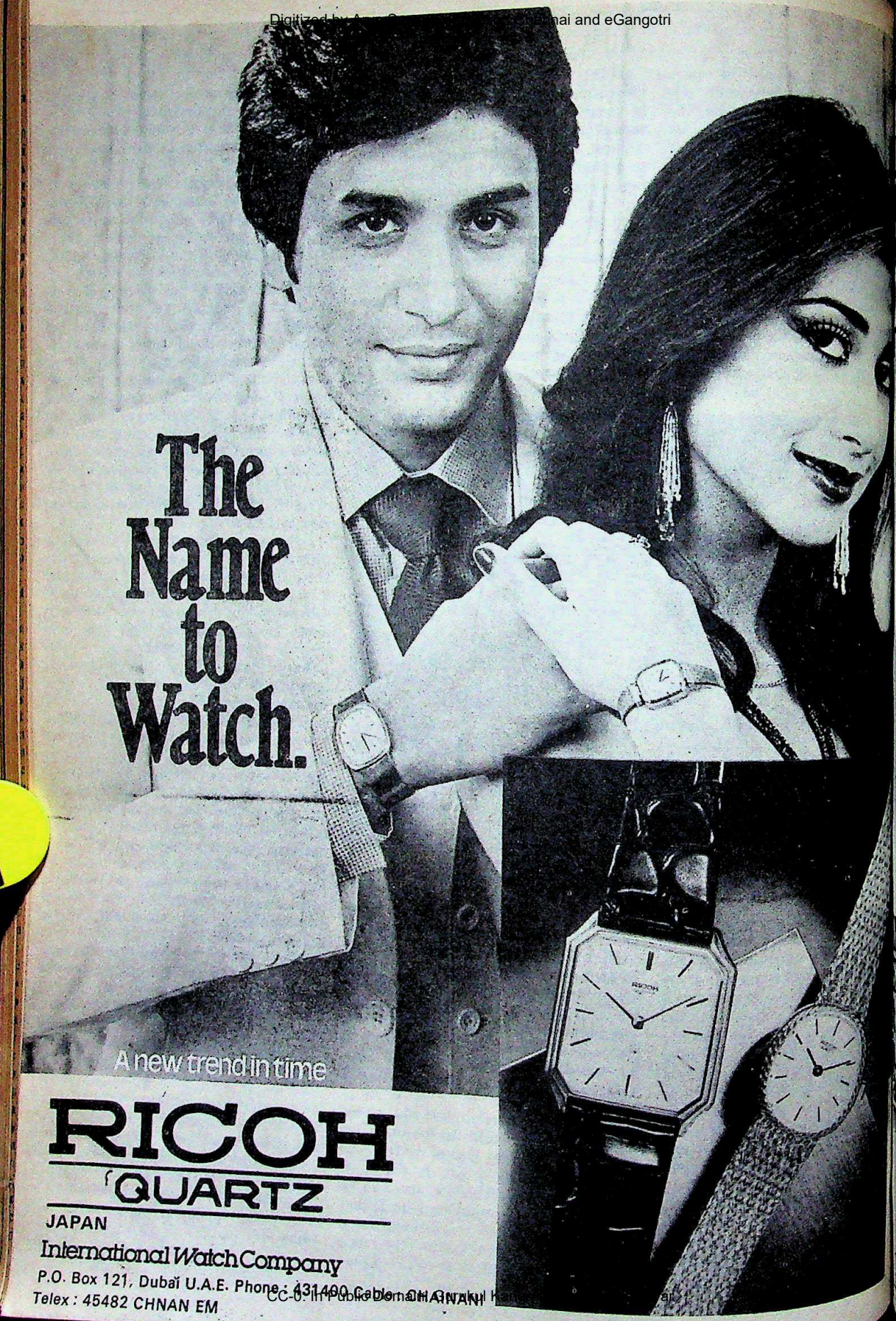

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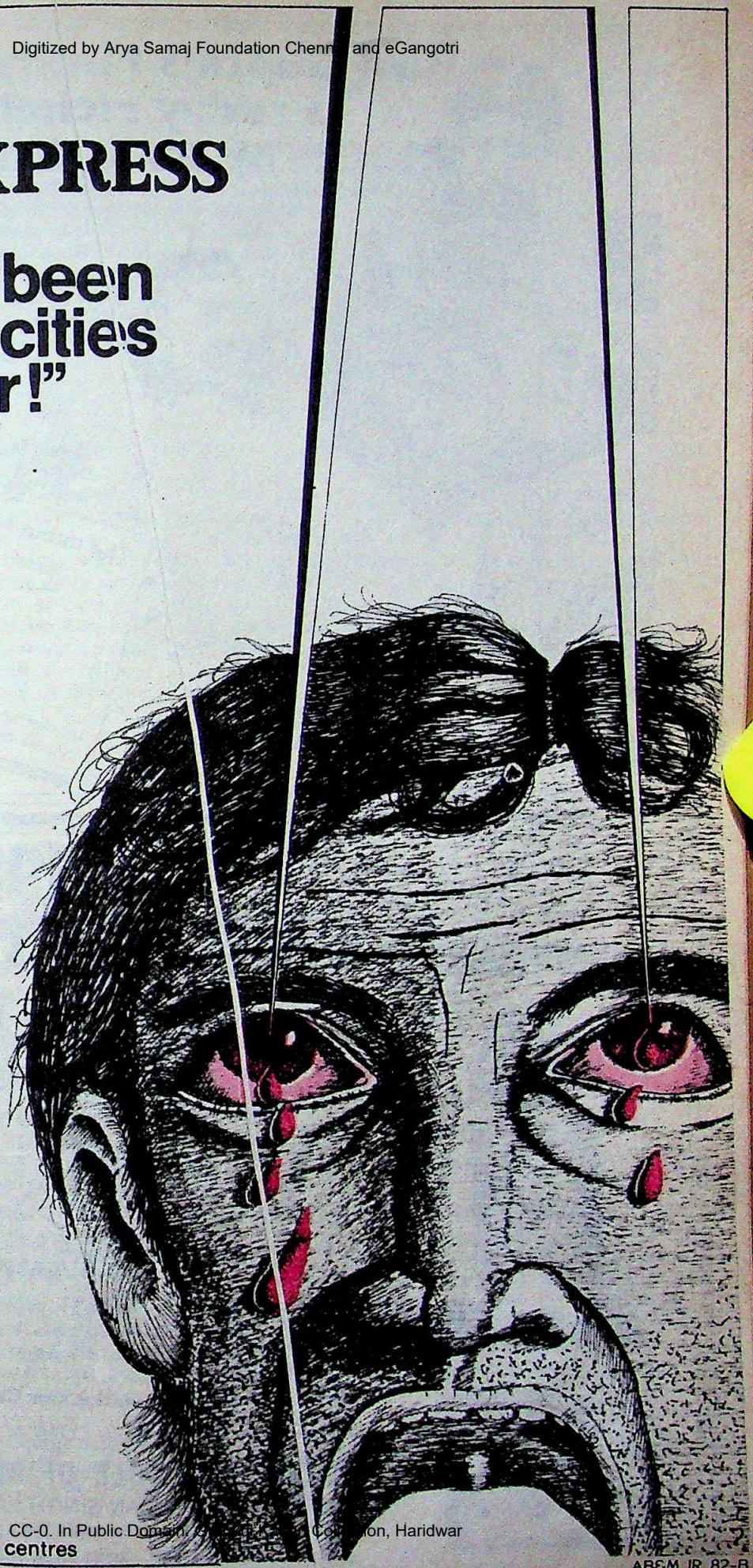

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DRUG POLICY CHANGES

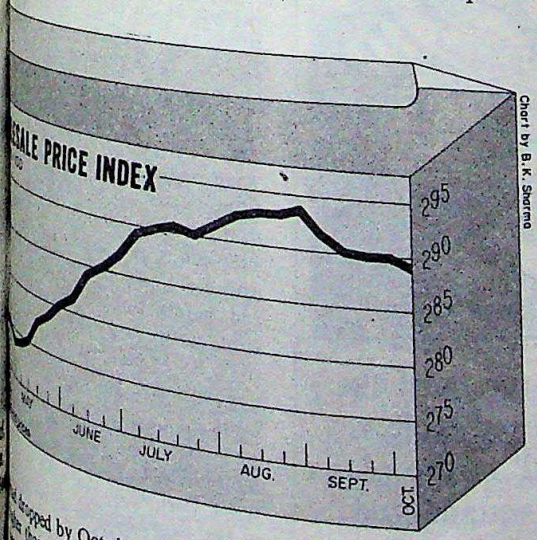
MAJOR changes in the drug pricing policy are on the cards, the effort being to make it more profitable for the industry to produce essential drugs now in short supply and/or being imported. Among the several proposals being considered or suggested is one that will re-categorise a few drugs (now placed in four pricing categories) in a manner that will allow the companies to charge a higher mark-up. A more radical policy, and one favoured by some companies, is the introduction of a dual pricing policy for drugs, in the same manner as that for sugar and cement. The industry as a whole has been witnessing a decline in profit ratios, leading in some cases to cut-backs in the production of essential drugs, and slippages in the Sixth Plan production programme.

T VIP

ATING industrial projects in the VVIP constituencies ak and Amethi has become a passport to getting indu- ences, Industry Minister Narayan Dutt Tiwari is not in trying to develop his own pocket borough in north- ar Pradesh. The public sector Bharat Electronics Ltd ed to shift a project's location from the preferred site to Garhwal. A second Bangalore-based public sector tan Machine Tools, is setting up a Rs 44 crore pro- ufacturing two million watches annually in Ranibagh. ari had prevailed on the railways to sanction a project y line from Haldwani—at a time when the railways ed for cash and opposed in principle to new line

G IN LINE

UPSWING in wholesale prices that started from May seems, been reversed. The price rise of over 7 per in the four months between end-April and end-August m bells ringing, but has now turned out to be little the normal seasonal upswing during this part of the peaking at 294 on August 28, the wholesale price



dropped by October 2 to 289.8—a level less than 2 per than a year earlier. The inflationary fires seem to denied by the late rains and the subsequent improve- prospects. The slightly chilly industrial climate has, ensured that prices of manufactured goods stay in

RUN DOWN BATTERY

THE INDUSTRIAL recession sweeping the West continues to claim major corporate giants as victims, creating a backlash effect in India because of collaboration tie-ups with Indian companies. The latest casualty is the US battery giant ESB, which has a tie-up with Willard India, acquired last year by the Bajoria group. ESB's decision to close down its battery division, unless it can find a buyer for it, has thrown into jeopardy Willard's plan to set up an industrial battery production unit in Gujarat. If ESB does not find a buyer, Willard will have to look for a new collaboration partner—a prospect that will inevitably entail delaying the whole project. This is an unexpected fly in the Willard ointment, since the company has only recently returned to profitable functioning and hopes to declare a dividend next year, after a gap of many years.

REFINING PLANS

THE SOYABEAN boom in Madhya Pradesh (INDIA TODAY, September 30) has now resulted in a rush to set up edible oil refining and solvent extraction units in the state. In July alone, no fewer than eight new units were registered with the Director-general of Technical Development (DGTD), with a combined capacity to process around 300,000 tonnes of soyabean annually, close to half the state's total production this year. The units are being located in a number of districts across the state, at Hoshangabad, Mandsaur, Vidisha, Narsinghpur, Sagar, Rajgarh and Seoni. While most of the units are being set up by little-known entrepreneurs, some big names are also entering the field. The Modis, for instance, intend setting up a major soyabean processing unit with foreign collaboration.

EXPANDING ALUMINIUM

UNDETERRED by the slump in the aluminium industry, the Birlas' Hindustan Aluminium Corporation (HINDALCO) is planning to launch a major expansion programme that will raise the company's production capacity from 1.2 lakh to 1.87 lakh tonnes. The company intends to do this by taking advantage of the recent policy liberalisations that permit installed capacity to exceed licensed capacity by 25 per cent, and a further 25 per cent "automatic growth" in a five-year period. The company is already well into a programme to become virtually independent in power, which has been a recurring problem affecting operations. Kaiser Corporation of the US, which owns 26 per cent of HINDALCO's share capital, will not however be contributing any funds for this major expansion. Nor are there any fresh moves for Kaiser to sell out its shareholdings.

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GROWTH

The Creeping Fatigue

A RECENT encounter between a highly placed government official, who works only a few doors away from the prime minister, and a journalist went something like this:

'So, how are things?"

"Oh! Not too bad."

"But not too good either, eh?"

"Well, I wouldn't say that. We are not doing too badly but could do better."

"Not too badly but could do better" has been the burden of our bureaucratic apologia for so long that one hardly notices it. The official did not explain why he thought we were not doing badly. "We have, of course, problems with things like soda ash, trucks and tractors," he added, "but they are marginal problems. By and large, we are not doing too badly."

In the 1950s Mahalonobis was assuring everybody that the economy was not doing too badly and pointing at the new steel plants which were then coming up. In the 1960s it was Ashok Mehta's turn to argue that the economy was doing as well as it might, considering everything. In the 1970s, the whiz-kids with their computers had taken over at the Yojana Bhavan and their paper rolls showed that, give or take a few percentage points, the economy was on the target. And in the 1980s L.K. Jha and others are playing the same record.

Throughout this 30-year period, however, the economy was slipping badly. How badly is brought out strikingly by the Economic and Scientific Research Foundation (ESRF), a research outfit of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FICCI) which often makes better use of the Planning Commission's figures than the Commission itself. According to the Foundation, we are about 15 years behind time in the achievement of our targets while almost exactly on the dot in our expenditure programme. In other words, half the funds supposed to have been 'invested' in the plans have been squandered away, and there is nothing to show for them except inflation and unemployment.

Falling Short: This is not of course how the ESRF puts it but its conclusions are unmistakably grim. If the plans had been fulfilled in time, says the Foundation, production in almost every industry would have been higher. The index of industrial production would have reached 412 (by March 1982) against the actual level of 165 (1970 = 100). This means roughly that steel production would now be of the order of 20 million tonnes a year (instead of 8 million tonnes), fertilisers 5 million tonnes, cement about 30 million tonnes, and electricity more than 250 billion units. At the rate we are going, it will take us 19 years to reach these targets, which means that failure on the economic front has cost us 19 years—out of 30.

This is true of nearly all sectors. In the case of foodgrains, we have lost 54 million tonnes of foodgrains over the last 30 years, and if the pace of growth had been maintained, foodgrain production would have been of the order of 140 million tonnes a year, if not more, and per capita income would have been around Rs 3,400 against Rs 1,540 a year, a loss of nearly Rs 2,000 a year per head. the Foundation puts total loss in income at over Rs 120,000 crore. But for this staggering shortfall national income would be aro 220,000 crore against the current just over Rs 100,000 crore.

In other words, half the funds supposed to have been 'invested' in the plans have been squandered away, and there is nothing to show for them except inflation and unemployment.

I do not know if the Founda done the necessary exercise but a pita income of nearly Rs 3,500 would almost certainly lift all bel west 10 per cent above the poverty would also make us more or le sufficient in foreign exchange e Exports in 1982 would have reach gure of Rs 17,000 crore as agai actual performance of Rs 7,600 cro and nobody would have to go International Monetary Fund (IMF) begging bowl.

Huge Gaps: The surprising that the yearly shortfalls have not that big. It is the cumulative effec shortfalls that is staggering in its impact. It is not as if we have fall of the targets by 50 or 60 per cent ing like it. In no year have the sh been more than, say, 6 per cent target. What has happened is th shortfall in one year has not bee up in the following year, with the that the backlog has kept mounting

But for the first plan, which a plan at all but a totting up of projects, most of them started British, performance has invariably short of promise and officials wh to have known better have tried to the whole thing away by saying were not doing too badly, but cou done better". The difference betwee and better is, as it turns out, the d between a per capita income of Rs and Rs 1,540, between 50 per cent ple below poverty line and only cent, between a staggering foreign over Rs 15,000 crore and a nice li egg of, say, Rs 10,000 crore in bank.

One net result of this co squandering of resources under tence that what you can't see does is the downgrading of planning as wth system. When the plans began was tremendous popular enthusi planning and a meeting of the Commission presided over by Ja Nehru invariably made headlines day. Nehru made it a point to

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under construction and went —a spillway here, a blast —with the juniormost engi- I once happened to be at of the dams in the Damodar ration, then a show-piece in when Nehru was visiting it. dry, the sun hot, and Nehru without a sola hat, jumping climbing rocks and behav- like a schoolboy on a picnic. panted behind him. Nehru visited the site a year ear- familiar with most of its

holding you up?" he asked in charge. The man was try- why there had not been since the last visit.

enough men, and the contractor ..."

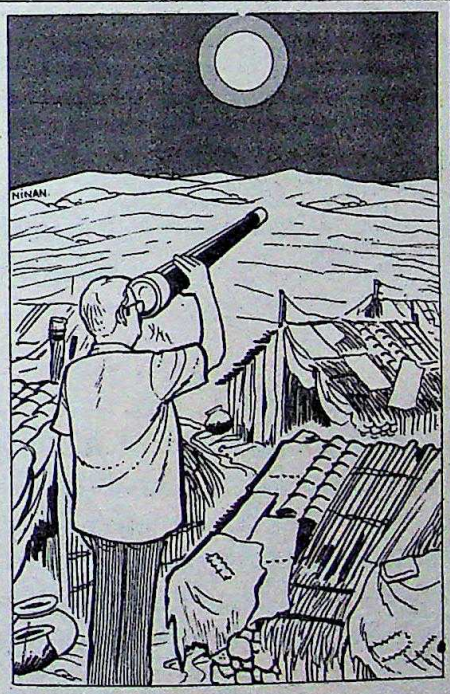
have never seen so many peo- on a single project," said this rate, we shall never get

AS right. We didn't get any- while countries like Japan, and Malaysia have forged Planning Commission is now a tants who draw up a list of up the cost on their here were no computers dur- days—and sit back waiting or the other to come and The Deputy Chairman of the Commission, S.B. Chavan, is person, and most other their jobs as pleasant They have very little say in policy-making, were not even Government was going in for the IMF, and are considered as for their respective ministries. mainly not so in the past, not the Janata period when, what- other shortcomings, the plan- actively involved with govern- in plan formulations.

perhaps that as a country we are ow? That we, or, at least some those in the Government, any more for growth or ex- new things? This is actually people suspect is happening in states and up to a point in Shirley Williams, who many might be the next prime min- if her Social Democratic over from the Tories at the was in the US recently and impression she received. Britain, she says, is visibly slow- Britain isn't only evident in lower productivity and slower growth.

America is changing less. Buildings aren't demolished and rebuilt; they are being rehabilitated, or are left to decay. The conversation at parties is likely to be about diets and doctors rather about career and sex. Middle-aged Americans and young ones alike jog endlessly across a hundred parks and college campuses, in pursuit of health rather than beauty. As the attitudes and objectives of older Americans become more and more predominant, the New World, says Shirley Williams, is beginning to look less and less new.

Lower Mobility: We haven't yet come to that stage—the greying of India—for we are young as an industrial country— only about 50 years old—and younger still as a planned economy—only about 30 years, and it would be terrible, if at this young age, we had suddenly become despondent and thrown in the towel. We have not yet become blase but I suspect that fatigue is slowly overtaking us. The system itself has become so complex and the amount of effort required to accomplish just one simple thing—not getting an industrial licence, but getting a flat in Bombay, or a telephone connection in Calcutta—so totally out of proportion with the ultimate benefit, that the old are simply not interested and the young want to take the easy way out. And the easiest way out of anything is simply to do nothing.



Let the planners tackle for a change these seemingly mundane problems which weigh so heavily on the common man and they will find that the bigger problems will slowly take care of themselves.

An aspect of growth that most of us tend to ignore is the built-in element of mobility. The higher the rate of growth, the higher is the mobility rate. Up to about 15 years ago, it was not too difficult to move from one city to another—houses were easily hired and let out, school admissions were not a problem and transport was reasonably within control. All that is changed now. Even a cooking gas cylinder is a problem and telephone connections out of question without a lot of palms being greased.

In America and Britain, executives do not think twice before selling their homes and moving to other cities and, often, other countries. Things like telephones, telexes and so on are taken for granted—you have them in a matter of hours. You don't have to stand in long queues for your morning quota of milk and weekly rations, as you have to do in most Indian cities. And transport in India—by train or air or bus—has to be planned as carefully as an invasion.

Let the planners tackle for a change these seemingly mundane problems which weigh so heavily on the common man and they will find that the bigger problems will slowly take care of themselves. If small entrepreneurs with, say Rs 10 lakh or so of handy cash, can move about the country looking for profitable propositions without worrying too much about how to wangle a gas connection or a telephone line, they can get this country moving again.

One of the conclusions of the ESRF study is that finance has never been much of a problem and vast quantities of money have in fact been collected and spent. That it has not been spent wisely is a different question; ask any official what really worries him, and he will say 'resources', meaning, of course, money, or the lack of it. Every Planning Commission document gives the impression that but for the paucity of resources, they would have done wonders, without mentioning that they have in fact had the money. Those who argue that capital is in short supply in poor countries have never apparently progressed beyond their Karl Marx. Money was not a problem for the Birlas when the name meant nothing, nor for the Fords of America.

The fault, dear Brutus, is not in our constitution but in ourselves.

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NECC

Breaking The Yoke

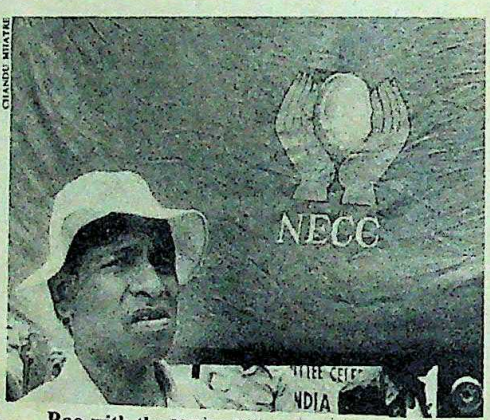
FOR EGG dealers in northern India the assault will come as a rude shock. After years of unchallenged dominance in a market which is responsible for almost a fifth of the country's egg production, they will be faced next month with a situation which threatens their overlordship. Starting on October 23, a militant team of India's leading poultry farmers will scour the Punjab-Haryana-Delhi belt, exhorting egg farmers to sell their produce only at a price agreed to by the newly formed farmers' body, the National Egg Coordination Committee (NECC). Their hardline slogan: "Our produce, our price. The battle is now or never".

The struggle has already been singularly successful elsewhere. Begun less than a year ago in Hyderabad, the movement aimed at weakening the traders' stranglehold on poultry pricing and gained rapid momentum: by last fortnight, in every region of the country except the north, eggs were leaving the farmers' doorsteps at prices dictated by him. Unable to fight NECC, the powerful cartel formed by poultrymen eight months ago, wholesalers were last fortnight paying farmers up to 22 per cent more for their eggs than they have for the past eight years. In the last four months, in fact, farmers in Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh and Gujarat alone have earned Rs 11 crore extra as a result. With the massive new assault on the north, it is expected that by November 5 the dealers in that region will either buckle under and pay the rates fixed by NECC or face a total boycott.

Amazing Change: Considering the failure of similar efforts in onions, sugarcane, milk and other perishables, the egg success has been astonishingly rapid. By last January, price manipulations by trade cartels in Bombay and Hyderabad had already driven most farms deeply into the red. In Andhra, which has traditionally served as the egg basket for western India, eight years of rising input costs and stagnant egg prices had pushed 20,000 farmers of a total of 50,000 out of business; elsewhere, fresh investment in poultry was at a standstill, and with bird stocks ageing, a number of others were bound to close down soon.

But just four months of hectic campaigning changed all that. Led by hatchery king B. Vasudeva Rao, 47, unelected leader of the poultry farming community, egg producers in the country were gradually drawn into the united front which, at a February 19 meeting at Hyderabad, was dubbed the NECC. In the next three months, Rao and his followers swept through central, western, and southern India, whipping up a righteous fervour among chicken farmers in the belt.

"It was like magic; we turned the whole situation around so swiftly," said Rao, chairman of the NECC. "By identifying surplus egg producing areas, and markets where they were scarce, we re-



CHANDI MEATRE

Rao with the NECC banner: success story

Today the NECC has achieved a success unheard of in the ....Indian farm economy.... wholesalers were paying farmers up to 22 per cent more for their eggs than they have for the past eight years.

distributed the entire egg supply and cut out all the market manipulations and speculation which traders were indulging in. At one stroke, we have eliminated the windfall profits which these traders have made for over 20 years at the expense of the poultry farmers."

By mid-May, traders in the zone had their first taste of egg embargoes and, unwilling to risk an all-out boycott, signed on the dotted line and agreed to pay farmers a rate based on cost calculation and normal profits. The victory was loudly hailed by farmers. Tr[illegible] declaring a 'National Egg We[illegible] ing May 14, processions of p[illegible] set out in seven cities to [illegible] boiled eggs.

Egg War: But the NECC ba[illegible] no means over. Although they ha[illegible] ted the farmers' terms to stave off [illegible] bargo, dealers in the Bombay-Hy[illegible] belt—Hyderabad is the major surp[illegible] duction area, and Bombay the la[illegible] consumer—had planned a counter[illegible] According to Rao, the traders [illegible] withholding supplies from Bombay [illegible] mid-July, and stockpiled truckl[illegible] eggs on the city's outskirts.

The NECC asked poultrymen [illegible] the country to rush eggs into th[illegible] However, no sooner had fresh [illegible] arrived from Delhi, Bangalore, Hy[illegible] and Erode, than the accumulated [illegible] were also dumped on the ma[illegible] the glut which followed prices [illegible] through the floor, ending up at [illegible] peak scarcity price of 57 paise per [illegible]

Having engineered a glu[illegible] threatened to leave the farmers' [illegible] sation stillborn, Maharashtra [illegible] promptly grouped together [illegible] the banner of the hurriedly [illegible] Maharashtra Egg Dealers' Asso[illegible] (MEDA) and declared their own [illegible] for buying eggs. In Hyderabad [illegible] traders got together, formed a [illegible] organisation, HEDA, and anno[illegible] similar rock-bottom purchase pr[illegible]

Rao reacted characteri[illegible] Air-dashing to Hyderabad fo[illegible] abortive meeting with Bombay [illegible] the wily poultry leader p[illegible] organised a total blockade on [illegible] rashtra. Poultry farmers were [illegible] not to make any shipment to th[illegible] and likewise to the governmen[illegible] Meat and Poultry Developme[illegible] poration (MAPDEC) and to [illegible] (the Government's marketing [illegible] tion).

Before poultrymen could get [illegible] panic over the fate of their pe[illegible] product, Rao contracted with de[illegible] newly-developed markets like J[illegible] Tatanagar and the eastern belt, an[illegible] next 15 days 80 truckloads of e[illegible] shipped to these areas at a di[illegible] reduced rate of 30 paise.

It was only when Bombay w[illegible] tually starved of eggs in mid-Au[illegible] the dealers finally came around. [illegible] HEDA were disbanded, the NECC fo[illegible] mula agreed upon, and Bombay [illegible] trade began to actively support [illegible] lobby. "But we are really vigilan[illegible] said Rao, "we know that any [illegible] get a chance the traders will hit b[illegible]

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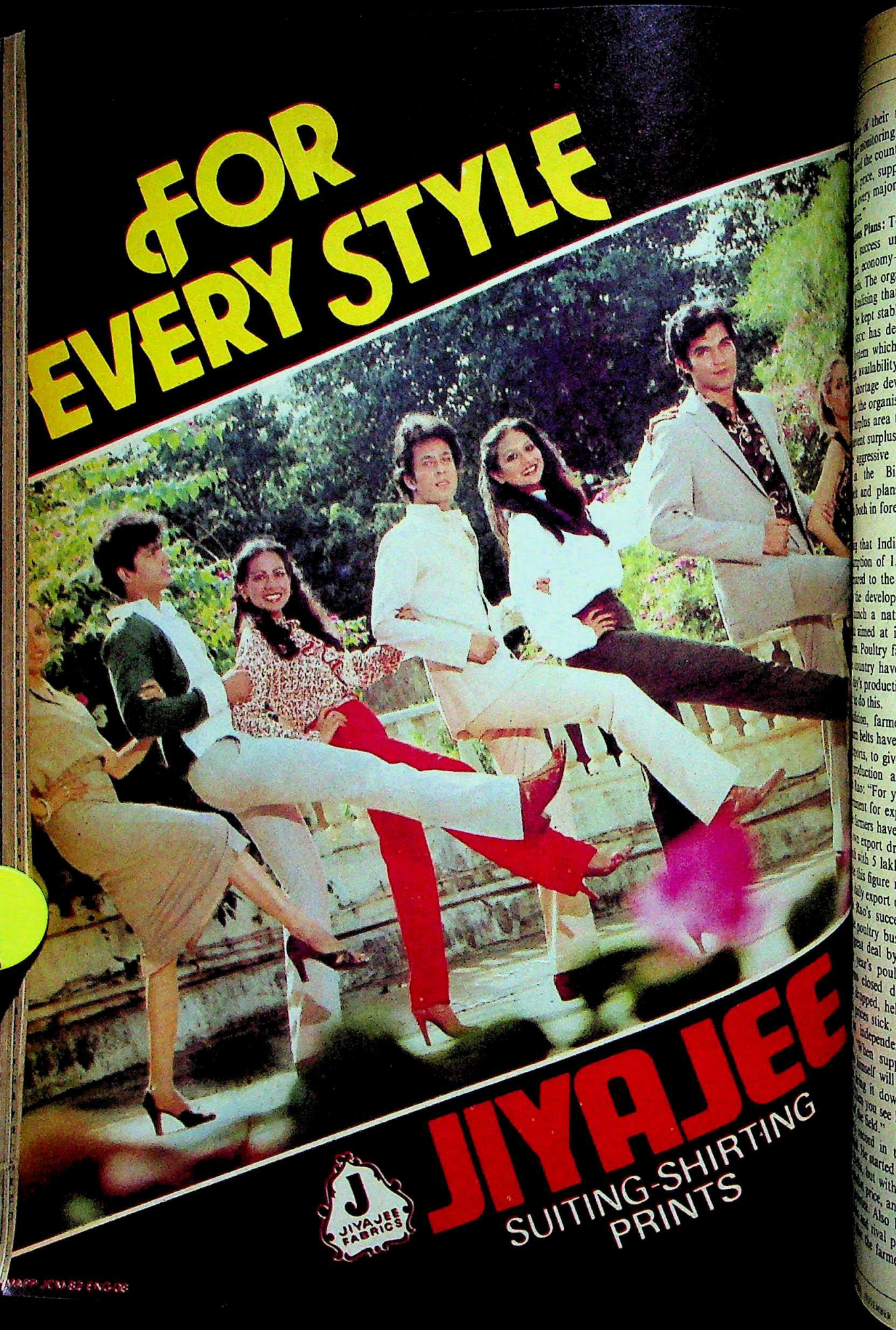
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of their tricks. So now we monitoring system at 23 zonal of the country, and keep track price, supply and production every major producing or con-

Plans: Today, the NECC has success unheard of in the economy—and enviable by The organisation's strategy Realising that the only way egg be kept stable is if supplies are NECC has devised a meticulous system which keeps Rao infor- availability nation-wide. The shortage develops in any mar- the organisation instructs far- surplus area to rush in supplies. recent surpluses, moreover, NECC aggressive inroads into new the Bihar-Orissa-Madhya and plans to develop huge both in foreign markets and at

that India's per capita an- tion of 15 eggs is "chicken- to the 300 eggs eaten by developed countries, Rao such a nation-wide campaign aimed at increasing domestic Poultry farmers in most pa- country have agreed to contri- y's production annually to en- do this.

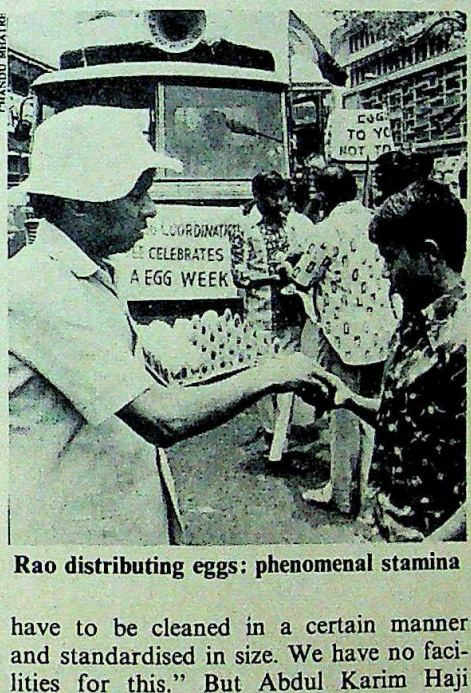
dition, farmers in the western belts have agreed, in a bid to ports, to give NECC 10 per cent production at subsidised rates. Rao: "For years we have asked ment for export incentives, but farmers have decided to subsid- export drive. We are starting with 5 lakh eggs per day and this figure next year. By 1985, export of 30 lakh eggs."

Rao's success is creating his- poultry business, he has been great deal by fortuitous timing. year's poultry disaster, when closed down, supplies this dropped, helping Rao to make prices stick. Warns Abdul Latif independent egg dealer in when supplies increase next himself will have to break the bring it down because of high you see how he will have to the field."

second in the north has also started announcing a daily but with little effect on the price, and soon had to give Also business rivalry be- rival poultry breeders has the farmers are not able to present a united front. Rao's fresh assault on the northern region next month is therefore a make-or-break effort, but Sanjiv Nehra of Rani Shaver Poultry Breeding Farms doubts whether it will be successful: "The poultry farmer is dependent on the trader for a market. And unless the NECC can provide a rival marketing channel, its efforts will not succeed."

The even bigger test will come early next year, when increased egg supplies will result in a widespread egg surplus. Egg prices swing sharply, depending on a marginal shortage or surplus, and increased supplies will mean a sharp drop in prices unless the infant organisation succeeds in its efforts to create additional markets.

Nehra doubts whether exports will boom: "Eggs demanded by foreigners



Rao distributing eggs: phenomenal stamina

have to be cleaned in a certain manner and standardised in size. We have no facilities for this." But Abdul Karim Haji Khansahib, president of the near-defunct Bombay Egg Dealers' Association, is more hopeful: "In my opinion, there's no reason why sales should not increase very greatly with advertising."

Go-getter: Behind the phenomenal NECC success stands the almost single-handed efforts of just one man, B. Vasudeva Rao who has spent much of the past nine months on the road. He has held more than 200 meetings with poultrymen around the country. Even when he is at the Panshet Lake headquarters (near Pune) of his sprawling poultry empire, Rao is seldom able to get away from the constant interruptions and calls from NECC zonal offices.

Rao's own story reads like a chapter from "True Grit". Less than 20 years ago he worked for Rs 150 a month as a veterinary supervisor at Hyderabad's Osmania University. Picked up as a bright and deserving case by Dr Earl Moore, representative of the United Nations' Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO), the young veterinarian was sent to the US for a short spell of training in poultry breeding.

Back in India, Rao landed a job, first with the Rani Shaver and later with the Arbour Acres farm at Pune as general manager. Returning to Hyderabad in 1969, he quit his job and set up Venkateshwara Poultry, a small farm with 5,000 birds. Two years later Moore once again entered Rao's life, this time to offer him an exclusive franchise for the breed of 'Layer-birds" known as Babcock. The poultry farm was converted into a hatchery to produce hybrid chicks for commercial poultry farms and Rao never looked back.

Growth: In the next few years, Venkateshwara Hatcheries grew phenomenally, adding branches and associate companies in every part of India. Having added a new line of the American Cobb broiler birds for meat production in 1974, the chain rapidly overtook every other hatchery in India, and the Venkateshwara-Babcock and Venkateshwara-Cobb breeds became the most popular ones available.

Rao in the past decade has set up a string of manufacturing plants to supply essential inputs for avian farms. Starting with the Balaji Foods and feeds in Hyderabad, he then started Srini Biologicals, (which manufactures medicines and poultry health products). Ventri Biological Laboratories (the largest poultry vaccine maker in the Middle and Far East), a pharmaceutical company in Bangalore and a huge pureline breeding farm near Pune which produces new poultry breeds from the most basic stages. This year Rao's Venkateshwara Group and associate hatcheries will sell chicken, eggs, vaccines and biological products worth over Rs 41 crore.

The vaccine and biological divisions will double their outputs to achieve a turnover of over Rs 15 crore. With hatcheries coming up in Muscat, Dubai, Egypt and possibly some Far Eastern countries, the group will add substantially to its export earnings.

But Rao's admitted ambition is to start a Macdonald's-style fast-food chain to give consumers cheap wholesome meals. "People keep telling me it's impossible to achieve this in India," he said, "but I just don't believe that's true. If you make up your mind to do something and then stick to it like a leech there's nothing which is impossible. Besides, a national fast-food chain will be another way to propagate the egg habit in the country."

—CHANDER UDAY SINGH in Pune

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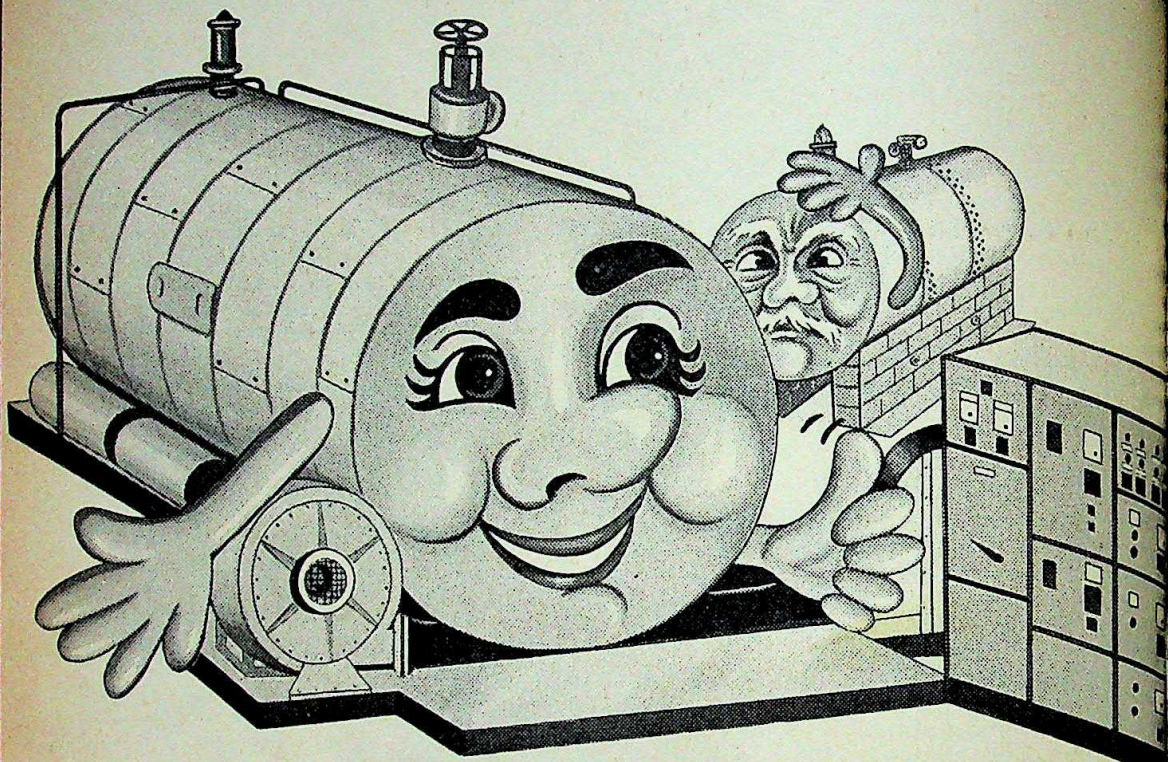
Replace old boilers with new fuel efficient ones.



Fuel oil as you may be aware is a vanishing species. With the constant price hike, it's a drag on foreign exchange and is almost flying out of reach. The only solution to this crisis is economical use of fuel oil. It's the need of the hour.

HOW TO MAKE THE MOST OF WHAT YOU GET

The boiler smoking unburnt fuel leads to a colossal loss of fuel. The old boiler has lower thermal efficiency and consumes more than its output. Install a new efficient boiler with at least 80% thermal efficiency and your fuel cost will reduce drastically.

REPLACE OLD BOILERS WITH NEW FUEL EFFICIENT ONES

You may think this measure of fuel economy would add to your capital expenditure. But this is a misconception.

Let us take for example an old LANCASHIRE boiler having thermal efficiency of 60%. It consumes 336 kg of fuel oil to produce steam of 3730 kg/hr from and at 100°C. At today's landed cost of fuel at Rs. 3.00 per kg, the fuel cost per hour works out to be Rs. 1008/-.

Compared to this let us take a modern fuel economy boiler having 82% thermal efficiency. A 4T boiler would consume 263.4 kgs of fuel oil, which means for equivalent steam generation of a LANCASHIRE boiler it will consume 244.3 kg of oil i.e. Rs. 733/- per hour.

Therefore hourly saving in cost of fuel is Rs. 275/- i.e. Rs. 6600/- per day or Rs. 1,98,000/- per month. Compared to this, the cost of a new boiler is just around Rs 6 lakhs. That means your payback period will be much less than a year.

SHORT PAYBACK PERIOD MEANS MORE PROFITS SOONER

As the fuel prices escalate your savings too will increase and your payback period will further reduce. As far as your old boiler is concerned either you can sell or convert it into coal fired and keep it as stand-by.

ACT NOW

The earlier you take action the sooner you will join the crusade for fuel economy. PCRA, IDBI and IOC offer good incentives for those willing to take this progressive step. Who knows, tomorrow 80% thermal efficiency might become essential criteria by regulation for a boiler installation!

SOME FUEL EFFICIENT BOILER MANUFACTURERS

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Lead the crusade for fuel economy - replace old boiler with new.

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mping Ground

CATCHWORDS were "sup-side economics". And steps to prove supplies were the new cess for all economic ills: in-tion, shortages, black mark-where else. But three years after ment started opening doors its import policy, even trade enthusiasts are beginning ubts—for depressingly obvious

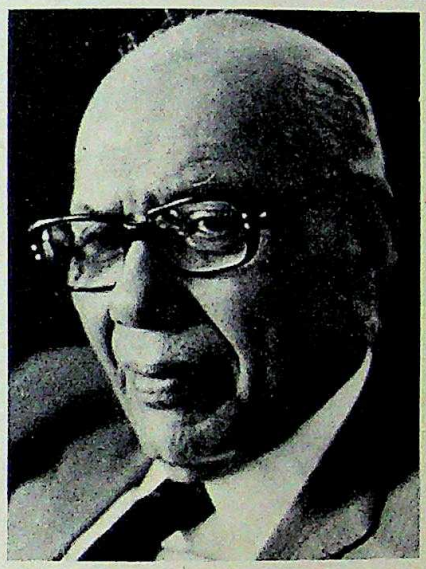
has opened up to external sup-time when the world is into its sion in half-a-century. Inevita-producers fighting last-ditch the face of shrinking markets the Indian market. More im-have done this at steadily re-pushing out domestic produ-whom have now been forced their own production.

' protests have risen steadily At a recent meeting of the ncil of trade, Hari Shankar ead of the JK group, warned ment of "import-induced rece-rch J.R.D. Tata told his sha-the August annual meeting of "There is no doubt that, nage of the greatly liberalised such large quantities of some were imported at such unfairly to create a glut in the market Indian producers of the same drastically reduce production down their factories." Tata the Government with "fai-distinction between desirable economic prices and excessive 'dumping' prices."

Doors: D.P. Mandelia, advi-mber of Birla companies and n of G.D. Birla, shares the assessment: "You can't fault ment's intentions in liberalising they did not take into ac-that foreign manufacturers to sell at any price to beat They are laughing up their they find India opening its then at a time like this."

ch, aluminium, special steels, Viscose fibres and a range speciality chemicals, charges have been made, backed by fi-lowered prices by foreign even more alarming figures domestic production.

was placed on the OGL licence) at a time when the commodity (used by washermen, and glass and silicate manufacturers) was in acute short supply. Moreover, the customs duty was lowered from 75 to 35 per cent. Today, the market situation is quite different, but the import policy remains unchanged, though import duties have been raised. In the event, Bulgaria has made huge inroads into the market with the help



The Government did not take into account the fact that foreign manufacturers are desperate to sell at any price to beat the depression. They are laughing because they find India opening its doors to them at a time like this.

—D.P. MANDELIA

of cut-throat price reductions, from $250 (Rs 2,375) a tonne at the height of the shortage to less than $80 (Rs 760) today, which domestic producers say bears no relation to the actual cost of production, or to the prices charged by other manufacturers in Europe and the US.

Domestic soda ash is priced ex-factory at Rs 1,900 a tonne, and the consumer in Bombay pays about Rs 2,500. But Bulgarian soda ash, even after the levying of 115 per cent import duty, is available for around Rs 1,600. The inevitable consequence has been that the four domestic producers are nursing 70,000 tonnes of unsold stocks. Tata Chemicals, the biggest producer, has produced 8 per cent less in April-July 1982 than in the corresponding period of 1981. Dhrangadhra Chemicals has cut production 46 per cent in the first seven months of this year, and Saurashtra Chemicals by 12 per cent. Hari Fertilisers, the smallest of the four producers, has shut down altogether. Taking all four producers together, production in the April-June quarter was 17 per cent less than in the corresponding quarter of 1981.

Soda ash was one of the industries looked into by the committee that examined the dumping charge. But the conclusion reached is that Bulgaria is not indulging in dumping, and is able to charge less because it has a natural cost advantage in this industry. Commerce Ministry spokesmen also point out that the imports have been welcomed by end-users, who get their input much cheaper because of imported supplies. S.S. Singhania, president of the All-India Silicate Manufacturers' Association, buttresses this by arguing that the soda ash producers want to stop imports and then hike their selling prices again, as they had done a few years ago.

Sharp Reaction: The same sharp division of opinion is evident in other industries affected by imports: in viscose staple fibre, for instance. The sole domestic producer, Gwalior Rayon, has been screaming blue murder about imports, but the Government's decision to hike the import duty on this item from 10 to 20 per cent was bitterly criticised by textile units, who are happy with the import policy. FICCI itself finds it is not in a position to take an unequivocal stand on the subject because of conflicting interests.

Nevertheless, some facts are incontrovertible, and they clearly point to a foreign assault by dumping.

Viscose fibre was being offered a year ago at an import price of Rs 15.65 per kg, which because of customs and countervailing duties as well as clearing charges reached the customer at Rs 20.59: slightly cheaper than the domestic producer, Gwalior Rayon's price. Under pressure from Gwalior, the Government reluctantly raised the customs duty from 10 to 20 per cent to neutralise the cost advantage to the foreign supplier, who however promptly cut his price, which now stands at Rs 11.98 per kg. The net price to the customer is, therefore, lower at Rs 18.63, against Gwalior Rayon's Rs 21.74. "What is this if it isn't dumping?" asks B.N. Saxena, Gwalior Rayon's Delhi representative.

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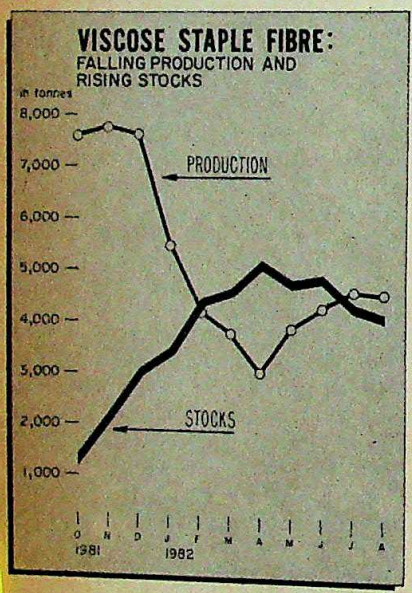
Moreover, the price offered to India bears little relation to the ruling international prices. While Courtaulds of Britain sells India viscose fibre at 76 pence (Rs 12) per kg (a price that includes the cost of insurance and freight), the domestic price in Britain is upwards of 85 pence (Rs 13.60).

Gwalior Rayon now finds that its production has dropped, from an average of over 7,700 tonnes a year ago to barely 4,600 tonnes a month now. This is partly because of labour and other problems at the company's Mavoor plant in Kerala, but demand recession is certainly a factor. Says Saxena: "The orders we have today (October 8) are no more than 500 tonnes, equal to two days' full production. If the Government wants us to stop producing, it should say so."

While domestic production has slumped, import contracts registered with the textile commissioner in Bombay have shot up steeply, from 4,469 tonnes in April to 15,650 tonnes in August.



Price Drops: The story is repeated in polyester fibre, where again there is a clear gap between the prices offered to India and those prevailing in the exporters' home markets. Japan, for instance, has a home market price of $1.50 (Rs 14.25) per kg, and South Korea $1.70 (Rs 16.15), but the price offered to India is no more than $1.00 (Rs 9.50). Early this year, it was as high as $1.90 (Rs 18.05) but suppliers have steadily dropped their prices in order to stay cheaper than the domestic competition. The effect has been a 35 per cent drop in domestic production. Says B.V. Bhatt, till recently managing director of Calico Mills (one of the domestic producers): "When liberalisations were first thought of, the aim was to allow utilisation of installed industrial capacity, which was under-utilised due to shortage of raw materials. But nobody dreamt that the pendulum would swing to such an extent that the policy would stop even the utilisation of capacity which was hitherto being used."

The production cutbacks have been most acute in the alloy and special steels industry, which was already facing slack domestic demand because of reduced orders from a variety of engineering industries. But the flood of imports has now meant even further problems: production has dropped 30 per cent in the first quarter of the current financial year, and the next few months are expected to be worse. Imports, meanwhile, have climbed from 58,000 tonnes in 1977 to 4 lakh tonnes last year. Orders with the manufacturers are down from the equivalent of six months' production (the norm) to just 25 days. Says K. Ramachandran, chairman of the Alloy Steel Producers' Association and deputy managing director of Mahindra Ugine Steel Company: "The situation is not just critical, it is disastrous."

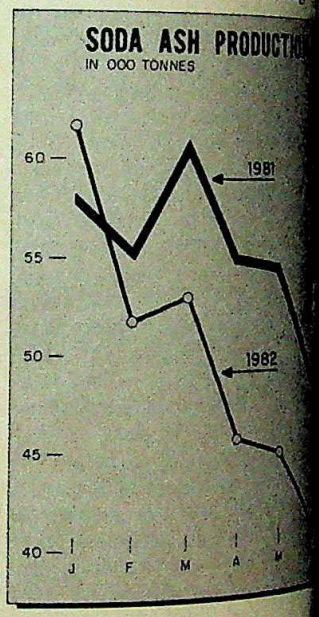
As in the case of viscose staple fibre and aluminium, the Government's response to the crisis has been to raise the duty on imports, bringing the total to 85 per cent. But, again as in viscose staple fibre, the foreign (in this case Japanese) suppliers slashed their price by 17 per cent, to 85,000 yen (Rs 3,100) per tonne. And they have kept their hold on the Indian market.

As in other cases, here too there is a clear difference between domestic prices in Japan and those offered to Indian importers. According to the Minerals and Metals Bulletin, a commodity review publication, ball bearing steel sold to India at 120,000 yen per tonne costs 190,000 yen in Japan. And interestingly enough, cases for unfairly low pricing against Japanese special steel manufacturers are now pending in both the US and Australia.

Meaningless Barriers: Says Ramachandran: "Even developed countries like the US have decided to do away with the tariff barriers and replace them with a simple quota system which will restrict the total amount which Japan can export to them. Tariff barriers become meaningless when the world is going through a recession, since exporters are willing to cut prices any amount in order to hold on to the market."

The situation with poly vinyl chloride (PVC) and high density polyethylene (HDPE) is almost identical. Import duties on PVC were reduced from 120 to 50 per cent in 1979, and imports promptly jumped from 6,100 to 65,000 tonnes a year. [illegible] production simultaneously dropped [illegible] 62,000 to 39,000 tonnes annu[illegible] fortnight, Calico's PVC unit was [illegible] a third of its normal production [illegible] tonnes annually, and the Malath[illegible] National Organic Chemicals was [illegible] ly close to shutting down PVC pr[illegible] altogether. Producers are offering [illegible] scounts on their products, but sa[illegible] to pick up because imports cost [illegible] 9,641 per tonne, a hefty Rs 5,000 [illegible] domestic PVC. Manufacturers cha[illegible] South Korea is selling the plastic [illegible] at $515 (Rs 4,893) per tonne, compa[illegible] domestic price of $900 (Rs 8,550).

The affected producers have [illegible] a variety of measures to remedy [illegible] tion. These range from taking [illegible] the OGL list, and canalising [illegible]



through organisations like the S[illegible] ding Corporation, to placing qu[illegible] on the total quantity of imports. L[illegible] chairman of the Economic Admi[illegible] Reforms Commission, is himself [illegible] to have suggested canalisation [illegible] tion.

But with user-industries [illegible] continued liberal imports, and w[illegible] nisations like FICCI unwilling to [illegible] mend canalisation on semi-[illegible] grounds, there has been no clear [illegible] date to the Government from in[illegible] deed, even industry representative[illegible] sure that all the charges of dum[illegible] really justified, since lower pric[illegible] by foreign suppliers might simp[illegible] the ruling market trends. Said a [illegible] kesman: "Dumping is definite[illegible] place, though to what extent is [illegible] say."

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...ment, meanwhile, is stick-... insisting that the import ...ff be changed, and arguing ...ports have contributed to in-...stream productivity. Never-...ponse to the complaints, it ...ed to amend the Customs ...and the "anti-dumping bill" ...the Lok Sabha in early Oc-... bill is still to become law, ...doubt whether it will make ...difference. Says Ram Gopal ...ROCI: "First, it is not always ...e dumping. And second, the ...an enabling provision which ...ment must make use of."

...e many who doubt whether ...ment will take action even after ...es into force. After all, the ...Ministry, architect of the libe-..., remains unconvinced even ...the fact of dumping. A com-...ed by Commerce Secretary ...n concluded, after looking ...ction, that no basic departure ...port policy was called for, and ...restricting imports would lead ...and profiteering. Said a mini-...man: "Our industrialists are ...g in huge profits. And they ...g when their profit margins ...squeezed. The fact is that the ...ports are helping downstream ...get supplies at lower prices. If ...nits cannot compete on costs ...ers, then they should restruc-...ts and become competitive."

...that, corrective action has ...n individual cases: faced with ...ld steel imports, which forced ...Authority of India to pile up ...tonnes of unsold steel, the ...took steel off the open gene-... When aluminium producers ...ir problem, the import duty ...was doubled to 108 per cent. ...action has been taken (though ...-result) in viscose staple fibre ...

...ndividual cases apart, the Go-...insistence on sticking to its ... attitude raises the urgent ...the cost efficiency of Indian ...the official spokesman after ...per domestic producers with ...ent in every way, protected ...de competition for much too ...ly in need of a shake-up. ...ff last, meanwhile, raised the ...of the cost efficiency of ...stry. Says a Commerce Mini-...: "Our industry is ineffi-... is high time efficiency levels ...s that they become competi-...

Industry representatives counter this with the problems put in their way: the polyester fibre manufacturers can't compete with foreign suppliers because they get their raw material, DMT, at a far higher price than the ruling international levels. In other cases, the Government does not allow them to expand capacities to the appropriate levels needed to make use of economies of scale. And, as a general rule, the taxes on capital goods make project costs so high as to add a substantial amount to total cost.

The Government is willing to concede some of these arguments, but insists that the entire issue has been blown out of proportion. Said an official: "How many units are really facing a problem because of imports? Compare this with the number of textile mills closed, and the lakhs of workers who have been jobless for nine months. No one in industry is bothered about that. The fact is that liberal imports are helping large numbers of industries and consumers, and the foreign exchange cost to us is quite limited."

Responded an industrialist angrily: "Those will qualify as famous last words."

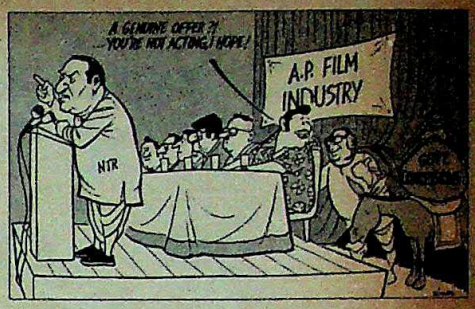
—T.N. NINAN and CHANDER UDAY SINGH

FILM INDUSTRY

Motivated Move?

WITH elections in the increasingly film-dominated state of Andhra Pradesh round the corner, the Government last fortnight ended a 20-year-long period of vacillation and recognised film business as an industry. Even though state Finance Minister Kona Prabhakar Rao asserted that "none have had the gumption to do it so far", the emergent impression was that the Congress(I) wanted to placate the Kamma caste dominated film business for fear that they might wholly support the Telugu Desam leader N.T. Rama Rao.

The package of benefits on offer from the state are the same as those given to industries set up in backward districts. The official intention is to promote film business, encourage low budget social purpose films, build utility theatres where these films can be screened and also to increase its own earnings. All such studios, theatres, processing laboratories or films will get a 10 per cent officially sponsored subsidy on the investment of the fixed capital cost on land, building and equipment, interest-free sales tax loan on raw materials for the first 10 years of production, and a 25 per cent concession on the power consumed for three years.



These perks notwithstanding, large loans from banks and other financial institutions continue to be required. The Andhra Pradesh Film Development Corporation (APFDC), through the state financial corporation, arranges capital for the film industry at 12 per cent, repayable in 15 years. Now the APFDC is eligible for finance from the Industrial Development Bank of India to promote infrastructure for film production—albeit at 16.5 per cent. The Government, however, is considering subsidising the difference of 4.5 per cent while Finance Minister Rao assures that "we will try and persuade banks to give loans at 12 per cent".

An important obstacle remains the governing influence that the Madras film industry has exerted. Indeed, most of the Rs 40 crore spent annually on making 140 Telugu films is in Madras itself. It is feared that even debutante producers among the young farmers in the Andhra coastal districts may prefer to sell some land and join the gamble in Madras.

In an encouraging response, producers have welcomed the official decision. Official sources revealed to INDIA TODAY that 15 Telugu film personalities including Dasari Narayana Rao, Rama Naidu and S.P. Balasubramanyam have applied for land to establish their cine units in Hyderabad. Said film maker Shyam Benegal: "It is a welcome check on the speculative aspects of the business, particularly the distribution and exhibition of films."

The banks, however, remain unexcited and wary of seeing producers and directors at their doorstep. Said one at the State Bank of Hyderabad: "Financing studios and theatres has not been a happy experience. Loans for film making are even more risky." Another at the Andhra Bank asked: "Why will successful producers take loans and open their account books to us?" Tinged with political opportunism, the Government action without prior consultation with the banks may have given birth to an industry whose financial viability remains an open question.

—AMARNATH K. MENON

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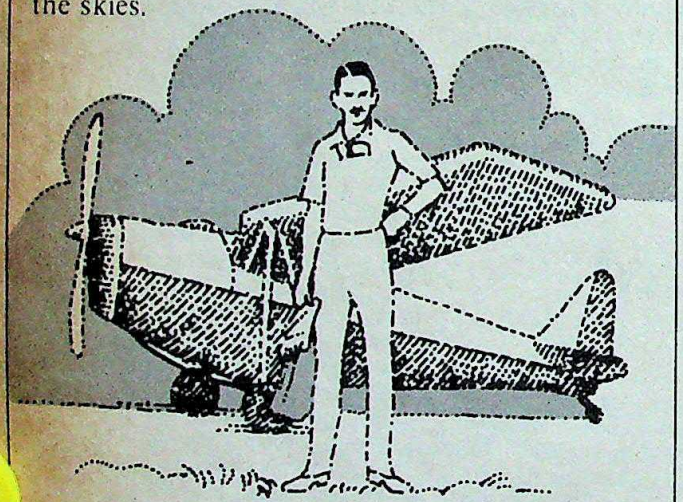
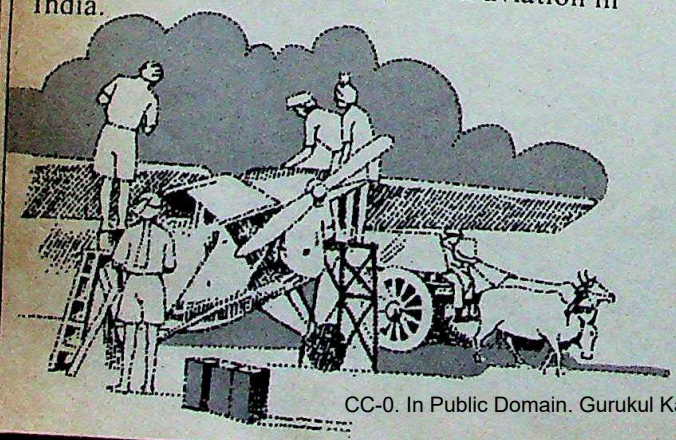
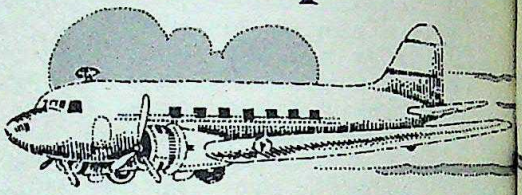


October 15, 1932 ... taking off.
A single-engined Puss Moth takes off from Karachi for Bombay. The pilot is J.R.D. Tata. You experience the first thrill of soaring as the Aviation Department of Tata Sons Ltd. (forerunner of Tata Airlines— 1938) gets off the ground, heralding the dawn of civil aviation in India.





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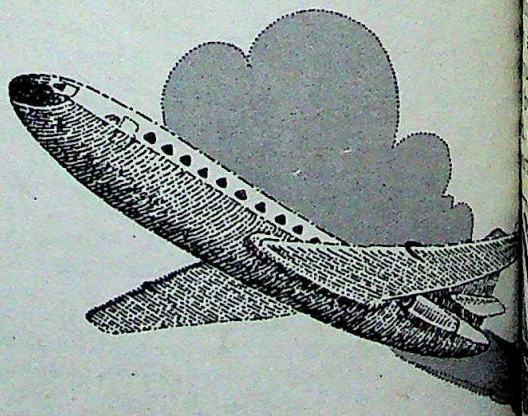

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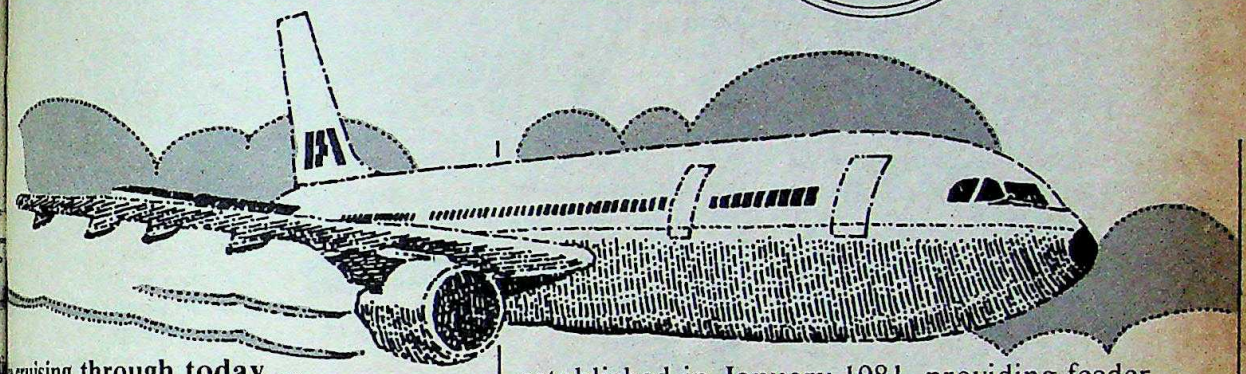

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...rough all the exciting achievements of ...ational carriers. Every year, moving ...of people from city to city, from ...a country, ushering in socio-economic ...and bringing people and places together. ...a Airlines has become one of the ...ional airlines in the world. 70 cities ...and neighbouring countries are served ...bus aircraft, 25 Boeing 737s, 8 F27s ...S 748s.

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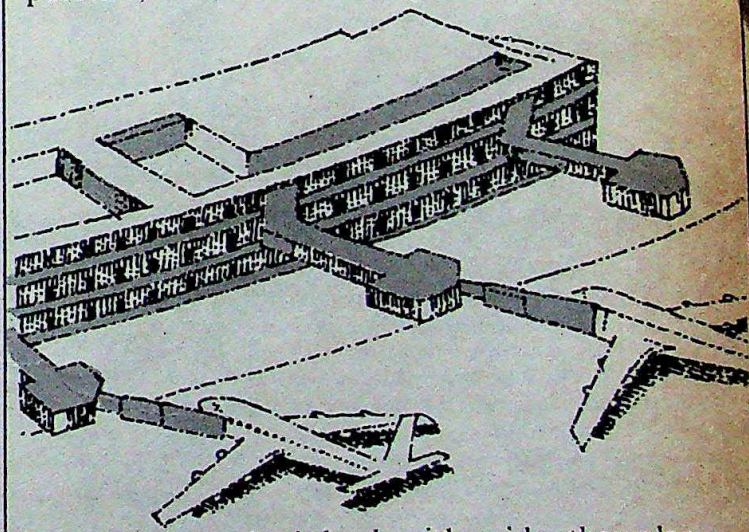
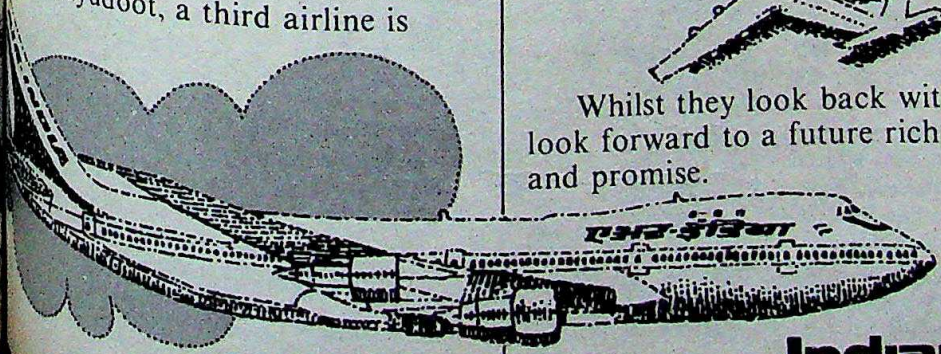
October 1982 ... and you're soaring into the future.

The two airlines have come a long way in 50 years. And, for the dedicated and enterprising people who have made this achievement possible, it is a moment of great joy.



Whilst they look back with pride, they also look forward to a future rich with hope and promise.



...cture for ...mising fu...

Indian Airlines
AIR-INDIA

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TEXTILE STRIKE

War Of Attrition

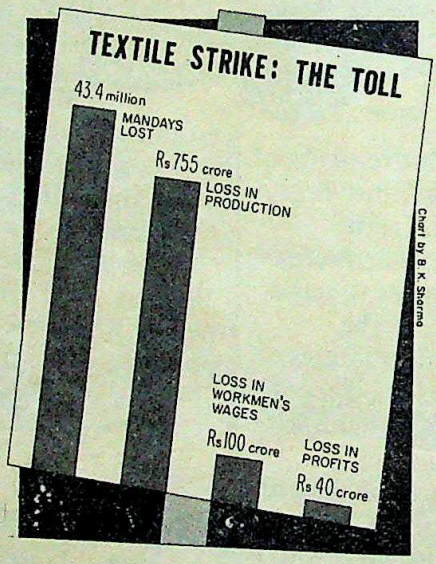
THE TOLL is staggering. No industrial dispute in the country, and possibly few in the world, have had such a crushing impact. On November 1, the gigantic nine-month strike in Bombay's textile industry logged up a total loss of 43.4 million mandays, a loss almost equal to that suffered by the entire country in 1979, which was the worst year for industrial relations. Lost too, in an industry which produces roughly Rs 1,200 crore worth of yarn and fabrics in a good year, was a staggering Rs 755 crore worth of production, over Rs 100 crore in workmen's wages, and an estimated Rs 40 crore in industry profits.

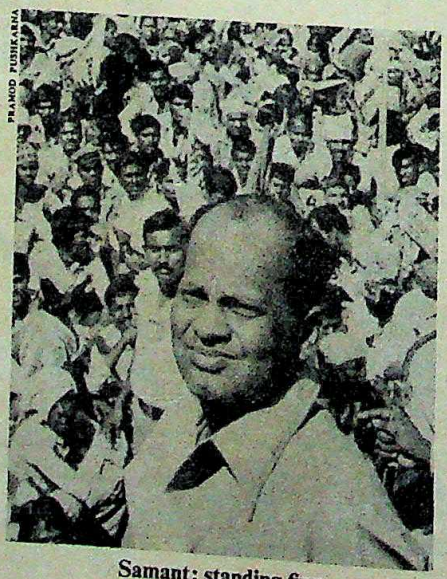
A full 286 days after the strike call by militant Bombay trade unionist Dr Datta Samant brought 60 giant cotton textile mills in the city to a standstill, there was still no end in sight. Bombay's millowners, staunchly united behind the cast-iron facade of the Mill Owners' Association (MOA), remained as rigidly unyielding as they were more than nine months ago, refusing to negotiate or deal with Samant; the labour force, scornfully disdaining the offers of a Rs 650 advance and Rs 30 per month interim raise worked out by the Government in an effort to break Samant's hold on them, remained surprisingly adamant about not returning till at least some of their demands were met.

Only the Government seemed to be making an effort to break the impasse. Resiling from its earlier hardline stance of refusing to deal with Samant, the Centre despatched a team of three ministers to Bombay last fortnight in order to assess the situation. Descending on the city on October 23, Pranab Mukherjee, Veerendra Patil and Shivraj Patil began discussions with local Congressmen, ministers and labour leaders. The high-powered team had almost certainly been sent to Bombay in response to complaints by Congressmen that they had lost their grip in the labour areas, which constitute an important vote bank. And municipal corporation elections are due in March 1983.

Though the talks in Bombay were shrouded in secrecy, the Government seemed to be considering several alternatives in an effort to deal with the problem, some of them pretty drastic. One option was scrapping the Bombay Industrial Relations (BIR) Act in so far as it applied to the textile industry, since under the Act the official textile union, the Rashtriya Mill Mazdoor Sangh (RMMS) is still qualified to act as the representative union for the city's 2.32 lakh millmen. A second major compromise under study was to start exploratory talks with Dr Datta Samant, and a third option was to change the RMMS leadership.

Meanwhile, a petition by Samant before the Additional Registrar of Unions, S. Bhattacharjee, might well determine the future of the strike next fortnight. Responding to an order by the Bombay High Court, Bhattacharjee will decide whether the RMMS is still qualified to be the representative union under the BIR Act. Since Samant has led an illegal strike in the industry, he will not be allowed [illegible] textile workers under the Act [illegible] wins his petition, the RMMS [illegible] and his position significantly [illegible]




PRAMOD PUSHKARNA

Samant: standing firm

But it still wasn't clear [illegible] Government's initiative—the [illegible] July, when the millmen rejected [illegible] relief package—would lead to [illegible] ough, or whether the ministers [illegible] Bombay was primarily intended [illegible] out the impression that the Ge[illegible] was not doing anything about [illegible] crisis.

Meanwhile, the war of nerves [illegible] Samant and the millowners [illegible] Frequent announcements have be[illegible] in the past few months about [illegible] smissals of workers. In October [illegible] declared that all "badli" passes [illegible] temporary and replacement work[illegible] been cancelled. According to info[illegible] from the labour commissioner's of[illegible] tile mills in Bombay have in the [illegible] months issued over 43,000 show c[illegible] tices to permanent workers—the [illegible] manent force employed is 1.52 lak[illegible] men—given notices of dismissal [illegible] permanent workmen, instituted [illegible] against another 2,000, and cance[illegible] "badli" passes of an estimated [illegible] comprising the entire "badli" labou[illegible]

A part of the campaign by [illegible] lowners was the massive propaganda [illegible] laught which kept both the Gov[illegible] and the public informed about the [illegible] "failure" of the strike, giving figures [illegible] increasing attendance in mills [illegible] their contention. By end-October [illegible] ding to MOA Secretary-General R[illegible] jaynagar, 45,000 workmen out [illegible] normal working force of 1.52 lak[illegible] once again manning the looms and [illegible] les. The average inflow of workmen [illegible] sisted, was 1,000 per day, and with [illegible] bonus-time coming around, the [illegible] the work force would accelerate [illegible]

Partial Normalcy: Already [illegible] la-owned Century Mills and two [illegible] are running three-shift operations [illegible] cording to the MOA, 14 mills work[illegible] shifts a day with their depleted staff [illegible] another 39 operated a single shift. [illegible] only four of the originally strike[illegible] mills still completely shut. More th[illegible] lakh metres of cloth wound its way [illegible] looms daily, accounting for 20 per [illegible] normal production. Said V[illegible] "Normalcy is being restored very [illegible] whatever Datta Samant might say."

Samant's response to the hard[illegible] lowners' stand has been even m[illegible] tant. Determined to focus attention [illegible] demands of textile labour, he has [illegible] last three months organised th[illegible] bharo" campaigns: the first [illegible]

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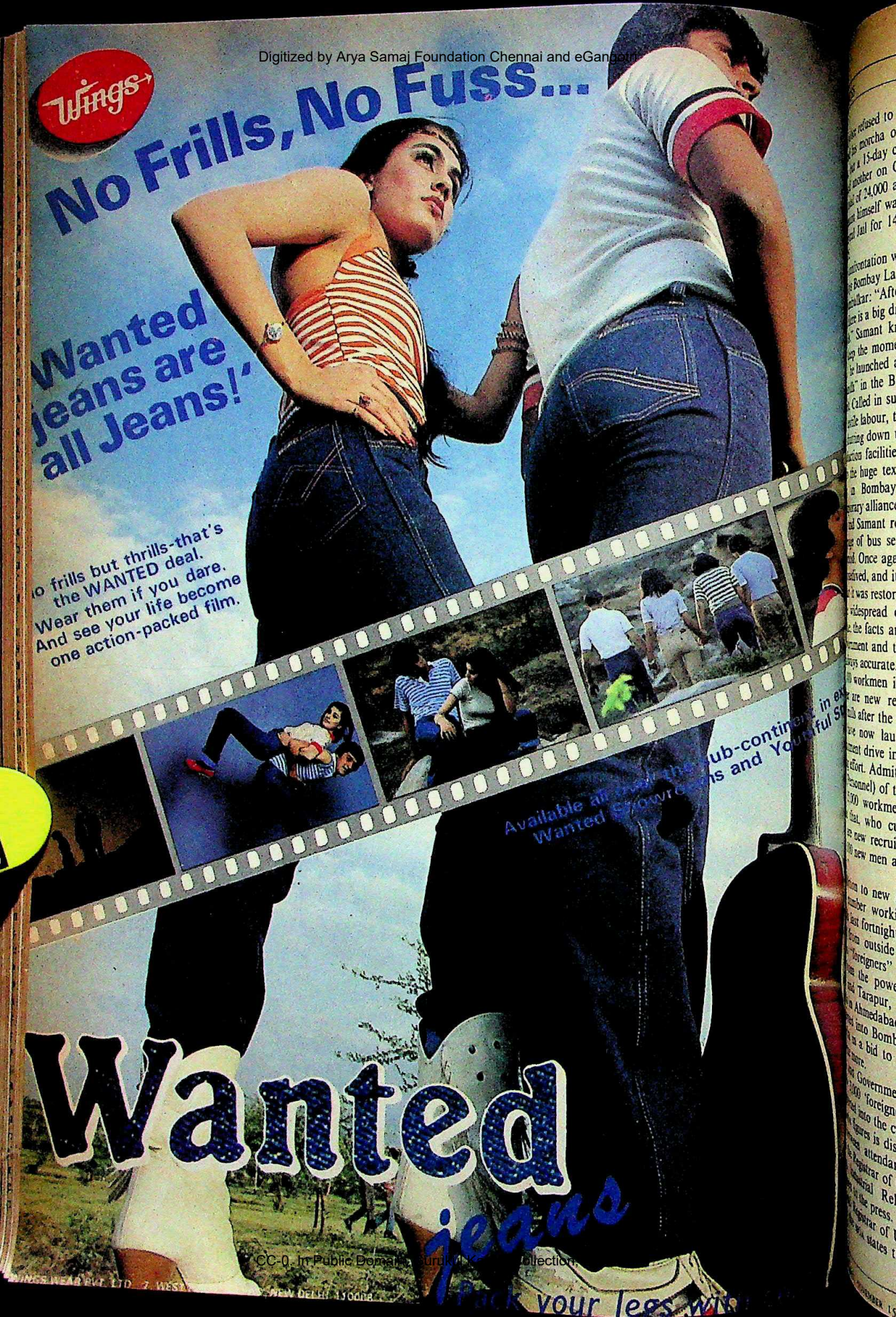

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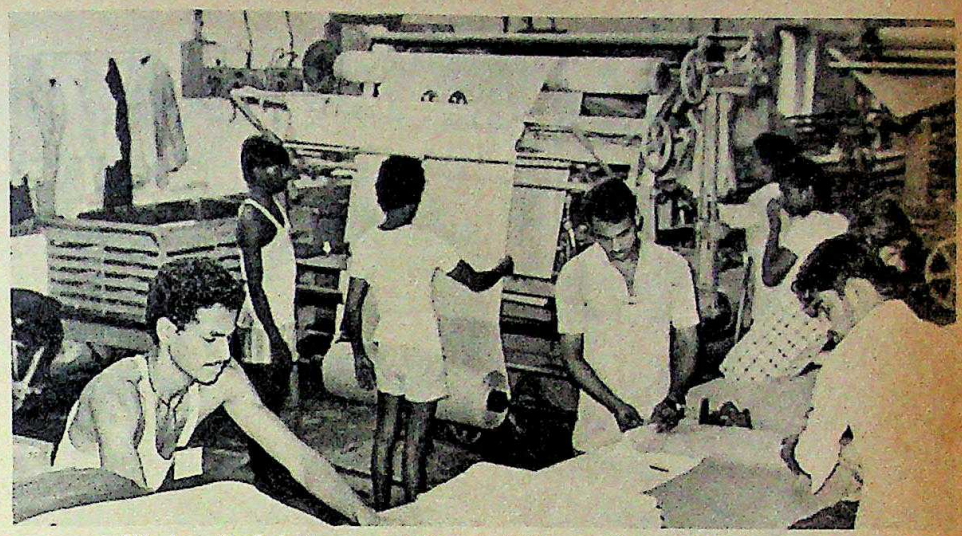
refused to arrest the labour
his morcha of roughly 30,000
a 15-day campaign in Sep-
tember on October 11 resul-
of 24,000 arrests. Last fort-
himself was incarcerated in
Jail for 14 days ending on

mentation works as a morale
Bombay Labour Commissio-
Nimbalkar: "After each jail bharo
there is a big drop in attendance
Samant knows this and is
the momentum going. On
launched a three-day "pro-
" in the Bombay-Thane in-
Called in support of the stri-
textile labour, the bandh was ef-
down up to 10 per cent
facilities in the zone, in
the huge textile mills already
Bombay, moreover, an
alliance between George
Samant resulted in a com-
of bus services during the
Once again, attendance at
and it was not till end-
was restored.

widespread confusion caused
the facts and figures offered
and the gullible public
accurate. Roughly a third
workmen in the industry at
are new recruits who have
after the strike began, and
now launched a massive
drive in an obvious stri-
effort. Admitted R.G. Shetye,
Personnel) of the MOA: "Appro-
workmen, definitely not
that, who currently man the
new recruits, and probably
new men are under training

to new recruits, an inde-
number working in Bombay's
last fortnight were temporary
from outside the mill sector.
"foreigners" in the industry,
the powerloom sector of
Tarapur, and others from
Ahmedabad have been stea-
into Bombay over the past
in a bid to get the machines
more.

Government officials insist
'foreigner' workers have
into the city. But the vera-
figures is discredited by diffe-
attendance records sup-
Registrar of Unions under the
Industrial Relations Act and
the press. In a letter to the
Registrar of Unions dated Oc-
states that total employ-



Workers back in harness at Century Mills: conflicting claims

ment in the mills during September was 15,699, which is at sharp variance with the figure of 44,000 then published in the press. Said P.N. "Dada" Samant, the trade unionists' brother, who handles much of the administration of Samant's Maharashtra General Kamgar Union (MGKU): "The millowners have been exaggerating the figures of people who have returned just to put psychological pressure on workers."

Notwithstanding exaggerations and overstatements, however, the gigantic textile strike has caused tremendous losses to both mill managements and workers. "Whatever the eventual outcome of this strike, it is clear that there will be no victors," said Nimbalkar. "There will be untold misery because of the strike as some mills may not be in a position to open again owing to the losses suffered during the strike."

Arguing that Samant's strike will ultimately lead to large numbers of workers losing their jobs,Tata Textiles Chairman Naval H. Tata stated last fortnight that he doubted whether a number of the marginal units in Bombay's textile industry would survive this "ordeal". The MOA, meanwhile, insisted that the only means of survival for the beleaguered industry was relocation in a backward area outside Bombay. This way they said mills could be modernized and revived if funds generated from the sale of premium Bombay land were used for purchasing new machines and rationalising, Vijaynagar insisted that Samant had left at least 12 mills with no choice but to "stay here and die or shift out and become healthy elsewhere".

Logistics Problems: Privately, however, some textile manufacturers agree that there is little possibility of either shifting or closure and that this is little more than a threat to the strikers. The logistics problems in shifting a capital-intensive unit, particularly those as ancient as most of Bombay's textile mills, are immense, and the costs prohibitive. Even if funds were raised from the sale of Bombay land, a huge percentage of these would go towards paying gratuity and retrenchment compensation to workmen—an average unit employing 3,000 workmen would, according to one estimate, have to pay a minimum of Rs 3.3 crore to completely retrench its work force—and capital gains tax to the exchequer, leaving little or nothing for the shift. Moreover, it is argued that if even five of Bombay's textile mills sold their land simultaneously, prices would crash so completely that their realisation would be minimal.

Even the closure of sick textile mills, according to industry insiders, is only a remote possibility. In the past the Government has always bailed out the industry in times of trouble, and hectic lobbying by both the MOA and individual millowners for fiscal aid suggests that the Government might come to the rescue once more.

Meanwhile, after 286 days out in the cold, workers of the 60 strike-hit textile mills in Bombay continued to display a surprising resilience. Although the average worker had lost more than Rs 7,500 in wages for the strike period, many had worked out temporary alternatives, albeit less remunerative, to keep themselves going. According to guesstimates by the Labour Commissioner, more than 50,000 of the workmen had found themselves alternate employment in Bombay and the powerloom industry surrounding the city, many of them self-employed in selling vegetables or running small tea-stalls. A huge but indeterminate proportion of the remainder were believed to be in their native

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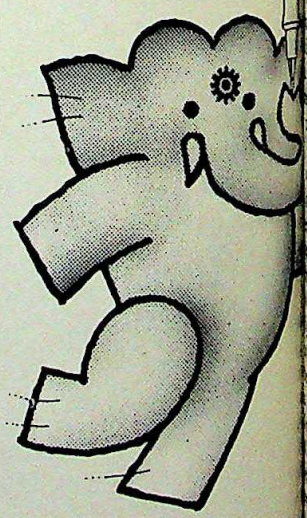

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working on small land hold- agricultural labour, or on the sponsored Employment Scheme in places which have it. himself claims to have placed ter of the workmen in tem- factories and small-scale wo- where he swings weight. But even es which he has managed to small proportion of the wor- detract from the tight finan- of Bombay's textile labour While estimates of indebtedness ly unreliable, the complete ab- ending in labour areas is in- the state which millmen are in. Chaturthi celebrations in August were particularly so- where millmen predominate, the largest "Ganpati" idol of the size that has been previous years. One unexpec- the textile strike is a massive sale of Marathi film tickets, bought largely by millmen and ers. In fact Dada Kondke, the sexual comedies—his past *Where You Touch Me It Put Your Body Against* withheld the release of his *Aali* more than eight months now, the film won't sell in Bombay. in Bombay complain that the pled working class spending severely that expenditure on Diwali, the traditional time ing spree, is likely to be very in Ghatkopar and traders in Lalbaug, the congested textile that business was down by up compared to the last festival

While the strike was having its other sections of the population, remained resilient. Their re- over nine months of waiting, round the corner. Samant many felt till quite recently meet his Waterloo, seemed to the point across to the that it would have to deal the problem was to be solved. alone remained reluctant, even adamant. But with stepping into the act with a team, even they, it seemed would have to play ball. presumably be at a price: other facilities, and perhaps some to sell surplus land in But whatever the details negotiations, one thing seemed strike in the textile was hopefully drawing

—CHANDER UDAY SINGH

TELEVISION

Colourful Mess

TWO YEARS, three committees, and an open public debate: all that is required, presumably, to arrive at a rational, logical policy decision. Yet, if there is anything that the Government's flip-flops on colour television can't claim credit for, it is logic.

The policy-making process has, instead, brought to the forefront the worst kind of byzantine power play and intrigue New Delhi can offer, leading not to a policy but to a series of ad hoc decisions, now averaging one a month. And if insiders are to be believed, there is yet another policy twist round the corner.

In the process, one department has been pitted against another, one lot of manufacturers against a second, ministers against bureaucrats, and importers against producers, while contact men and mountebanks play their shadowy roles.

(From left) C.P.N. Singh, Alexander and Shivraj Patil: hasty moves

Last month's unexpected decision to allow the unrestricted import of colour TV sets from friends and relatives (and "friends" could mean anybody) marked only the latest controversial volte face in a chain of events sparked off by the basic question: should the country go in for colour TV?

Policy Measures: That question was settled when Vasant Sathe, as information and broadcasting minister, used the Asiad to clinch a debate he had initiated. But, ironically enough, it was this clincher that caused all the problems. For with time running out, there was no question any more of long-term policies being hammered out, or of setting up units that would produce the components required for colour TV manufacture.

Enter ad hocism:

► Step No 1 was taken in the import policy announced in April: blood relatives abroad could gift colour sets to residents in the country by paying only 190 per cent duty, down from the normal 320 per cent.

The next (abortive) move was by Sathe, who tried to push through a decision to import one lakh colour sets to meet Asiad viewing requirements. The sets could be sold outright, or—outlandishly enough—hired out on a monthly rental. But the domestic manufacturers lobbied with the Prime Minister's Secretariat to prevent imports.

► So Step No 2 was the decision to import only components, which the local producers would assemble. Component imports would be arranged solely by the public sector Electronics Trade and Technology Development Corporation (ETTDC), and distributed to 22 of the larger TV manufacturing companies, which would be free to sell the finished sets under their brand names.

► Step No 3 saw a new lobby enter the act: the smaller TV producers, who said they also should be allowed to assemble the imported kits. In a hurried change of decision, the Government now allowed another 30 manufacturers to enter the colour TV picture.

► Step No 4 came precisely one day after the first lot of imported picture tubes were distributed to the manufacturers: the decision to allow import till December 4 of complete sets not only from relatives but friends also at 190 per cent duty levied on a minimum value of Rs 3,600.

► Now Step No 5 is getting ready, at the behest of local industry, to raise the minimum dutiable value to Rs 4,300, so that when the duty is added, imported sets become costlier by Rs 2,000, the price hitting Rs 12,500.

Discontent: Five policy decisions in

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virtually as many months in order to meet the Asiad demand, but not a single lobby is happy. The concerned ministers are smarting because they have come to know of policy changes after they were publicly announced. The domestic manufacturers are livid because the import decision cuts the ground from under their feet.

The ETTDC is worrying itself grey, because it has arranged the import of 95,000 kits, received 45,000 and is getting ready to take the rest. But because of the decision to import complete sets, it may be left with huge stocks when the Asiad draws to a close—the cut-off date after which all sales must stop. For after that, the Government will get down to the real business of framing a long-term colour TV manufacturing policy. Along the way a number of domestic companies have been directly importing knocked-down kits and selling them after assembling.

THIS mess, in glorious technicolour, might have been worth it if a hungry viewing public was queued up outside for the end product. But, in the final ironic twist, the customer doesn't seem to care very much. Manufacturers who opened bookings in anticipation of a deluge have got only a trickle of interest. Total bookings, estimates Prem Vachani, chairman of Weston, are between 15,000 and 20,000. But the ETTDC is arranging the import of no fewer than 95,000 kits, based on a demand estimate of one lakh. Demand might pick up once the Games fever catches on, but Vachani estimates that fully 40 per cent of the sets might remain unsold on December 4, when the Asiad ends.

Surprise Move: Among all the tortuous twists and turns of policy, the most controversial has been the latest: to allow imports from friends and relatives till the closing date of Asiad. Coming as a bolt from the blue on October 11, it was one of the Government's best kept secrets. Shocked manufacturers who rushed to the concerned minister, C.P.N. Singh, and the Principal Secretary to the prime minister, P.C. Alexander, were amazed to find that neither knew of the decision even a couple of hours after the formal notification.

The Government's defence of a decision to import just when local assembly was about to begin has been unconvincing: "The people are interested in watching the Asiad. We are trying to ensure that the demand for watching Asiad is met in time," said Minister of State for Commerce Shivraj Patil, in the Lok Sabha. But with supply already well ahead of demand, this argument holds little water.

"There is no need to smell anything in the decision," Patil insisted. But there are many others who say the decision stinks. No one is willing to go on record on the subject, while some officials declined any comment whatsoever. But what emerges is a picture of Japanese manufacturers trying to muscle into the Indian market. They had been left out in the cold because the ETTDC decided to import only South Korean and German kits.

ETTDC officials defend themselves by saying that the Korean kits were cheaper than the Japanese ones by around $50 (Rs 475) apiece. "We started negotiating at $250 (Rs 2,375), but got them down to $125 (Rs 1,190)," says P.K. Sandell, chairman of the ETTDC. "The lowest Japanese offer was around $180 (Rs 1,700)."

Japanese Thrust: But that, apparently, is when a fresh round of lobbying started. And charges have been made of some officials being in league with the Japanese manufacturers. More crucial roles, however, were allegedly played by unofficial operations, one of whom has the Hong Kong distributorship for a major Japanese producer, and also runs a video unit at the Santa Cruz Electronics Export Processing Zone (SEEPZ). A second crucial contact man is said to be the son of a former Central Cabinet minister.

The Japanese modus operandi is said to be simple. Large numbers of sets have been assembled at the three main supply points: Sri Lanka, Dubai and Hong Kong. Reports reaching Delhi have it that 27-inch sets are now scarce in Hong Kong—all readied, apparently, for shipping to India. Meanwhile, middlemen have set up shop in the major urban centres within the country, some of them even advertising their services; namely, to organise the "gift" arrangements from "friends" abroad if they are given cash here. And to build up demand, the Japanese companies have been taking out large advertisements in the Indian newspapers, offering their range of sets.

Going about their business quite openly, a team of Japanese company representatives was touring the country during the last fortnight, their mission unknown. But one domestic manufacturer said he had been approached for appointment as service agent in India for a Japanese company. Clearly, the Japanese are trying to set up a full commercial network in the country, with the help of what an industry insider terms "legalised smuggling". The question of Japanese companies advertising electronic consumer goods in the Indian press when these items are not officially on sale here was raised in Parliament, but the Government's weak response was that it could not [illegible] advertisements.

Lost Time: Through all th[illegible] for the policy mix that will [illegible] lobbies, what has been lost is [illegible] import decisions have been taken [illegible] Asiad as justification. But it [illegible] this month; and with a large [illegible] sets certain to lie unsold when th[illegible] end in early December, the que[illegible] already been raised as to what [illegible] done then. The Government [illegible] contractual commitments from th[illegible] acturers that they will not sell [illegible] after the Asiad, but an official [illegible] that there was no way the Go[illegible] could make this stick.

An observer alleged that the [illegible] turers may in fact be waiting for [illegible] of the Asiad in order to exploit [illegible] ket, since after that there will no [illegible] any competition from fully impo[illegible] And the asking price could also [illegible] a gambit which has already b[illegible] unsuccessfully.

With almost everyone conc[illegible] tent on making a fast buck, few [illegible] this bizarre series of machinatio[illegible] with clean hands. And the judge[illegible] to be not in colour but b[illegible] white—mostly black.

THE MARKETS

Buoyant

THE MARKETS do n[illegible] which way to turn, [illegible] rather strange considering [illegible] Government is quite convinced [illegible] economy is definitely on the w[illegible] matter what tricks the monsoon [illegible] be up to, and other uncertain[illegible] day, most shares are up, b[illegible] unlikely rumours of bonus is[illegible] other goodies. The next day, [illegible] down again, and the snake-like [illegible] continues through the week, [illegible] brokers giving one set of explana[illegible] stock exchange authorities tro[illegible] another set.

Surprisingly, some exchange[illegible] be doing better than the o[illegible] Calcutta most shares are up, p[illegible] the blue chip ones, as if the b[illegible] suddenly taken hold of the [illegible] Chloride India is about [illegible] 60—unusual for what is pr[illegible] engineering company and that [illegible] related to automobile business—[illegible] may cross the 40 barrier. Indi[illegible] and Shaw Wallace are also [illegible] and so is Dunlop, another aut[illegible] share. It is only in Bombay that [illegible] seem to have taken a beating [illegible] and Reliance leading the re[illegible]

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49.50	36.00	37.50	(2.60)
42.00	26.50	27.50	(2.00)
41.10	26.80	40.60	(0.30)
70.00	53.00	68.00	3.00
44.00	30.00	44.00	nil
80.50	62.00	71.00	(7.00)
18.60	15.44	15.50	(0.06)
26.10	20.20	26.00	0.05
18.60	11.60	11.70	(0.20)
346.00	201.00	230.00	(13.50)
220.00	177.50	200.00	2.50
1,020.00	675.00	745.00	20.00
25.00	15.00	15.25	(0.75)
58.00	41.50	58.00	3.00
168.00	78.00	82.00	(1.00)
16.20	11.65	12.50	(0.70)
44.50	31.31	34.78	0.16
24.30	18.30	22.40	(1.40)
21.50	16.50	18.75	(0.25)
41.00	26.00	32.00	0.50
49.87	34.25	37.62	0.25
54.00	35.75	54.00	3.00
48.75	26.00	26.00	(1.25)
30.50	25.40	30.00	0.70
37.20	28.00	28.10	(0.30)
506.00	368.00	430.00	(2.00)
49.20	30.00	32.00	0.80
56.00	47.25	51.00	0.25
32.14	21.82	26.74	(0.60)
30.00	23.00	30.00	3.50
23.60	17.00	18.60	(0.80)
25.00	18.00	24.00	2.75
247.50	172.50	217.50	nil
26.00	18.50	19.80	0.60
107.00	50.00	56.00	(1.50)
35.00	26.00	28.00	(2.00)
36.10	26.20	36.10	0.60
165.00	87.00	89.00	(1.00)
45.00	29.00	33.00	nil
38.30	21.00	38.30	1.55
36.00	22.80	22.85	(1.15)
73.20	55.60	58.75	(0.25)
59.75	45.10	59.60	nil
150.00	94.00	119.00	(6.00)
35.75	20.00	27.50	(0.25)
86.00	45.50	56.00	(0.25)
21.65	14.50	20.90	0.90
61.00	38.00	44.50	(1.50)
272.50	220.00	237.50	nil
36.50	22.50	22.60	(2.15)
29.00	16.50	21.75	(0.25)
210.00	168.00	175.00	(1.00)
63.00	37.00	38.50	(0.75)
48.50	34.50	39.10	(0.10)
30.30	26.00	28.60	0.10
97.00	58.75	68.50	2.50
407.00	303.00	374.00	(20.50)
29.75	21.00	26.62	0.12
58.25	32.50	37.00	1.00
192.50	118.00	164.00	(17.50)
36.65	27.30	34.00	3.00
52.12	41.37	46.87	(1.00)
66.00	34.00	39.50	nil
16.80	12.60	16.15	0.45
31.50	19.00	20.50	0.50
61.80	45.50	59.50	nil
429.00	286.00	286.00	(56.50)
237.00	367.00	394.00	(13.00)
76.75	35.75	37.50	(2.60)
28.10	23.90	25.50	0.50
33.50	23.50	24.75	1.25
191.00	228.00	275.00	3.00
34.50	18.35	21.05	0.45

have been in the limelight for some time and have figured in the brokers' wars which break out in Dalal Street from time to time. In fact, the Street is not what it used to be during the Jeejeebhoy days and it is good that a new management is about to take over. It may see better days after that.

On the whole, however, as a government official in Delhi put it, things are not as bad as is made out but could be better. He did not say in what way they could be better. One reason for the current bullish phase is the spate of bonus issues—beginning with Blue Star and Blow Plast, and maybe others like Madura Coats in the pipeline. The worst of the credit squeeze is also apparently over, with the Government denying that there ever was anything like a credit squeeze and quoting chapter and verse to prove it. The recession too was apparently only a mirage and is now in any case a thing of the past. Of such stuff are the markets made.

Surprising Trend: One remarkable fact is that the stock markets in other countries are doing even better than over here although their economies are really in the dumps. The Dow-Jones Index in the US has crossed the magic figure of 1,000 and the *Financial Times* Index in Britain has crossed 600. The larger the number of the unemployed, the more buoyant apparently is the stock index. One reason for the upturn may be the falling interest rates and also, up to a point, the lower rate of inflation. India has had virtually an inflation-less year but people are not apparently prepared to believe that the ghost has been laid for good. Hence the hesitation in going full speed ahead while the business in debentures and new issues continues to be reasonably good.

This is perhaps as good a time as any to take a look at some of the shares which have refused to take the bait and lie listless at the bottom of the pit. Now that the market is picking up, there may be some life in these old cadavers. Some like Jaipur Udyog are already showing signs of revival, but this is a cement company and therefore in a rather special category. Delhi has one or two such shares—Indo-Lowenbrau is one—and Calcutta has quite a few—East Anglia, to name one—and there must be many in Bombay, always a good home for derelicts. If the market floor picks up, these shares should gain a bit of weight and provide a good bargain. It doesn't really matter what these companies do, for they could not do worse than they have been doing all these months—and possibly years—and the only way they can go is up.

WORLD VALUE OF RUPEE

Country	Unit	Currency	TT Selling Rates(Rs)	TT Buying Rates(Rs)
Australia	1	As $	9.2018	9.1043
Austria	100	As Sch	54.9087	54.3457
Bahrain	1	Dinar	25.2545	25.0707
Bangladesh	100	Taka	42.6854	42.5708
Canada	1	Can $	7.9423	7.8581
Egypt	1	Egp £	11.6210	11.5358
France	1	Fr Frc	1.3684	1.3536
Hong Kong	1	HK $	1.4747	1.4518
Indonesia	100	Rupiah	1.4685	1.4578
Iran	100	Rial	11.4441	11.3610
Italy	100	Lt Lira	0.6803	0.5670
Japan	100	Jap Yen	3.6040	3.5670
Kenya	1	K Shilling	0.8992	0.8926
Kuwait	1	Dinar	33.2079	32.9643
Malaysia	1	ML $	4.1121	4.0678
Mauritius	1	Rupee	0.8700	0.8636
Nepal	1	Rupee	0.7346	0.7292
Netherlands		D Glds	3.5407	3.5053
Pakistan	1	Rupee	0.7913	0.7855
Singapore	1	Sing $	4.4515	4.4025
Spain	100	Sp Pt	8.5156	8.4340
Sri Lanka	1	Rupee	0.4668	0.4633
Sweden	1	Sw Kr	1.3216	1.3085
Switzerland	1	Sw Frc	4.4956	4.4464
Tanzania	1	T Sch	1.0321	1.0246
Thailand	100	Baht	42.0000	41.0000
UK	1	Pound	16.5446	16.3961
USA	1	US $	9.7750	9.6400
UAE	1	Dihram	2.6350	2.6157
USSR	1	Rouble	13.1368	13.0404
W. Germany	1	DM	3.8609	3.8219

These rates were supplied by The Bank of Tokyo, Ltd., New Delhi and quoted between the banks on October 21, 1982.

ECONOMIC TRENDS

	Latest	Change on month
PRICES		
ET Commodity Price Index		
October 14, 1982*	249.9	1.6
Cereals	240.2	2.5
Chemicals	341.2	31.2
Industrial Fibres	174.6	0.2
Metals	345.2	(2.6)
Sugar	183.1	(12.9)
Textile Yarn	223.7	0.7
Vegetable Oils	293.1	6.1
Gold standard, Oct 19, 1982 (Rs per 10 gm)	1,680.00	(40.00)
Silver, .999 Oct 19, 1982 (Rs per kg)	2,655.00	(45.00)
SHARES		
ET Share Price Index		
October 19, 1982*	235.2	5.6
Cement	260.8	42.4
Chemicals	201.0	10.9
Engineering	387.2	18.0
Fertilisers	188.4	0.3
Man-made fibres	409.6	(8.5)
Paper	426.9	(18.3)
Rubber Goods	157.6	5.3
MONEY		(per cent)
Money Supply, September 17, 1982		0.4
Bank Deposits		0.7
Foreign Exchange Assets		(10.7)

* 1969–70 = 100

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Fuel oil consumption costs of typical low efficiency boilers and Enormous Savings in operation if they are replaced by High Efficiency THERMAX Boilers

STEAM OUTPUT OF TYPICAL OLD BOILERS	TYPICAL EFFICIENCIES OBSERVED BY PCRA, NPC AND OTHER BODIES	ANNUAL FUEL OIL COSTS ON 2 SHIFTS A DAY & 300 DAYS PER YEAR **	ANNUAL FUEL OIL COSTS WITH MINIMUM 82% EFFICIENCY FROM THERMAX BOILERS	SAVINGS WITH THERMAX BOILERS	PAY-BACK PERIOD
TONNES/HR	% (GCV)*	RUPEES	RUPEES	RUPEES	MONTHS
2	45	28,23,000	14,40,000	13,83,000	3
4		55,68,000	28,80,000	26,88,000	2
6		83,52,000	43,20,000	40,32,000	2
2	50	24,96,000	14,40,000	10,56,000	4
4		49,92,000	28,80,000	21,12,000	2
6		74,88,000	43,20,000	31,68,000	2
2	55	22,08,000	14,40,000	7,68,000	5
4		44,16,000	28,80,000	15,36,000	3
6		66,24,000	43,20,000	23,04,000	3
2	60	20,16,000	14,40,000	5,76,000	7
4		40,32,000	28,80,000	11,52,000	5
6		60,48,000	43,20,000	17,28,000	4
2	65	18,24,000	14,40,000	3,84,000	12
4		36,48,000	28,80,000	7,68,000	7
6		54,72,000	43,20,000	11,52,000	7

* Gross Calorific Value of Furnace Oil: 10,200 kcals/kg ** Price of Furnace Oil: Rs.2,500 per tonne

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THEATRE

Bhutto's Death Knell

FOR THE fledgling theatre group Ruchika, last fortnight's unprecedented move to ban their production of screen actor I.S. Johar's controversial play *Bhutto*, by the police authorities appeared much more than an attack aimed to muzzle one play. As events unfolded, and the press announced the ban, it was clear that what was at stake was more the freedom of expression guaranteed under Article 19 of the Constitution than the axing of a politically motivated piece.

When Ruchika, an amateur theatre group in the capital decided to stage *Bhutto* in the Shri Ram Centre between October 14 and 16, their first public declaration made not only the police authorities but also the Ministry of External Affairs and the Pakistan Embassy apprehensive. Two days before Ruchika's performance, the producer-director Arun Kukreja was notified by the deputy commissioner of police (licensing) via the Sri Ram Centre that the play could not be staged. The directive also implied that if the play was staged the police would revoke the Centre's licence. The statutory entertainment tax exemption which the group had applied for and had been granted earlier was also revoked.

By the time the issue was picked up by the press and a journalistic outcry was registered, there was every indication that the ban had come in the wake of pressures the External Affairs Ministry was facing from the Pakistan Embassy. While ministry officials handling the case were unavailable for comment, Pakistan Embassy officials made no bones about their feelings. Said M.H. Askari, the minister for cultural affairs: "The very idea of having the head of our state portrayed in a derogatory and distasteful manner is objectionable to us. Although we have registered our complaint with the Ministry of External Affairs, we have not recommended a line of action. If a similar situation occurred in our country there would be no doubt that we would stop it."

Script Problems: *Bhutto* first ran into trouble when it was scheduled to be performed in Bombay in early May, when the Maharashtra Government's Stage Performance Scrutiny Board, a quasi-judicial theatre censoring outfit, pronounced it unsuitable for public performance. The reasons given were: "The board on scrutiny of the script considers that it is against friendly relations with the foreign state (Pakistan) and contains offensive references to high personalities (Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Zia-ul-Haq) of that country."

Johar was given an opportunity to vent his grievances before the board. He argued that the play was in no way derogatory to the characters it portrays; that far stronger statements were made against Pakistani politicians on public platforms; and that the play was a study of Bhutto's mind rather than actual political events.

At the end of the meeting, the board, comprising 16 writers and performing artistes, all of them either employed by the Government or heavily dependent on state patronage, gave the play the go ahead, provisionally, under the condition that audience reaction would be monitored. If this condition was accepted the play would be recommended for general viewing. Governmental apprehensions about the play remained and it was announced to the press that the play would have to be cleared by the state Ministry of Cultural Affairs as it was still not considered suitable for performance. The ministry got cold feet and decided to cancel the performances.

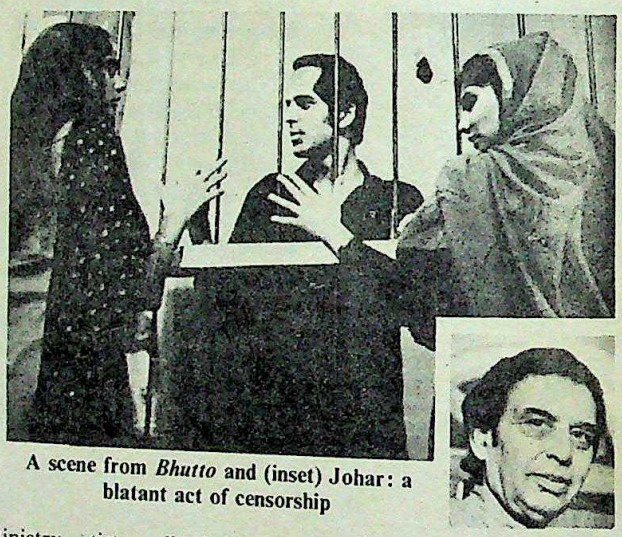
But when Johar had the play first published and then produced by Ruchika he was obviously unaware of the fact that in 1981, the Delhi Administration had given the police the power to censor any theatre performance under the draconian Dramatic Performances Act. The Act was promulgated first in 1876 and [illegible] 1981 with a few dubiously [illegible] included. The Act came under [illegible] from theatre activists in Ja[illegible] and was again consigned [illegible] Said celebrated playwr[illegible] Tendulkar: "The whole ce[illegible] ness is appalling. The produc[illegible] should go ahead and perform [illegible] get himself arrested. That is [illegible] the theatre people can register [illegible]

Although embassy offic[illegible] that they had not read all thre[illegible] play and only the excerpts that [illegible] red in *The Hindustan Times*, [illegible] rently objected to Zia being re[illegible] a "mad maulvi".

Said Johar: "Zia, being a [illegible] alist shouldn't mind being refe[illegible] *maulvi*. As regards the "mad" [illegible] prepared to negotiate on that. [illegible] am concerned, there is nothing [illegible] able in the play. It is [illegible] kistan. I have not co[illegible] what is now happenin[illegible] tan but what might h[illegible] ned during that b[illegible] when Bhutto was in ja[illegible]

The three-act play [illegible] gue between the jailed [illegible] ex-premier Zulfikar [illegible] and his jailor, Chief o[illegible] Staff General Zia-ul-H[illegible] set at the time when [illegible] placed in protective [illegible] *Bhutto* is a simple un[illegible] a brilliant political m[illegible] unbridled power behi[illegible] mocratic facade and t[illegible] downfall brought abo[illegible] self-aggrandisement. Z[illegible] trayed as a deeply re[illegible] kistani general who [illegible] over power because Bhutto hi[illegible] gantly places it in his hands.

Setting aside the Pakista[illegible] strong objections to the play [illegible] mains a matter of grave concern [illegible] that The Dramatic Performance[illegible] now a dead letter, has been in[illegible] attack, if unchallenged, will en[illegible] authorities, particularly the p[illegible] have been given undefined [illegible] censor performances. Ruchika [illegible] filed a writ petition in the D[illegible] Court, challenging the rule that [illegible] necessary to stage a play. Said [illegible] who has been working on the [illegible] nearly a month and has spent [illegible] 12,000 on the production: "I d[illegible] this play will see the light of da[illegible] of us filing a writ in the court [illegible] the authorities are only buying [illegible] we know we are the losers." —[illegible]



A scene from *Bhutto* and (inset) Johar: a blatant act of censorship

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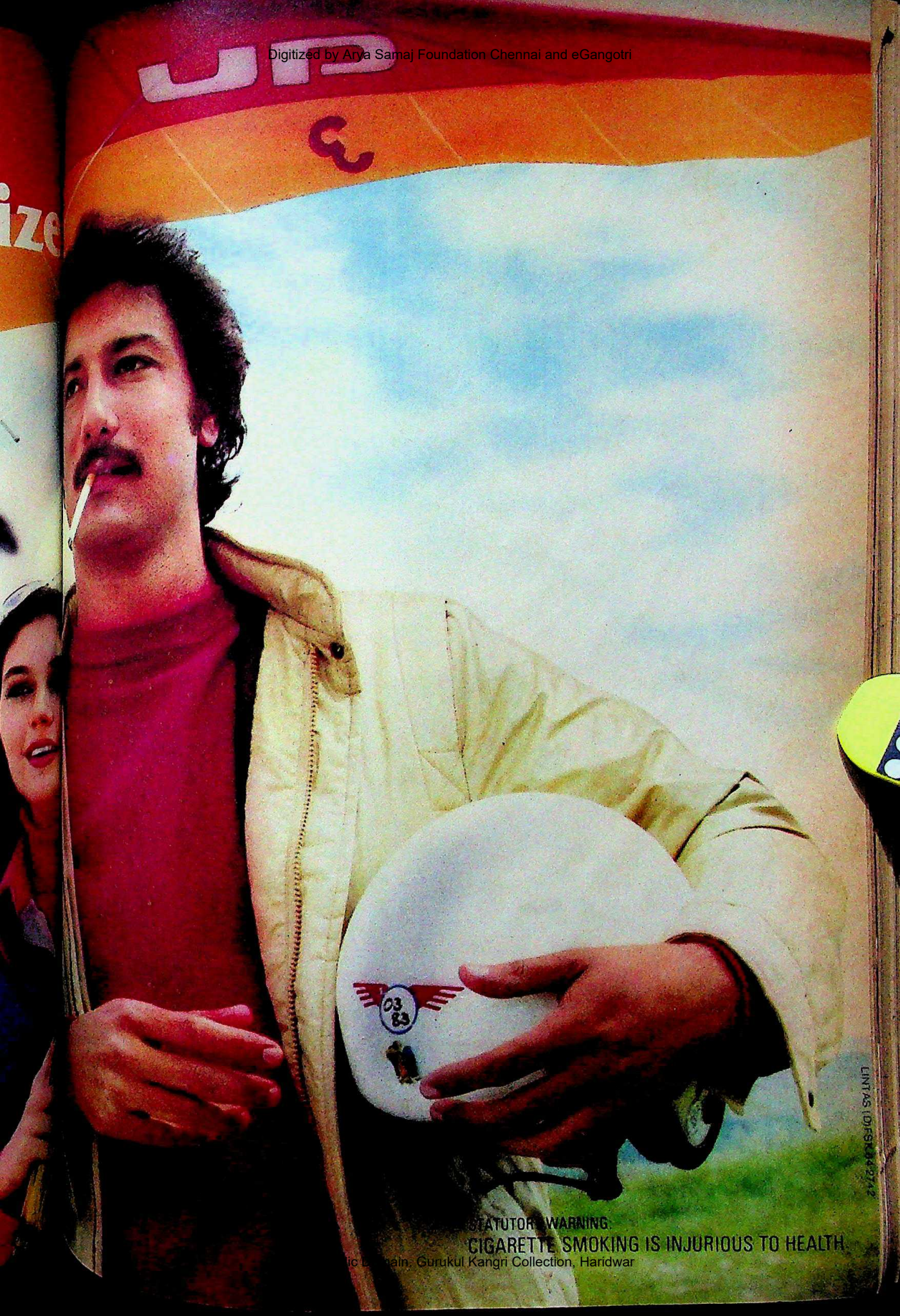

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emascope

...ul Jabbar of Kerala has a ...ing practice in the Gulf. His ... Abu Dhabi brings in Rs ... a satisfying success for a ...ed his MBBS degree only ... When Jabbar brought his ... to India he thought he ... better than construct cinema ... in Trivandrum named after ... Sami, another in Ernakulam ... daughter Seena and a third in ... after his daughter Sudhi. ... plans to have a theatre in each ...quarters of the state.

... not the only rich 'Gulfite' to ...oney into cinema theatres in ...rala. The little state is going ...metic theatre boom, mostly ...oney from the Gulf. The ... particularly heated in the ... as many as 65 new theatres ... their marbled facades in towns ... Another 150 are being con... N. Mahesh, a leading archi... ...atres coming up in the villa... ...ed mostly by Gulf money; ... an air-conditioned theatre ... 30 lakh." The entrepreneurs ... liquor barons, smugglers and ...go in for the last word in ...ons foyers, wall-to-wall car... ...-wood interiors, the finest ...jection systems.

...Spree: There are now nearly ... halls in the state, as com... ...ganthan's 250. Two years ago, ... had only six theatres; today it ... air-conditioned. Trivandrum ...r ago; today it boasts of 22. ... and small municipalities such ...ly in Trichur district flaunt a ... air-conditioned hall. Says Malayalam super-star Prem Nazir: "The growth of theatres, especially in the cities, has been phenomenal." Kerala now has the highest ratio of film theatres to viewers in India.

One reason for this spree is that any association with cinema is an eagerly-sought status symbol. Another is that as entertainment tax is the lowest in Kerala, profits are high: a Rs 7 balcony ticket, for instance, brings the exhibitor and distributor a profit of Rs 4.50 in this state, as against a mere Rs 2.50 in Bombay. Getting new films is no problem. Says a spokesman for Twentieth Century Fox: "The distributor of any block-buster would get twice the money in the first week in Trivandrum and Ernakulam as he would in Bombay or Bangalore."

With theatres elbowing each other, rivalry is intense. The older established halls are forced into showing re-runs of old hits, even though Hollywood box-office winners, Amitabh Bachchan starrers and Malayalam cinemascope extravaganzas are the order of the day. Sabotage is not discounted: recently in Ernakulam, rumours were spread about cobras being found in a new theatre complex, and attendance was thin there for days. Business egos are being massaged: liquor baron Issac Peter built a Rs 2 crore luxurious theatre complex in Ernakulam—'Sarita Savita Sangeeta'—to outsmart his arch rival, south India's liquor king Mannarkad Pappan who had built a theatre complex in Palai, near Kottayam.

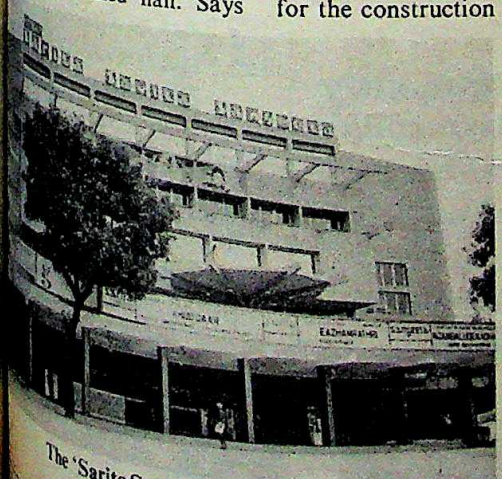
Low Returns: However, there is a fly in the ointment. Mahesh complains: "It is colossal waste. The returns are too low to justify the boom." Perhaps the real reason for the construction spree is that the theatres are sitting on real estate which is bound to appreciate in value. Roy Mathew, private banker and money-lender, inaugurated his twin theatres Dhanya and Remya in Trivandrum last year, and screened some of the biggest hits, but he admits: "The returns are bad compared to the investment but the glamour and the real estate value is worth it."

Liquor baron Peter's three-theatre complex in Ernakulam is also not doing well but will be worth twice as much in another 10 years. Kavitha Movie House, once Ernakulam's premier theatre, built 15 years ago for Rs 20 lakh, might be sold to a successful shrimp merchant for a whopping Rs 2 crore. Mahesh points out another convenient spin-off: "By showing houseful collection, a lot of black money can go through this laundry."

The boom has inevitably had its effects on other aspects of the film industry. Distributors are deserting established exhibitors for more accommodating people. Sreenivasa Shenoy, Kerala's oldest exhibitor and the first person to build an air-conditioned theatre in the state, has been boycotted by distributors, because three years ago, according to one distributor "he stopped many a block-buster film, which was running to full houses, after only two weeks, because someone paid him a little more to accommodate their pictures". Shenoy says that to beat the others he has started showing English films.

Other exhibitors, like former hotelier Sreedharan Pillai—who has built the four-in-one theatre complex in Trivandrum named after his favoured goddesses Saraswati and Lakshmi, reputed to be the biggest in Asia—have gone one step further and are purchasing films due for release. Says K.C. Chandrahasan, a leading distributor: "The theatre boom has revived the industry. The advances coughed up by the theatres may enable us to produce more movies."

—SREEDHAR PILLAI



The 'Sarita Savita and Sangeeta' complex in Ernakulam (left) and the interior: lavish constructions

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50% of each Debenture converted in two stages into 10 Equity Shares — you will automatically receive 5 shares six months after allotment and another 5 six months later.

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1 An unbroken dividend record for 56 years

Regular dividends ever since shares were offered to the public in 1926; a record very few can match; a record which has rightly earned Dunlop the reputation of being a "Blue Chip" investment, a byword for trustworthiness and

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...n shareholding to increase to over 60% after Conversion

...r. Dunlop's major ...olders include most of ...ancial Institutions.

...3.5% Interest paid ...from date of issue ...closure

...arn an extra month's ...st by not having to wait ...ment. Interest is ...le half-yearly.

Higher Interest

Dunlop will pay higher ...est to you if Government ...s upward the rate of ...st payable on Convertible ...tures.

Tax Free Income

Your income from ...ends on shares is free of ...me tax, up to a maximum ...s.4,000 per annum, under ...on 80L of the Income Tax ...-61.

5 Bonus Issues before Conversion

You will be entitled to any Bonus Issue declared — even before conversion. 68% of Dunlop's present ordinary paid up capital is by way of issue of Bonus Shares to the shareholders.

6 Buy Back Scheme — at par

After three years the company will operate a scheme which offers a buy back option every six months.

7 Easy Marketability

Listing proposed in Calcutta, Bombay, Delhi and Madras.

8 3 Part Certificate offers flexibility

From the date of listing you can freely trade each of the two convertible parts and the one non convertible part.

9 Early Repayment

Repayment of the non convertible part of the Debenture commences after 7 years. An exceptional feature attractive to any investor.

10 Fully Secured

The Debenture together with interest is fully secured by an equitable mortgage of the company's assets.

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A leading tyre manufacturer, Dunlop is also a major manufacturer of industrial products that cater to core sector and growth-oriented industries — conveyor belting; fan, vee and transmission belts; industrial hoses, vibration control equipment. So when you invest in Dunlop you invest in high technology products that are vital to industrial and economic development — the result of Dunlop's access to international technology, a benefit which will continue.

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Issue opens on 24 November 1982. It's worth waiting for!

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AUCTIONS

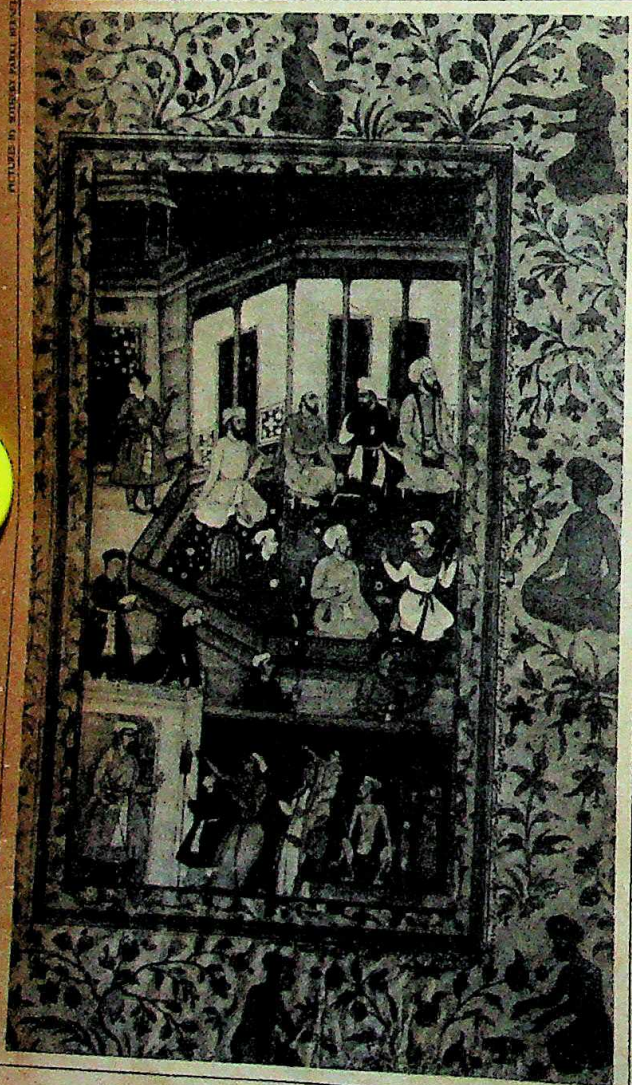
History For Sale

FIVE important miniature paintings from a 1604 manuscript of the Akbarnama were auctioned recently in New York. The five illustrations, offered by Sotheby's, one of the world's leading auction houses, were part of the last great historical manuscript to be produced in Emperor Akbar's time (1556–1605). Two illustrated copies of the Akbarnama have survived: the first is in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London and the second is divided between the British Library and the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin, Ireland.

The miniatures auctioned by Sotheby's were unknown prior to the sale and belonged to the second manuscript. They were termed the "property of a lady" in Sotheby's catalogue of the sale. The provenance, cited in the catalogue, lists the miniatures as formerly in the collection of V. Everit Macy. Who owned them before Macy is not known.

Good Prices: Twice a year, Sotheby's auctions Indian and Islamic art in New York. The Akbarnama was included in its most recent sale. Together, the Akbarnama paintings made $66,650 (Rs 6.3 lakh). There were 351 lots in the entire sale which totalled $413,204 (Rs 37.25 lakh), including the 10 per [illegible] premium. The Akbarnama [illegible] were lots 66 to 70, among the [illegible] for auction. Lot 66, "A noc[illegible] with seven ministers", e[illegible] $15,000—$25,000 (Rs 1.42 la[illegible] lakh), brought $23,000 (Rs 2 [illegible] was acquired by a Europe[illegible] Customarily, Sotheby's and C[illegible] counterpart, seldom disclose the [illegible] of sellers and buyers. Lot 66 was [illegible] important of the four paintings.

Lot 67, "A ruler, perhap[illegible] rides an elephant" ca[illegible] $12,000–$18,000 (Rs 1.14 lakh–[illegible] lakh) estimate. Like the preceding [illegible] measures 13 inches by eight but [illegible] worm holes. It fetched $9,000 (R[illegible] Lot 68, "A campsite raided" [illegible] timate of $15,000–$20,000 [illegible] lakh–Rs 1.9 lakh) and brought $[illegible]



A nocturnal scene with seven ministers (left) and a prince resting before a hunt: brief saga

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to your neck in fashions.

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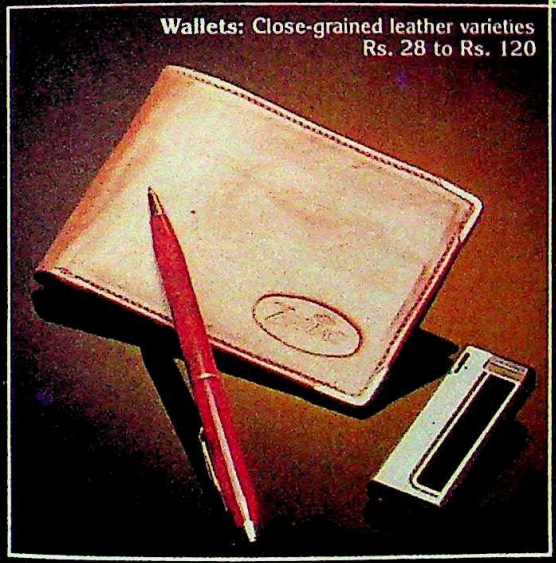

Wallets: Close-grained leather varieties Rs. 28 to Rs. 120

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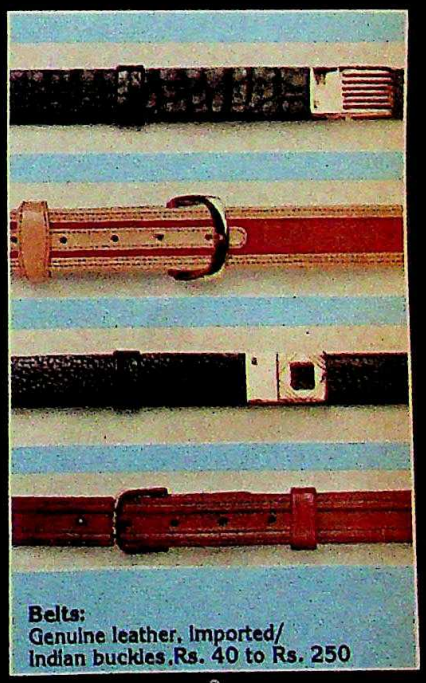

Belts: Genuine leather, Imported/ Indian buckles. Rs. 40 to Rs. 250

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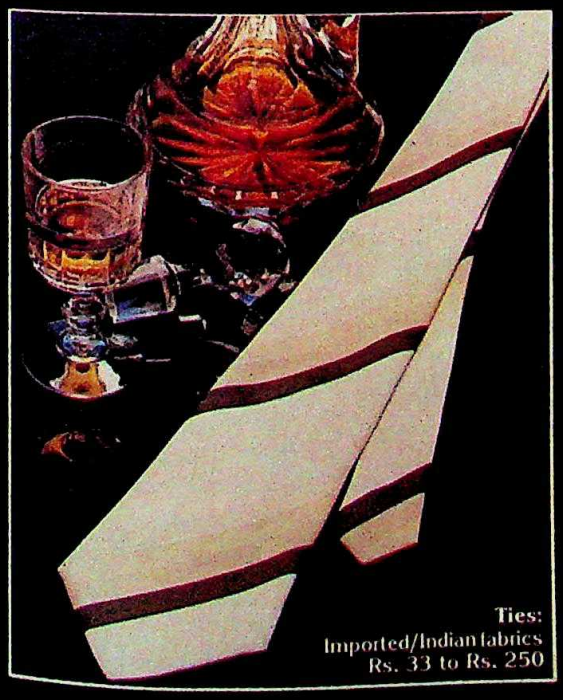

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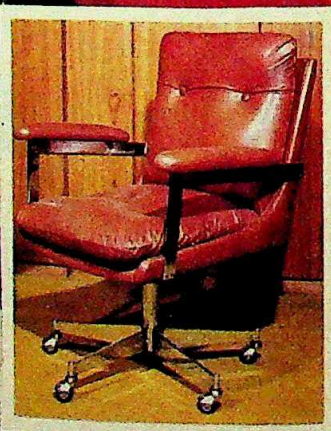

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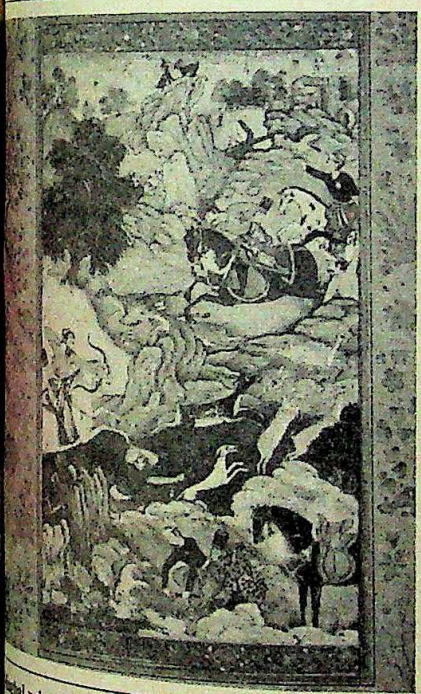
...ther private dealer paid ...lakh) for lot 69, "A pri... ...a hunt". Lot 69 had the ...lot 68. Lot 70, "A prince ...estimated at $6,000–$9,000 ...sold for $7,700 (Rs ...ition report listed slight ...ing.

...minutes, the brief saga ...ma paintings at Sotheby's ...average, 100 lots are auc... ...hour. For the remainder of ...paintings from the Punjab ...and Deccani schools. A ...of 1770, depicting nine ...at $3,000–$4,000 (Rs ...), brought $6,000 (Rs ...group of demons feasting," a ...Kotah painting, estimated at ...(Rs 66,500 Rs 95,000). ...(Rs 76,000).



...ghal prince hunting deer: appealing quality

...-nama contained a text ...kbar's prime minister Abu'l ...his death in 1602, Abu'l Fazl ...of Akbar's reign. Early ...worked upon this text, con... ...the most important Akbari ...genius of India, Nehru ...synthesis: the age of Akbar ...Elite Mughal artists like ...Manohar and Balchand, who ...work under the later pat... ...rors Jehangir and Shah ...their talents to create these ...ures.

...Below: Paintings from the Akbarnama have been exhibited in museum shows on both sides of the Atlantic. Some have been auctioned while others were widely published. Undoubtedly, these five Akbarnama miniatures have been outside India for several years, eight decades at least. The borders of the five paintings have been cropped, probably by the French dealer Demotte earlier in this century according to Michael Jones, Sotheby's expert in New York. Further, two miniatures have been inset into borders from a Persian manuscript, the Farhang-i-Jehangiri, of 1608. Due to this cropping of these Akbarnama borders, the artists' names, ordinarily inscribed in the lower margins, have been lost.

Prices for Indian miniatures in New York auctions may seem exorbitant. In comparison to Chinese and Western art, these are modest sums. For instance, a 15th century Chinese Ming vase, in spite of a visible crack, brought a record $1.3 million (Rs 1.23 crore) at Sotheby's last December. Christie's set a world record for Chinese paintings recently when an Imperial album containing 10 paintings from the Sung and Yuan dynasties (960–1368) was sold in New York for $33,000 (Rs 3.13 lakh). Christie's in New York also grossed a record $3.1 million (Rs 2.94 crore) for its Oriental art sale this June. Henry Moore, the British sculptor, set a record for a living artist. His six feet long elmwood "Reclining Figure" sold this May at Sotheby's in New York for $1,265,000 (Rs 1.20 crore). The sale of impressionist and modern art, in which the Moore was included, realised over $15 million (Rs 14.2 crore).

The auction market for Indian miniatures has been built up gradually over the past 10 years because of its increased familiarity in the West. During the '50s and '60s, Indian miniature sales were buried in general Western manuscript and miniature auctions. Specialised sales of Indian miniatures did not begin until 1967, and Mughal miniatures came into the auction limelight in 1968, with the celebrated Kevokian sales. Mughal miniatures, still appeal most to collectors in the West.

—SHEHBAZ H. SAFRANI

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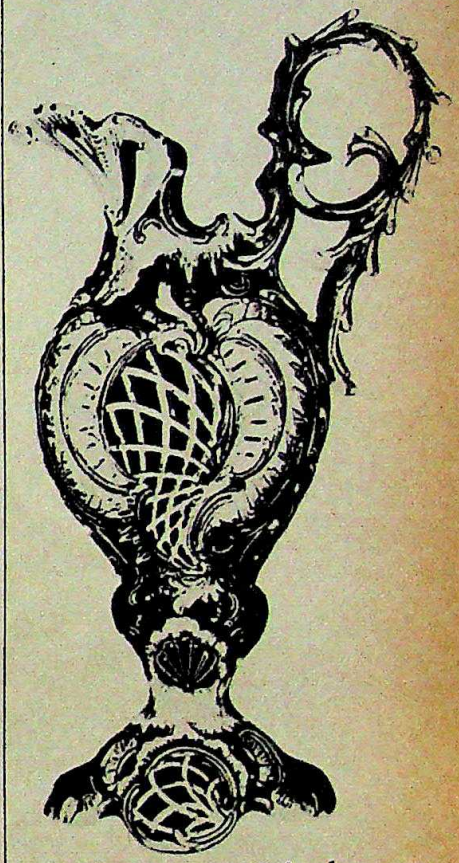

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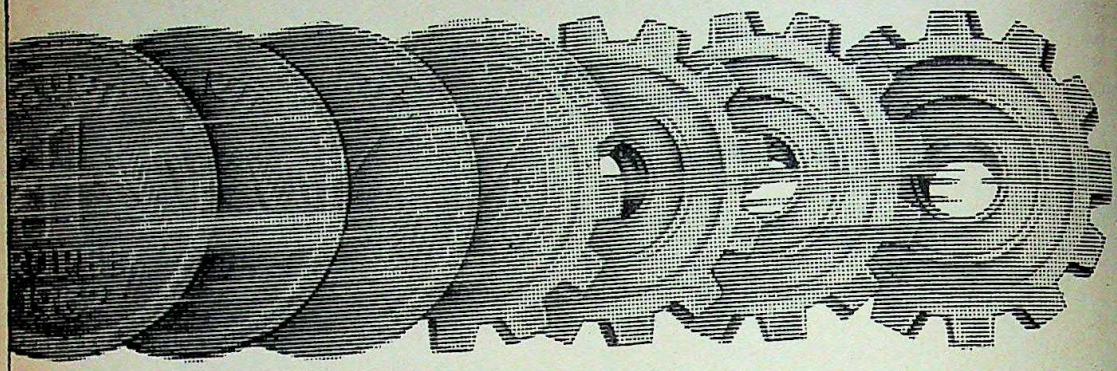

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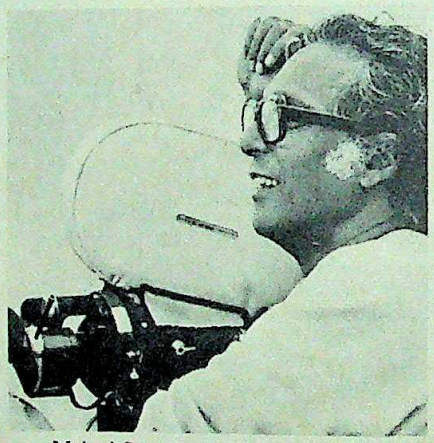
.RIJ

Mood Mellow

THE WOMEN in Mrinal Sen's life make a world of difference to his films. Foremost among them is his wife, Geeta, who has lent to his recent films a gentle humanity and grace that his socially committed but somewhat meritorious work seemed to lack. In his latest, *Kharij* (Rejected), her appearance is brief; yet she provides a leavening that softens something of the film's austerity. She had made a lightening brief appearance as a grief-stricken mother in Sen's *Calcutta '71*, then she hibernated for years until one morning, unable to find the actress he wanted, Sen asked her to get ready for the mother's role in *Ek Din Pratidin* (Quiet Rolls the Dawn), 1979. Looking back, it is impossible to think of anyone who could have created a finer layer of hardness encrusted upon a kind sensibility in the character of the mother. Her encounter with Smita Patil in *Akaler Sandhay* (In Search of Famine), 1981, provided a remarkable contrast between youth and age, smartness and depth.

The other women belong to Sen's life only so far as it is equated with the cinema. The extraordinary one among them is Sreela Mazumdar with her dark and intense presence, strong yet graceful and suggestive of unchartered depths. Her first appearance was in *Parashuram* (1979) where her eyes burned holes in the darkness she inhabited, in piquant contrast to the exuberant gimmickry of the film. Her long speech in defence of her sister in *Ek Din Pratidin* must remain one of the most memorable in Bengali cinema. Again, as the village woman confronted with film shooting in *Akaler Sandhay*, she registered fine shades of yearning for such expression. And Sen has shown unconventional wisdom in consistently featuring her, despite the fact that she is anathema to many.

The emergence of the two women in Sen's recent films reflect a thawing of his own hard boiled Marxist schematism propped up by a French 'new wave' bag of tricks. Since *Ek Din Pratidin* his films—

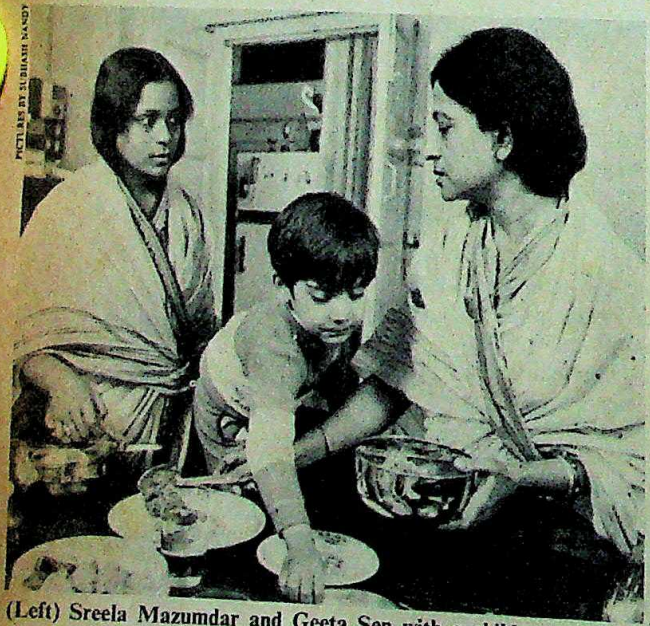


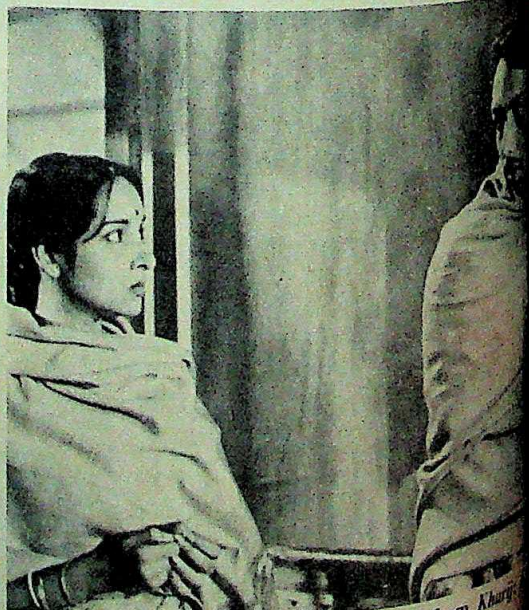
Mrinal Sen: important development

with the exception of *Chal Ch*
drop), 1981, whose artistic and
failure should confirm Sen's
have been moving towards a
tive, a simpler human statement
shuttling between story-telling
nable "de-dramatisation". T
due, in equal share, to a grow
and the responsibility imposed
creasing international renown.

Human Predicament: *Kharij*
able story of the casual death o
boy in a middle class household
on noted Bengali writer,
Choudhury's original. While alive
had been taken for granted—o
those faceless children who
what it is to be a child. Once d
comes an embarrassment, a sou
and suspicion, a symbol of the
with which masters treat serv
police investigates. The boy's f
ves. So do some people from
There is the explosive portent o
fare; but all is rather tamely
end.

The young couple who
boy live in two little rooms in
wife struggles to maintain so
They are far from being rich;
attempt to draw a stark rich-po
and point an accusing finger at
party. For once in a Mrinal Se
Jean Renoir dictum applies—
has his reason". The employers
are remarkable only for their o
Their neighbours are as ordina
selves; they share in the embar
the death as much as they





(Left) Sreela Mazumdar and Geeta Sen with a child actor and Mamata Shankar with Anjan Dutta in scenes from *Kharij*
ordinary people troubled by guilt and suspicion

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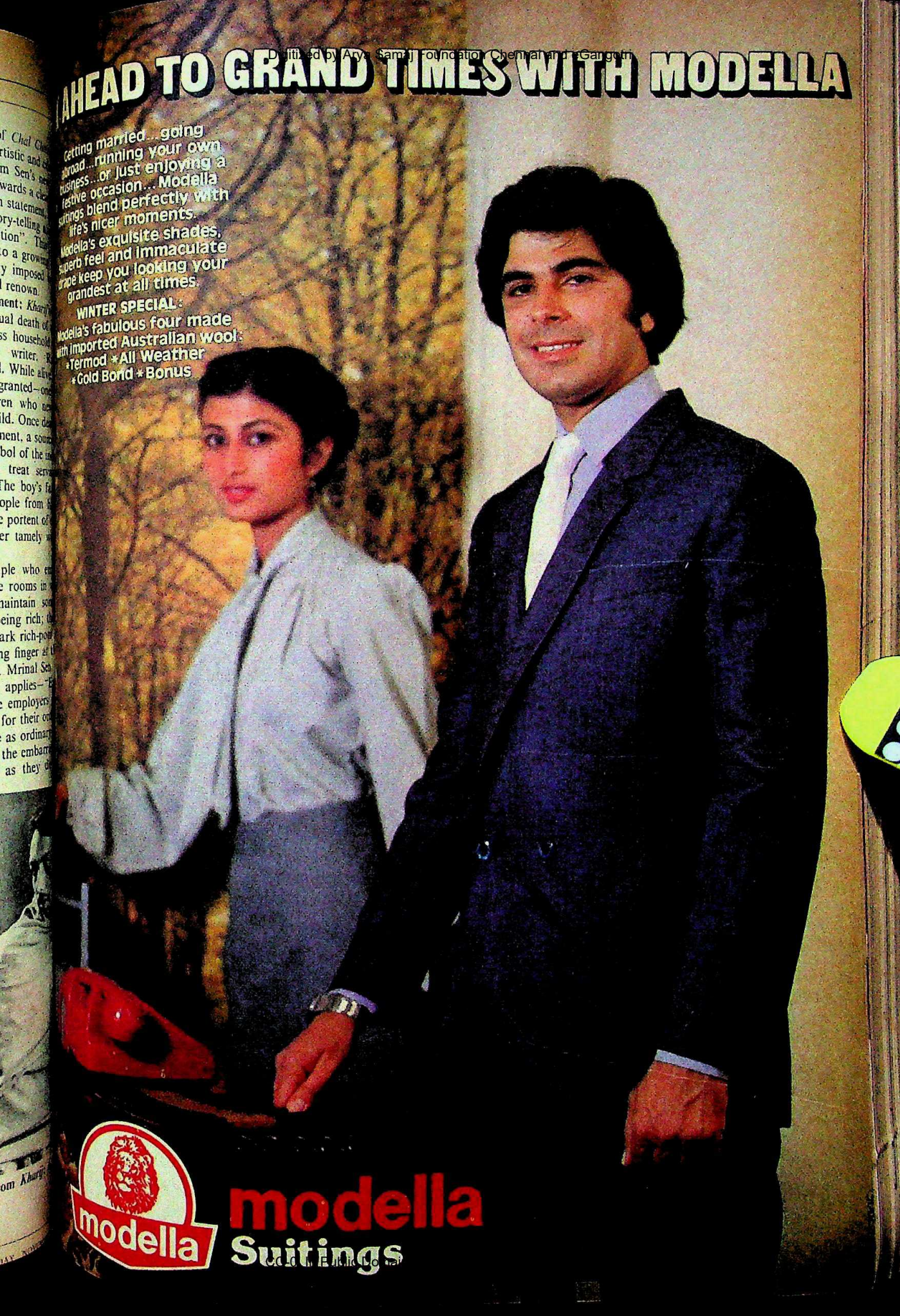

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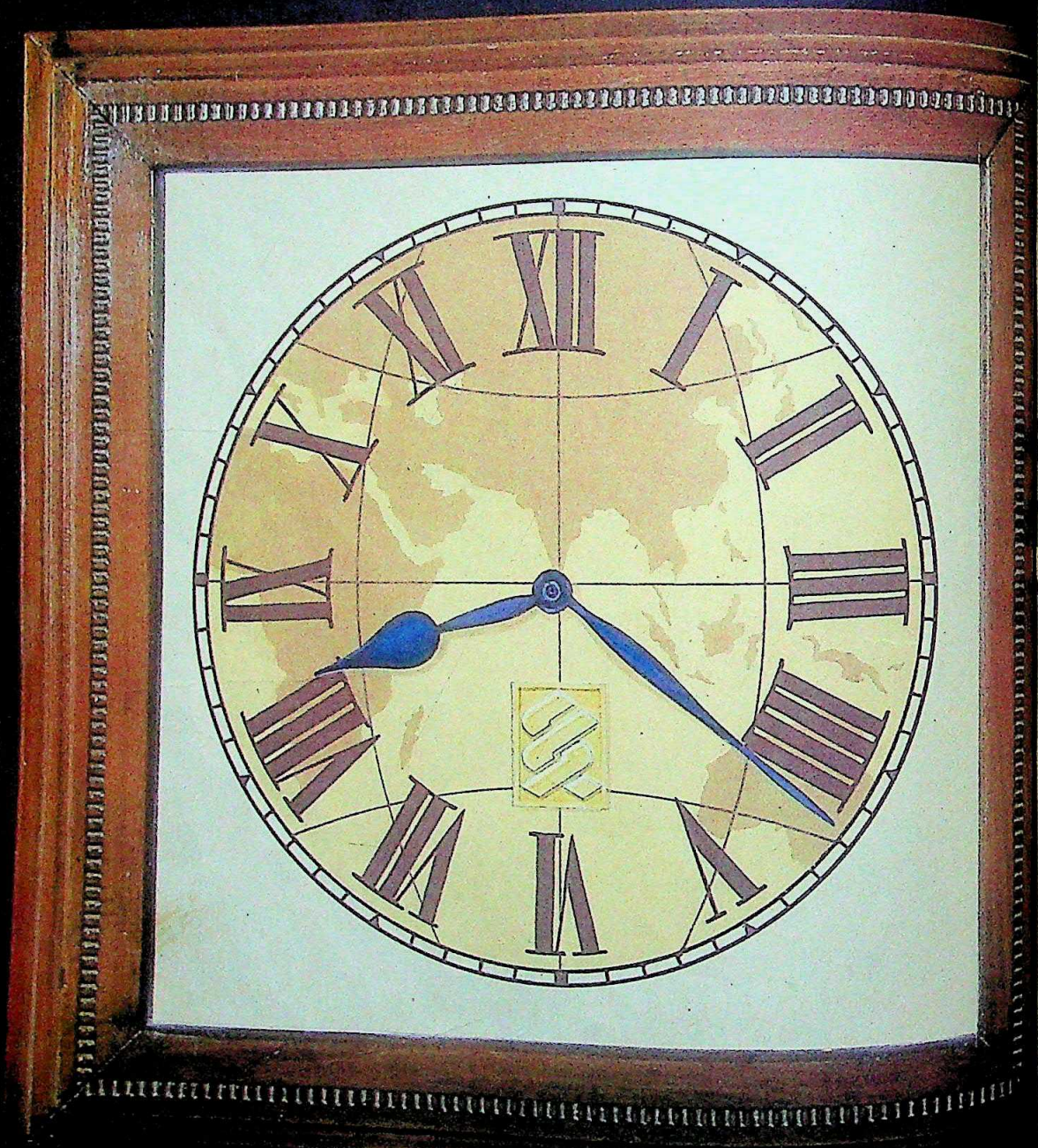

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other daily events, sticking together in their confined spaces. Sen emphasises the sense of narrow ordinariness of his characters and his ambience. With a camera that shoots claustrophobically close, like a TV film of the kind that Bergman made in *Scenes From A Marriage* or *Autumn Sonata*. The trouble is that there is not enough to see in their faces to justify such minute examination.

Unlike Ray, Sen does not build characters brick by brick, laying bare every inner motivation until their presence absorbs us. He sketches a situation with quick, deft strokes and wants to proceed to its conclusion as fast as possible. He glides skilfully over the surface, drawing a fascinating wake behind him, like a surf-rider. In such an inspirational style, moving from improvisation to improvisation, the extreme closeness to characters brings out a curious blankness in them that the woodenness of Anjan Dutta and the charm of Mamata Shankar, who play the lead roles, cannot overcome.

Essayist Treatment: The ones who can withstand the close scrutiny of the camera are the two neighbours—Geeta Sen and Sreela Mazumdar. Their natural presence is so absorbing and they are always able to suggest a depth beyond the immediate. But alas, they are not the mainstay of the film and cannot rescue it from the rather essayist treatment of a very human story, robbing it of the greater poignancy it could have achieved.

The film nevertheless remains important by itself, and as an indicator of Sen's development. It casts an unusual light on an ordinary situation. The class lines dividing society are drawn without rhetoric. Even when Sen records the political slogans on the wall against which the funeral party sits, he does not shout them out. Once more, in his long and varied career, Mrinal Sen seems to be making a turn, looking again for a new way to comment on society—this time with a greater emotional understanding of human beings.

For the first time since *Baishe Sravan* (1963) he is content to allow the audience to draw its own conclusions. But Mrinal's commitment to this new way is not complete; he seems a little too anxious to leave his personal impress upon his material. The essayist lurks behind the story-teller, pulling him back by the coat-tails. He is a sufficiently talented film maker not to need this self-conscious approach; most of his admirers are confident that his films will be different even if his style surrenders itself to the honest exploration of objective reality.

—CHIDANANDA DASGUPTA

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I.T.C. Limited

THE ITC CORPORATE JOURNEY WITHIN THE ENVIRONMENT

EXCERPTS from Chairman's Speech at the 71st Annual General Meeting held on

A. INTRODUCTION:

Ladies and Gentlemen, good afternoon and welcome to the 71st Annual General Meeting of ITC Ltd. I would like to thank our Non-Executive Directors for taking the trouble to be here today. Their wide experience and wise objective counsel are of immeasurable benefit to the Company.

B. SPECIFIC COMMENTS RE: DIRECTORS' REPORT:

The Report of the Directors for the year ending 31st March 1982 is already with you providing a comprehensive picture of the year under review and indicating satisfactory progress over the previous year, making it possible to recommend an increase in the Dividend from 16% to 18%. To this report I would like to add only three specific comments:

FIRSTLY:

To welcome Mr. J. Narayan and Mr. G.C. Katoch as Executive and Non-Executive Directors respectively to the Board of the Company and to wish them success in their endeavours on behalf of ITC. To also record our appreciation of the services rendered to ITC by Mr. R. Monani and Mr. N.S. Nagrath who resigned from the Board during the year and to wish them well in their new situations.

SECONDLY:

To thank all employees of the Company without whose hard work, the results that have been achieved would not have been possible. It is also necessary to stress that the pursuit of self-interested parties outside the organisation to "capture" Unions and create "competitive trade unionism" is not in the interests of the workers or their families, nor is it conducive to continually increasing productivity which is a crying National need.

THIRDLY:

To request the Government to expeditiously re-examine the unintended extra impact of duty on the Cigarette business through the packaging, as it stands proven that the total imposts are already too high and even stability positively maximises Government revenue; still further that with increases in indirect taxation, however it may arise, the converse is true.

C. LOOKING BACK:

This will be the 14th and last time I will have the privilege of addressing you as Chairman of ITC. Including my time spent earlier at the Harvard Business School and working in the Advertising business, I will be retiring from ITC in January 1983 having been in harness for 40 years. It seems like only yesterday my arriving in Jabalpur in September 1948 to work with the then Imperial Tobacco Co armed with an M B A degree.

> **"... It seems like only yesterday my arriving in Jabalpur in September 1948 to work with the then Imperial Tobacco Co ..."**

My first love and real satisfaction have been the over 34 years I will have spent with ITC. In this my time with ITC, you have done me great honour by having placed your trust in me for over 16 years as a Director of the Company and, even more so, in double measure in the nearly 14 years as Chairman of this your most wonderful, professional family surnamed now I T.C. Ltd.

It has been a privilege to have played my small part in contributing to the well being of ITC for which I believe I have given of my best. In Wordsworth's words "The thought of our past years in me doth breed perpetual benediction".

I hope you will forgive me for any parting tears, the personal nature of my address and equally bear with me for having abbreviated the more normal business review appropriate to such meetings. Instead, I would request you to join me in the ITC Corporate Journey within the Environment that I have been so intimately involved with so that I can share with you my hopes and aspirations of the past, how I see the Company in the present and what I foresee of the future.

D. THE NATIONAL SCENE:

As a Company can only succeed to the extent that the country prospers and, as a primary task of any Chairman of a Company is to relate with Government, I would like to share with you some of my beliefs and thoughts in this regard that have played a part in the changes in ITC.

I believe that, concurrent with the Trusteeship on behalf of the Shareholders, the larger contribution that Industry and Commerce need to make is inherent in the words of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru when he said: "We talk of freedom, but today political freedom does not take us far unless there is economic freedom.

> **"... Desire for economic advancement is truly a National preoccupation today ..."**

Indeed, there is no such thing as freedom for a man who is starving or for a country which is poor. The poor, whether they are nations or individuals, have little place in this world".

The years since 1948 have been momentous ones in our National history. What we have achieved is truly impressive. In its own way ITC has been instrumental in contributing in some small measure to this progress.

At the very base there is the conviction that things can be better. Desire for economic advancement is truly a National preoccupation today. In this pursuit since 1969 I have had the most satisfying experience in relating with Government and obtaining assistance for the Company in its endeavour to achieve its commercial objectives concurrent with and subserving National interests.

In the present I extend my congratulations to the Government for success on several fronts of which, perhaps, the most important are: (1) Managing inflation. (2) Energising activity to make the infrastructure more efficient. (3) The aggressive search for oil to overcome the black gold trauma. (4) Developing International relations to the benefit of India's Industry and Commerce. (5) The trend towards a more realistic and practical approach to our problems.

As to the future, it is my belief that with a growing population we need to innovate a considerably larger rate of growth than we have had if Pandit Nehru's dreams of real economic independence are to be achieved in a shorter term. To this end, I would like to submit a few observations.

The more specific comments for co
are: (1) While the policy for foreign
on a highly selected basis in suppor
and transfer of sophisticated techn
disputable, the emphasis could ben
nged to: (i) Much larger and easier
of the latest technology itself
Technicians with fair, incentive re
to the seller. (ii) Mobilising more
greater ease larger resources throu
ings overseas guaranteed by the G
and Banks in India while making
on the borrower to repay throug
ports. (2) Apart from obtaining ess
more effective use of our available
change reserves: (i) By investing
our available resources in those are
result in such investment multiplying
ign exchange reserves. (ii) By perm
organisations that have high perfo
foreign exchange to have a propo
as a "blanket investment permit" to
manent foreign exchange earning
terprise overseas subject to an appr
nd to "pay back" the original invest
a specific period of time and, the
tinually remitting to India from su
abroad. (3) To take the risk from c
rules from all – pervasive controls
trols by exception which, apart from
and speeding up activity, would also
attendant benefits. (4) Enlarging the
tion of resources that the Govern
have by shifting emphasis to larger
tion leading to better standards of liv
ding with a bold approach of reduc
rate and Personal direct taxation
than a marginal rate of 50% and
taxation spread over larger product

In the generic I would submit th
nomics" need to be India grass ro
believe that, amongst others, four
need to be given consideration.

1. Recognising that history, politics
economics cannot be compartmen
can still, perhaps to a greater de
lesser politicising of practical econo

2. Perhaps the time has come when
consider our country as one that
lot of poor people because we ne
our resources more productive.

3. Take greater advantage of our u
of nature which has been ne
such distinctions as traditional a
tional exports when the objective
mise foreign exchange earnings fr

4. Democracy in its perverse form
cing the individual above society
its totalitarian form crushes the ind
haps we need to rid democracy of
and planning of its totalitarian bias
may achieve faster economic inc
with the benefits more equitably

E. I have referred to the theme of
as a Corporate Journey within the
ne because this is what I believe
all about. It is a journey undertake
ment represented by the Board
composed of a well-knit group
ment to common objectives in
emerge by pooling the collective
and in which the Chairman, has
which he must not hesitate to

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...larly in respect of risk taking ...ership. The achievement of co-...ctives and the discharge of so-

"ITC Corporate Journey over the ...s has been premised on trying ...the best understanding and ...to find effective answers to a ...questions ..."

...ities in I.T.C. Ltd. have been at-...comprising the Company as a part

...orate Journey over the past 14 ...premised on trying to acquire ...standing and attempting to find ...ers to a number of questions. ...ers:

...ompany called Imperial Tobacco, ...d by others, where does it stand ...does it appear to be heading ...equipped to undertake an arduo-...l journey? In other words, what ...G point of the journey?

...be the DESTINATION of the ...the TOMORROW taking a vision-...that would enable the achieve-...sitional purposes in harmony ...ssible and with the rules of the ...ountry in which it will be travel-

...outes and modes of travel and ...st scenic itinerary, between the ...y and reaching DESTINATION

...the staging or stopping points ...se of the journey that would be ...d fatigue?

...problems likely to be experienced ...ney and how will these be re-

...ns encountered, with what sort of ...overcome them?

...ere are the champions of self-inte-...against our going ahead and what ...and do we require to successfully ...them?

...s stressed that unlike other voya-...orate Journey never ends. The ...ns recede further and further at ...ing the many factors that made ...self possible, special mention ...ude of the overseas Shareholders ...for sowing the original seed of ...exists today and for their willing-...with benefit, along the road that ...ard.

...KING OF THE PAST ...Y – A LOOK INTO THE

...is a loss to cover the Past and the ...ight by the sayings of wise men: ...ans – "Study the past if you would ...ate", but (2) George Washington ...hard to look back unless it is to ...lessons from past errors, and for ...ing by dear bought expe-...Michael Johnson said: "The future ...of the present" but (4) Horace ...Jude and today are ours, results ...belong to God".

...s that in the journey there have ...and successes. As Chairman during this period, I accept full responsibility for the former from which many a lesson has been learnt. However, upon my laying down this office I will carry with me gratefulness for having had the opportunity of contributing in some measure to the successes achieved collectively by all those who constitute the ITC family. The good fortune that has attended such success cannot be denied and the co-operation of the Government needs to be acknowledged in full measure.

In an endeavour to assess how fruitful the journey has been I would like to quote from my very first address to you in 1969 on "The Pursuit of Self-Reliance" from which emanated the Company slogan: "The best means of growth come from within". I said then: "It is appropriate at this time ... to prepare for the challenge of the future so that your Company can continue to play its part in the economic development of the country. Long acknowledged as the leader

"... Success is best judged by not how you see yourself but how others see you ..."

of the Indian Tobacco Industry, your Company endeavours to discharge the responsibilities that devolve upon a leader: to India's economy as a healthy, progressive industrial unit operating in consonance with the National needs and aspirations ... (providing) to the Shareholder fair profits arising from sound management."

Success is best judged by not how you see yourself but how others see you. It can be said with confidence that the ITC Corporate Journey has transformed what was seen as a single product, almost wholly owned multinational sufficient unto itself, Imperial Tobacco Co., through its intermediate awakening period as India Tobacco Co. to I.T.C Ltd. A truly professional organisation that is outward bound, risk-taking, progressive, and a multi-product Indian Company.

The figures, related to the commercial objectives speak for themselves: (1) Gross Turnover has increased from Rs.91.9 crores to Rs.588.6 crores and Net Turnover from Rs.35.8 crores to Rs.188.6 crores. (2) Profit before tax from Rs.4.5 crores to Rs.16.9 crores. (3) Profit after tax from Rs.2.1 crores to Rs.7.8 crores (In the above three items all figures are exclusive of other Companies' brands distributed by ITC). (4) Gross employed funds from Rs.34.8 crores to Rs. 120.6 crores. (5) Shareholders' funds from Rs.28.8 crores to Rs.54 crores. (6) Dividend from 11% to 18%, an increase of 135% taking account of two bonus issues for the first time in the history of the Company and a sizeable one in the context of the inflation that has been raging: which on the original base of the issued equity represents a Dividend of nearly 26%. (7) Capital investments increased over the period by Rs.65.5 crores. (8) Retained profits during the period were Rs.20.9 crores. (9) The market price of shares has been steadily rising and from low below par of around Rs.7.70, I see that today the shares were quoted at even over Rs.34/-.

The figures apart some of the facts on diversification are of special significance: (1) The Packaging & Printing Division has become the largest converter in the Printing Industry. (2) ITC promoted Bhadrachalam Paperboards has the highest production efficiency, currently at 115%, in the Paperboard business. (3) ITC's Welcomgroup Chain of Hotels, with some of the Hotels acknowledged among the best in the world, has outstripped the largest competitive Chains who have been in the business from 1901 and the 1920s/early 1930s. (4) Foreign exchange earnings have risen from Rs. 25 lakhs per annum to just under Rs. 60 crores.

I believe that I.T.C. Ltd. today is at a real take-off stage and I would like to prognosticate an even brighter, and more genuinely profitable future with: (1) The Diversifications of the '70s having come of age. (2) The greater ability to consolidate with positive continuing growth. (3) The much larger expansion that can take place from profitable larger investments made possible by increased accretion of retained profits and the ability to mobilise really large resources.

"... looking back over the years, my thoughts wander not to the trials and tribulations which were many ... but to the friendships and fellowship I have enjoyed ... and the innumerable kindnesses I have received ..."

I am also confident that ITC, ever conscious of its social responsibilities, will continue to contribute in even greater measure to our country's search for a better future.

ON A PERSONAL NOTE:

The time has now come to take your leave as, in January 1983, I will be retiring from the Board and the Company's service. This will indeed be a wrench but, looking back over the years, my thoughts wander not to the trials and tribulations which were many, not to the conflicts and canard which there will always be, not even to the numbers in the Balance Sheet and Profit and Loss Account which are important, but to the friendships and fellowship I have enjoyed, the courtesy and the innumerable kindnesses I have received. I will also remember with satisfaction our Shareholders who, over the years, have attended our Annual General Meetings in greater and greater number and given me and my colleagues on the Board their gracious and unstinted co-operation and encouragement. I now wish to take their leave with the assurance that their investment is in good and safe keeping. I am sure that they will stay with ITC for many years to come, applaud its successes and share in its prosperity.

I must end on a personal note. Whatever we in ITC have achieved during the past few years has been the result of a prodigious team effort. I firmly believe that people, will ever respond to warmth and friendship, to recognition to a system of fair rewards and punishment, to opportunities for growth and self-improvement, to challenges which each individual seeks to make his career rewarding. Speaking for myself, a great source of satisfaction has been the opportunity over many years to help so many of my friends and colleagues within the Organisation to grow and, in a short space of time, to take on responsibilities which they had perhaps felt would never be open to them. Even greater has been the satisfaction to witness their achievements and their successes.

I am certain that the ethos in ITC will stay and strengthen in the years to come, that leadership will be established by merit and that those who work in it will flourish, with the Company, in a free and open milieu to sustain dynamism and vitality.

I wish to appeal to you all, our Shareholders, to extend to my successor, Mr. Jagdish Sapru, the understanding, patience and unfailing support that you have given to me over the years. It now only remains for me to wish you all and my colleagues on the Board and in ITC good luck and a safe and exciting journey into the future.

This does not purport to be a report of the proceedings of the 71st Annual General Meeting.

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RITWIK GHATAK

Posthumous Acclaim

DEATH and rumour have combined to invest the name with a strange glamour but it is still virtually impossible to see his films in India. Six years ago at the age of 50 Ritwik Ghatak died in Calcutta, a figure particularly amenable to the pat clichés journalism reserves for the tortured bohemian: passionate, derelict, adventurous, frustrated, ravaged by drink and frankly bewildered by the disintegrating world around him. But all this is incidental colour; what matters is that with the possible—and important—exception of Satyajit Ray he is our best film maker ever.

International recognition of the fact is around the corner. A Swiss critic, Jean-Luc Brossard is preparing a book on him. After last year's screening of *Ajantrik* (1958) in New York, an American critic named it as one of the best 10 films of 1981. Earlier this year in July as a part of the Festival of India in London the British National Film Theatre (NFT) screened the first ever retrospective of seven of Ghatak's eight films. (Sadly, a print of his penultimate film *Titash Ekti Nadir Naam* (1973) made in Bangladesh for a Bangladeshi producer was unavailable.)

The response was astounding. "It's not always that the retrospective of a relatively unknown director fills houses," says Ken Wlaschin, programme director of the NFT. "Even our first retrospectives of Howard Hawks and Güney—who won this year's Golden Palm at Cannes—were poorly attended." In all there were 13 screenings of the Ghatak films between July 19 and 31 and a ticket for any was a relatively rare commodity.

Belated Recognition: Indeed so successful was the season that Wlaschin has already announced a rerun of the retrospective in December. Requests for the retrospective have been pouring in from, among other places, the Hague and Scandinavia, and Derek Hill, the foreign films buyer of British television's new Channel 4 is rumoured to be angling for a couple of Ghatak films. Along with Gance's *Napoleon*, the Ghatak *oeuvre* seems set to be among the great rediscoveries of the '80s on the international film circuit.

It was international acclaim not local success that encouraged Ray to continue his career as a film maker. But for Ghatak even that was denied. Pam Cullen, the films officer at the Indian High Commission in London, who was largely responsible for arranging this retrospective recalls when she first took note of Ghatak: "It was only in the mid-'70s when Ray at his first John Player lecture here said he thought Ghatak was by far the most significant of the undiscovered Indian directors that we first pricked up our ears. He was just a name; none of us had seen any of his films."

Careless official patronage must take part of the blame; Ghatak's own monumental disorganisation and bad luck are responsible for the rest. *Ajantrik*, Ghatak's classic study of a relationship between a taxi driver and his vehicle was sent to the 1959 London Film Festival but was not shown owing to a lack of screening time. (During his lifetime only one other film of his, *Bari Theke Paliye* (1959), the story of a runaway's adventures in Calcutta, was sent abroad to a festival.) And in a crass decision at the 1959 Venice Film Festival *Ajantrik* was vetoed at the selection stage. It was, however, shown (without subtitles) at a special screening where George Sadoul, the celebrated French Marxist critic, seems to have been the only one to have seen it. He was enthusiastic about it and subsequently included Ghatak in his classic film catalogues. But beyond that Ghatak made no impression.

Ghatak at work: a commercial failure

Growing Demand: It was the 1978 Madras Film Festival where five of Ghatak's features were screened in appalling prints that whetted the international appetite. By now there was some demand for his films, both abroad and here but decent prints were unavailable. (His first feature *Nagarik* (1952) was first rel[illegible] after a damaged print was [illegible] near oblivion, edited, and a [illegible] track added.) And where pr[illegible] lable disputes surrounded the [illegible]

Legend has it that Ghat[illegible] 10 per cent of the movie he [illegible] on for two bottles of whisky [illegible] singly, therefore, total claims [illegible] the films added to more than [illegible] For the past few years the [illegible] Government has been busy [illegible] contentious rights in an attem[illegible] fresh release of the films po[illegible] year *Ajantrik* and *Meghe Dh*[illegible] guably his two best films were [illegible] the Museum of Modern Art [illegible] as a part of Film India, the M[illegible] rathon festival of Indian film[illegible] from New York to London.

Soon after its complet[illegible] every one of Ghatak's films [illegible] leased in Calcutta where Ghat[illegible] have been a coterie pleasure. [illegible] the films was ever commercial[illegible] outside Calcutta, not even in r[illegible] The consequent commercial [illegible] bounded on Ghatak: for nea[illegible] after *Subarnarekha* (196[illegible] of his grand trilogy ab[illegible] fugees from Banglades[illegible] could be found who wa[illegible] produce a Ghatak feature [illegible] this period that he work[illegible] as vice principal and late[illegible] ing lecturer, at the Film [illegible] Pune where several dire[illegible] next generation came [illegible] spell. (It is, however, a [illegible] his unique style, and vis[illegible] 'Ghatak school' has em[illegible] that following.)

Viewing Ghatak's [illegible] res in succession this s[illegible] was struck by Ghatak's [illegible] in cinema. All the devi[illegible] now his trademarks: his use o[illegible] shots from anxious man to [illegible] nature opposite, his frequent[illegible] camera, and his expressionist [illegible] angle close-ups to establish his [illegible] in their environment.

It was harsh and uneven [illegible] then his themes were harsh a[illegible] pal, not realist but real. He w[illegible] cused of unsubtlety and me[illegible] one such accuser he once ans[illegible] of a pig that you are, you [illegible] think so. It is the right and pa[illegible] artist to take the leap from t[illegible] to the sublime. That's what [illegible] and I'm sure I have succ[illegible] Festival of India retrospec[illegible] the latest confirmation [illegible] confidence.

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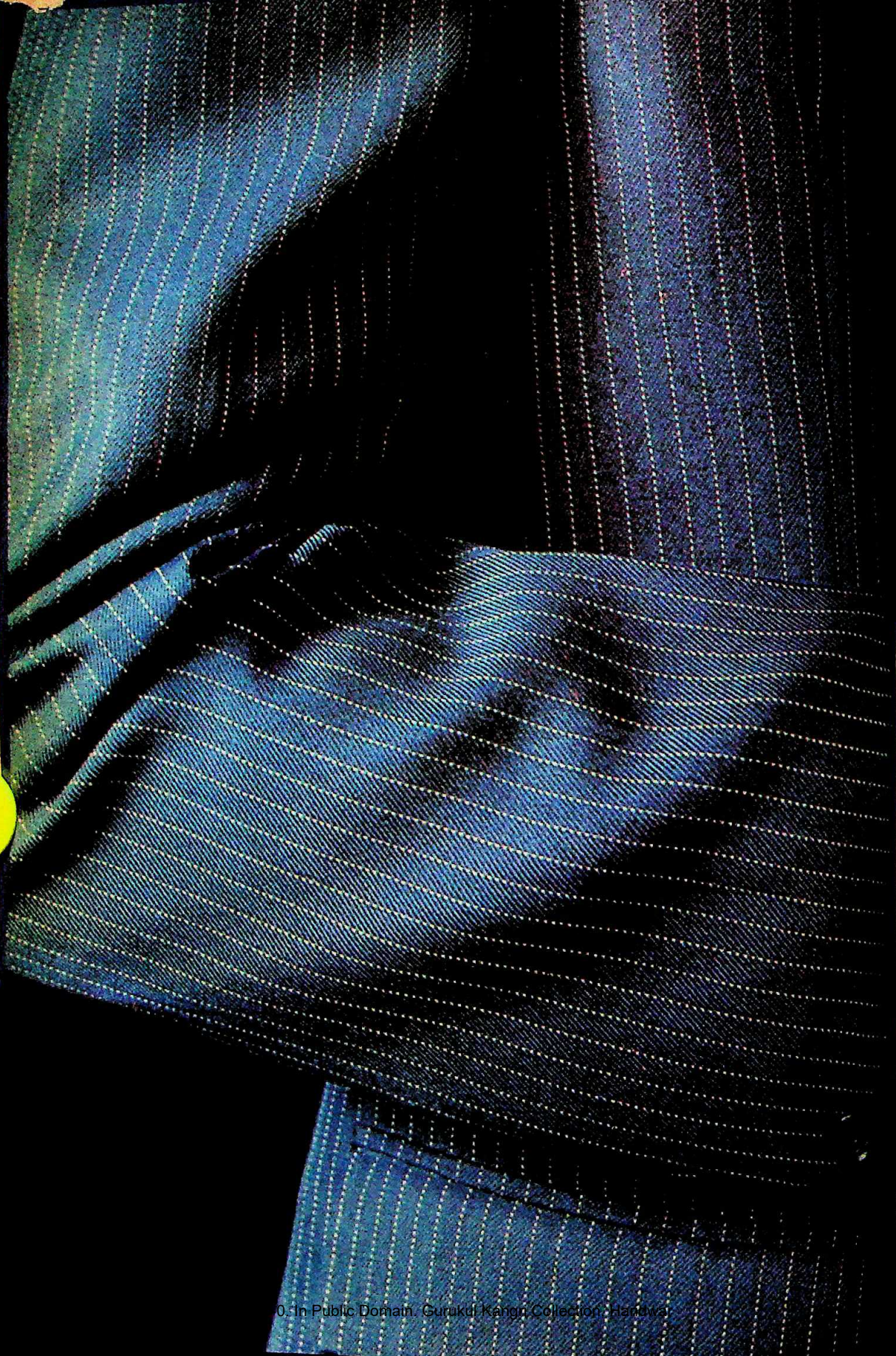

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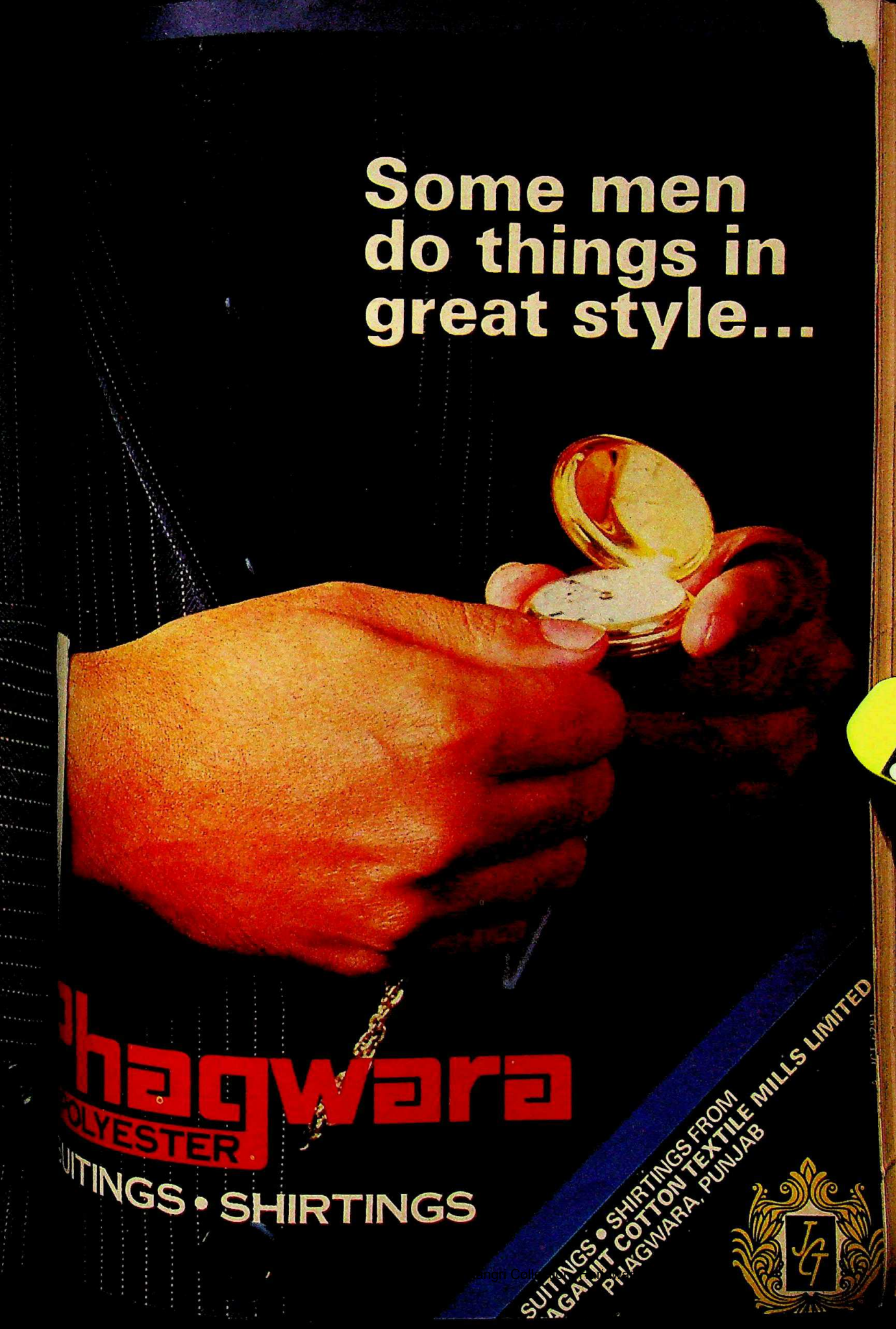
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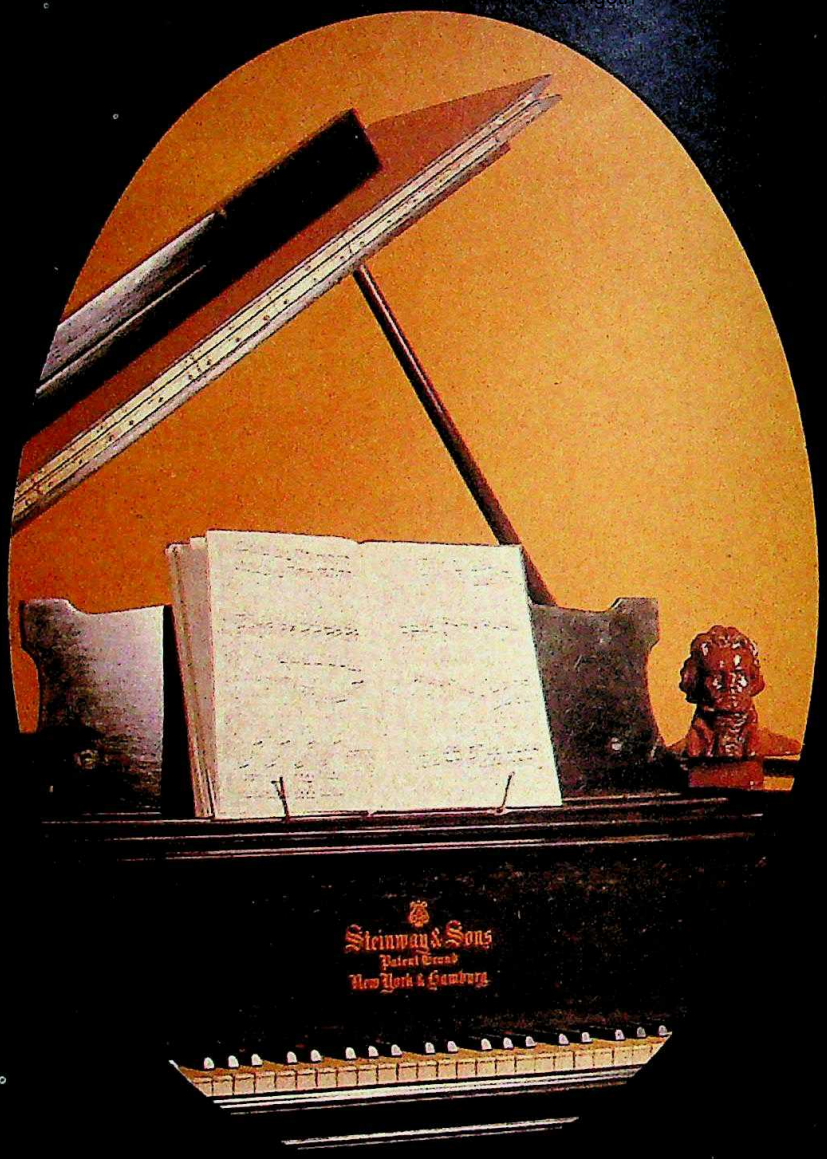

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ding For The Fray

Pakistan. Ever since the two ge for each other with bat and l, after a 16-year lay-off, Tests ghbours have been as bitterly as the gruelling trials of st- en England and Australia. This rable feast is waiting for lovers k Tests and a number of one- ls in Pakistan, spread over . Last fortnight, the Indian nced the team that would e redoubtable Pakistanis in Fittingly, the announcement of as the dust of an explosive final was beginning to settle on h Kotla grounds in Delhi.

ces were fairly predictable. All arts are there, right from Gavaskar to spinner Dilip Vengsarkar G.R. Vishwanath, Dilip Sandeep Patil, Syed Kirmani, ma, Kapil Dev, Madan Lal ma, Mohinder Amarnath re- ade after he was cruelly over- e England tour this summer, d first-class scores. In addition, K. Srikkanth and Arun Lal ome support for Gavaskar e dangerous new red nth especially dazzled with a y during the Irani Trophy Singh Sandhu will lend his to pacemen Kapil Dev and And spinners Maninder who impressed at the Irani ramakrishnan will back up Shastri.

ength: A notable feature of Kapil Dev is vice-captain, having displaced Vishwanath from that position—no doubt another step to the final honour. Also, India are going to Pakistan with a strong spinning quartet, eerily reminiscent of India's last tour of Pakistan when Erapalli Prasanna, Bishen Singh Bedi, Bhagwat Chandrasekhar and S. Venkataraghavan had the Pakistani wickets at their feet. Unfortunately, that tour signalled the end of India's spinning strength—one by one, they fizzled out.

On the whole, it is a side that anyone would call "balanced". The only unfortunate exclusion is that of Ashok Malhotra, the gutsy Haryana batsman. In fact, if it hadn't been for Malhotra, and his century in the Irani final, Rest of India would never have achieved the awesome target of 421 runs in 290 minutes. Even on the tour of England he had been a reasonable success. However, he could have been included only at the expense of either Amarnath or Sharma. But Amarnath can also send down medium-pacers and Sharma's secondary talents of a wicket-keeper kept Malhotra out: India are again touring with one recognised wicket-keeper.

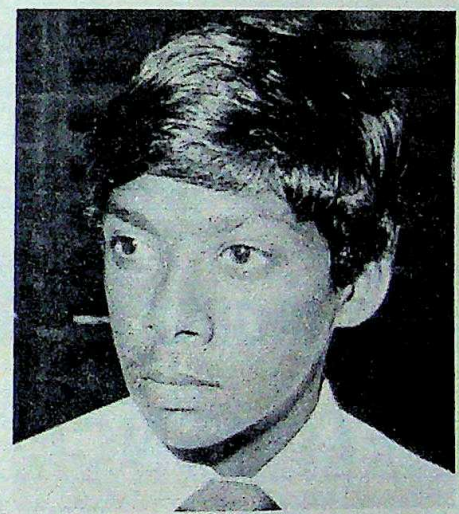
India are going to need all the experience of the old stalwarts and the talent of the new caps against Pakistan. Imran 'handsome' Khan and his men are riding high on the successes of a tremendous year for Pakistani cricket. First, Pakistan stretched England to the limit before losing the series. Then, only last month, they whipped Australia at home—admittedly an Australia without Greg Chappell and Dennis Lillee—winning all three Tests with contemptuously large margins.

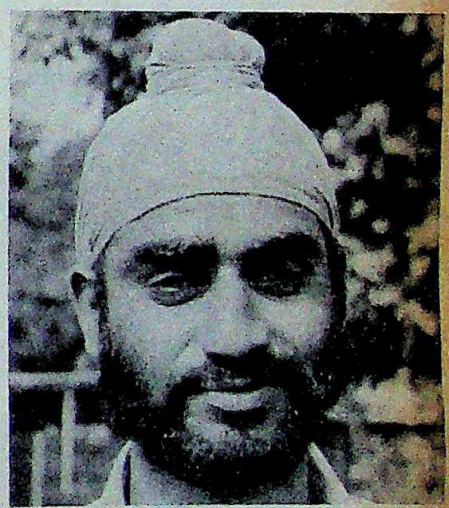
India's opponents have fully recovered from the effects of the revolt against Javed Miandad which shook their ranks not so long ago. They have closed ranks behind Imran Khan, who has led by personal example and has forged them into a team that was once considered 'brittle' into something with the power and punch of an armoured division.

Brilliant Talent: And then there is Abdul Qadir, who had England's best batsmen grappling with the cruel nuances of a brilliantly unorthodox leg-spin. It is just possible that Qadir's striking form provoked the Indian selectors to include as many as four spinners in the team, on the assumption that the Pakistani groundsmen would prepare pitches suitable for Qadir. However, Imran Khan is reported to have assured the Indians that they would make pitches that would suit pace bowlers.

Even without Qadir, the Pakistani line-up is formidable at both ends. Mohsin Khan and Mudassar Nazar make a solid combine. Following them are Javed Miandad, Zaheer Abbas and Javed Akhtar. Imran Khan himself leads the pace bowlers—and his new responsibilities have not taken the edge off his inswingers and outswingers. Sikandar Bakht and Tahir Naqsh will not fail to back him up with their best. In fact, each team-member can be expected to give of his best—especially against India.

Going by the star-studded line-up on either side, it won't be just India vs Pakistan in December, January and February. Consider the possibilities: Kapil Dev vs Imran Khan, Srikkanth vs Mohsin Khan, Abdul Qadir vs Dilip Doshi; Pakistan going all out to avenge their last defeat in India; Indian newcomers giving off that little bit more than their best to prove that the selectors did not make a mistake. It is going to be an exciting winter.





(From left) Maninder Singh, Sivaramakrishnan and Balwinder Singh: fresh bowling talent

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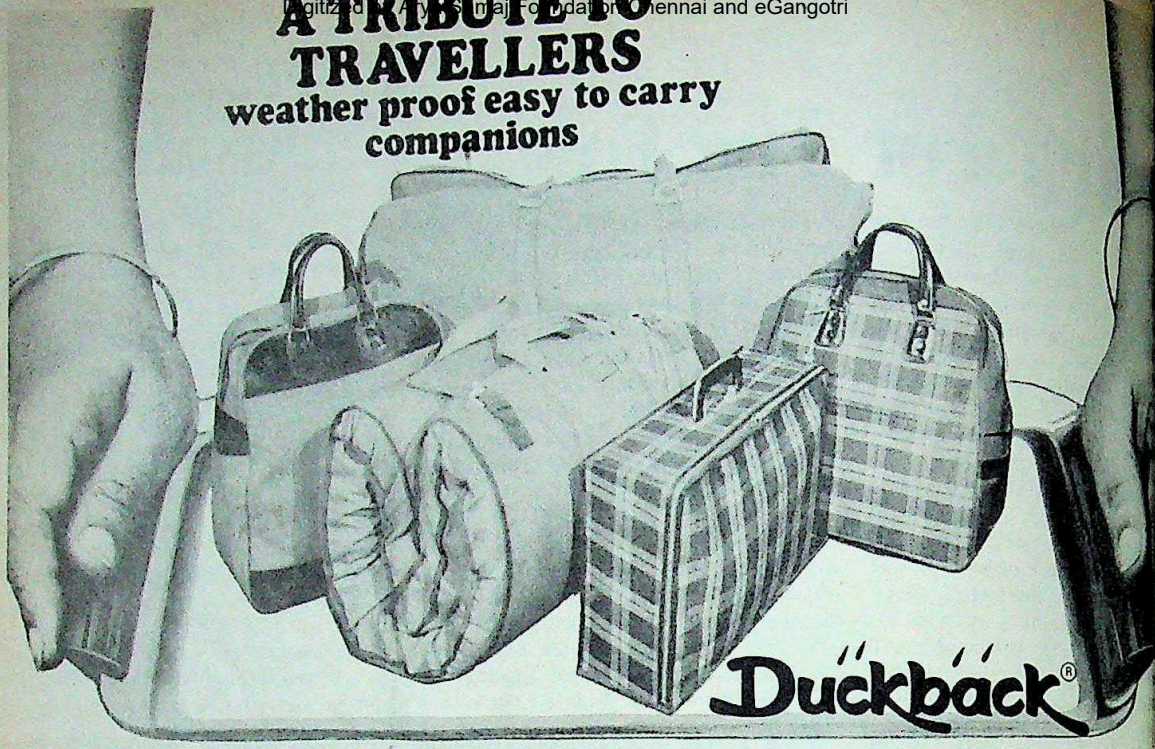

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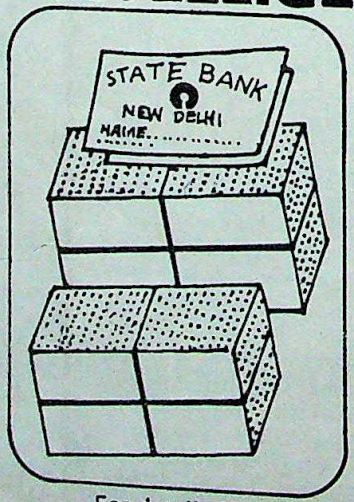

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mb Charade

DENTS of Patna University have long considered cheating a birthright. Every year the ...ed to a farce as the students pull out their books and ...inulators who have the effect. This year, however, ...ghts of academic mockery. ...walked out of more than 40 ... the only place where exams ...e conducted peacefully was ...ge. The reason is clear—...d made no arrangements to ...n cards, had organised no ...and did not bother to stop ...rying books into the halls. ...e to provoke a walk-out in ...ld not to use books some ...y tore up their answer ...r halls they were enraged

... the police guards posted ... would not be withdrawn. ...claimed that they had not ...centres of their choice, and ... plea that the questions ... The most touchy group ...ts who claimed that they ... the exam, as last year's ...peated this year.

... Threat: The frequent ...e infuriated university au... to an extent that at one ...ented to cancel the M.A. ... after the students ...ed to sit for it. University ...t that in most cases the ...t out well before the ... were distributed.

...d teachers alike lay most ... on the Government. The ...peatedly make is that go...ence in university admi...g constantly. Says Amar... secretary of the Patna University Teachers Association: "Even in academic matters, universities are not free and the teachers' demand for cleansing the university and the restoration of full autonomy has been ignored every time resulting in chaos." Adds Ganesh P.D. Sinha, the president of the Federation of the University Teachers Association of Bihar: "The degeneration among students is directly proportional to the degeneration in academic standards."

Political interference is evident at all levels. From top to bottom university functionaries and lecturers are known to absent themselves from work, confident that their political backing will preserve their jobs. Things being what they are, it is hardly surprising that many admissions are decided solely on a political basis. University sources say that every year nearly 300 students are admitted on compassionate grounds. These students are either highly connected or else they are ruffians who have earned their spurs in the service of their political masters. It is alleged that a record of sorts was set two years ago when 600 students—twice the allotted number of seats—were admitted to the Education Department. At the time it was alleged in the Assembly that several university officials had taken money for the admissions.

Similar Tale: Even at the exam stage the story is the same. It comes as no surprise to anybody in Patna when the children of politicians and other senior officials top the list with high first divisions. Anil Kumar Sharma, the Patna University Students Union president, submitted a memorandum to the Chancellor. A.R. Kidwai five months ago, pointing out that the son of a Congress(I) MLA who secured only 225 marks in five botany M.Sc. papers got an additional 111 marks after a revaluation and ended up fifth in the university. At the time the authorities promised an inquiry but this has been quietly forgotten. Says Sharma: "The students have no faith in the examinations or the teachers and university authorities who openly indulge in unfair means to boost the care of their own wards and caste men."

As things stand there is not much chance of the university changing in any way. Many people in Patna are now suggesting that the best course would perhaps be to abolish exams altogether. This they say would be the only way of preventing cheating in Patna University.

—FARZAND AHMED

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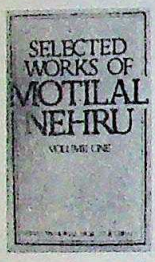
Father And Son

SELECTED WORKS OF MOTILAL NEHRU VOLUME ONE
Edited by RAVINDER KUMAR and D.N. PANIGRAHI
Vikas
Price: Rs 95; Pages: 406



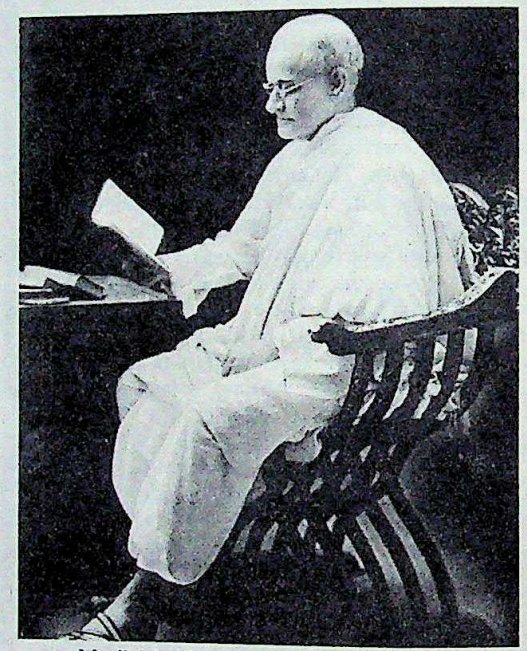
AT A RECENT legal conference held in New Delhi, Mrs Gandhi recalled her father's—and her own—brushes with the law:

"My grandfather was a lawyer, a successful and much respected one. My father prepared for a legal career but was possessed by the stronger passion for freedom. Years later he wondered how life would have treated him had he kept to the profession."

He need not have given it a second thought. Jawaharlal Nehru was a poor student, an indifferent lawyer and would have remained a briefless barrister all his life had he stuck to his father's profession. Jawaharlal was just not cast in his father's mould and must have realised his shortcoming long before Motilal did. In fact, going by the correspondence between father and son, Jawaharlal would have remained in Allahabad had his ambitious father not literally taken him by the scruff of his neck and frog-marched him to Europe and the forbidding gates of Harrow.

Jawaharlal was so miserable at Harrow—he was known there as Joe, for Jawaharlal was too much of a mouthful for his friends—that he either wanted to run away or be thrown out. But being Jawahar he went about it in a roundabout way, questioning the need for a 'western' school, in preference to a school for a Hindu ideal. This was a bit too much for Motilal who was just getting into stride of being a wog (westernised oriental gentleman), giving intimate parties to British officials at Anand Bhawan, dining regularly with the Rajas of Khetri and Amethi who were his moneyed clients and keeping up with the 'society' gossip in London through his ennobled friends.

"I do not quite agree with the Hindu ideal school in this matter," he wrote to Jawahar. "I am convinced that it was the right thing for you to go to Harrow and that it is absolutely necessary for you to remain there all the same. I can see a vast difference already between you and the other boys now in England. It is difficult to describe it but it is there all the same. It partakes more of the Western than the Eastern ideal and therefore my friends of the Hindu ideal cannot see it."



Motilal in his study at Anand Bhawan

Fascinating Collection: [illegible] reply is not given. The book, a [illegible]nating collection of Mot[illegible] —mainly letters and article[illegible] his letters, between 1899 (wh[illegible] was 10 and not yet ready to [illegible] gland) and 1918, six years after [illegible] Out of 116 letters published [illegible] dressed to Jawahar, all of them [illegible] and Cambridge. Jawaharlal's [illegible] only be guessed at, but some of [illegible] be infuriating to a man at the [illegible] professional career and used [illegible] with governors and secret[illegible] own level. Motilal has hi[illegible] for his son but the son h[illegible] mething of a dilettante. [illegible] subjects and dropping th[illegible] somehow managing to ge[illegible] all without distinction, w[illegible] tion—and a string of lett[illegible] father wants.

The letters the fa[illegible] most are ICS. It is obvious [illegible] harlal was sent to Englan[illegible] young age (16) for prepa[illegible] Indian Civil Service (ICS) [illegible] "In selecting your subjec[illegible] tries to impress at one p[illegible] do not forget what is req[illegible] ICS." And the timetable [illegible] out to the last month. [illegible] appear for the ICS before [illegible] and you have 5 years and [illegible] your disposal. Your dec[illegible] cricket instead of shooti[illegible] but I do wish you could d[illegible] oting too. Cricket is afte[illegible] but shooting is an art w[illegible]

EXCERPTS

Dear Jawahar

Sept, 1905

I take the earliest opportunity of telling you after my first visit to you at Harrow that you must really guard yourself against cold more effectively than you have been doing. You must never be in the condition in which you were when I left you. If anything, you must be overclad—but not always—when you are inside a room you do not want much clothing—but in the open air, even if it be for a second, you must have as much as you can bear the weight of.

Sept, 1905

Nany (Vijayalakshmi) *is thriving. She has a bitter complaint against you. She says "brother has not sent me even a penny postcard for my birthday present." I think her complaint is [illegible]ded. She writes a letter for [illegible] every day. The writing of cou[illegible] of crooked lines and loops [illegible] say I cannot read it, she re[illegible] don't know German. This is G[illegible]*

I hope we will hear from [illegible] while we are in France. Give [illegible] plete account of your first fl[illegible] as I am anxious to know w[illegible] services are exacted at Harro[illegible] only and dearly belored son [illegible] who employs more than 50 [illegible] India.

I find that the science co[illegible] blank in the (Harrow) *repo[illegible] know I want you especially [illegible] taste for science and mathe[illegible] are no doubt doing all that [illegible]*

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stead in emergencies. some of it when you are in India."

lawyer, Motilal Nehru out. He can see it all in Jawaharlal Nehru, Esq, ICS, District Magistrate,

what went wrong. Half-Jawaharlal's stay in England, suspect that his son will that he simply doesn't have Cambridge, Jawaharlal has for botany. Motilal is fu-you is to make your not go on changing the 11th hour. What is first class—I do subject or subjects-the goal of my ambi-is thoroughness."

But here again Moti-is made of different his elder brother preparing for ICS), is bound to rise in his He has already But Joe is fighting he did of ICS. "With at Harrow and an (Cantab), you will be civilians any day. at the bar, leave do not succeed at my fault, not yours. misgivings as to either future as plainly as if in a book. I can installed in my place and myself feeling quite happy and contented in retirement."

When Jawaharlal manages to "get through" his tripos—his father's words —Motilal is understandably put out. "I do not look upon it as a great achievement—but if you had failed, it would have been a disappointment." The whole family was to go to England to fetch Jawahar home but the idea is abandoned. The father doesn't have time at the last moment to get the Allahabad home done up. And in the end he does not even go down to Bombay to receive his only son who is returning home after seven long years. ("I have not the heart to undertake the long journey in the heat of the plains," he writes though he has just turned 50). He arranges for one of his cousins to receive Jawaharlal in Bombay and put him on the train and one can just imagine J. Nehru, Esq, M.A.(Cantab), travelling alone up to Allahabad and looking for a tonga at the station to take him home.

Motilal with his wife Swarup Rani and son Jawaharlal

Aspirations: Jawaharlal must have had a tough time in Allahabad immediately on return from England, what with a sulking father who believes that his only son has let him down and a highly westernised family with nicknames like Nan (Vijayalakshmi) and Babs (Krishna) that has moved inexplicably away from its Hindu—and Indian—moorings. The shock must have been greater for Motilal than for his son, for it was with his only son and heir in mind that the Nehru household had gone *angrezi*, with Indian and *vilayati* kitchens, English nannies and regular trips to England and the continent. Jawaharlal was the focus of Motilal's hopes and his aspirations for the future and the westernisation of the Nehru household was a matter of deliberate choice and policy. With a background of Harrow and Cambridge and an entry into the heavenly service, Jawaharlal could go farther than most other civilians, and, if he played his cards well, he could even become the first Indian governor of the United Provinces. "Joe has perfect table manners," a former governor of United Provinces had written Motilal from London and Motilal had carried that prized letter in his pocket everywhere he went as a badge of ultimate imperial approval.

In the end, Jawaharlal did not so much revolt against his father as withdraw gradually into a corner, literally forcing his father to catch up with the son rather than the other way round. Motilal's professional career from 1920 onwards is dictated more by his anxiety for his son's success in his chosen political career than any other consideration. Motilal turned his house upside down and went *vilayati* just to give his son a break in the tough competitive civilian world which he believed lay ahead. When Jawaharlal turned his back on the father and went his own way, the father again turned his house upside down and went completely *desi*, again to give the son a break. The Nehrus—unlike the Gandhis, Mahatma Gandhi, that is—sacrifice everything for their children. That is what makes the Nehru clan so tough—and so enduring.

—JAY DUBASHI

will please me more than to the first senior Wrangler of The ICS will then be a child's

Nov, 1907

do not forget to get your-as a volunteer if it is at all told that there is a club at called the Field Club by join-become a member of va-cricket, rowing etc. You You must also remember of the leading people now and then is a very ne-of expenditure. I want you popular young fellow and graduate of Cam-

June, 1910

is to settle what is to the future. There are no pros-pects at all in the ICS *and the deserving and the undeserving are all herded together. Every opportunity is taken to humiliate the Indian members of the* ICS. *You come back here* (with the ICS), *are posted to some outlandish district and are soon forgotten. The Bar on the other hand offers the highest position and rank to the really deserving members. Someone told a judge of our court that I was training you for the* ICS. *He said that it was the silliest thing I could possibly do with the large practice I commanded and I quite agree with him.*

Dec, 1911

Sir Robert Aikman (Judge of Allahabad High Court) *seems to be very much impressed by your manners. In wishing us a merry Christmas he adds "met* Jack* *a fortnight ago. He a is son to be proud of—such perfect manners."*

*Jawaharlal

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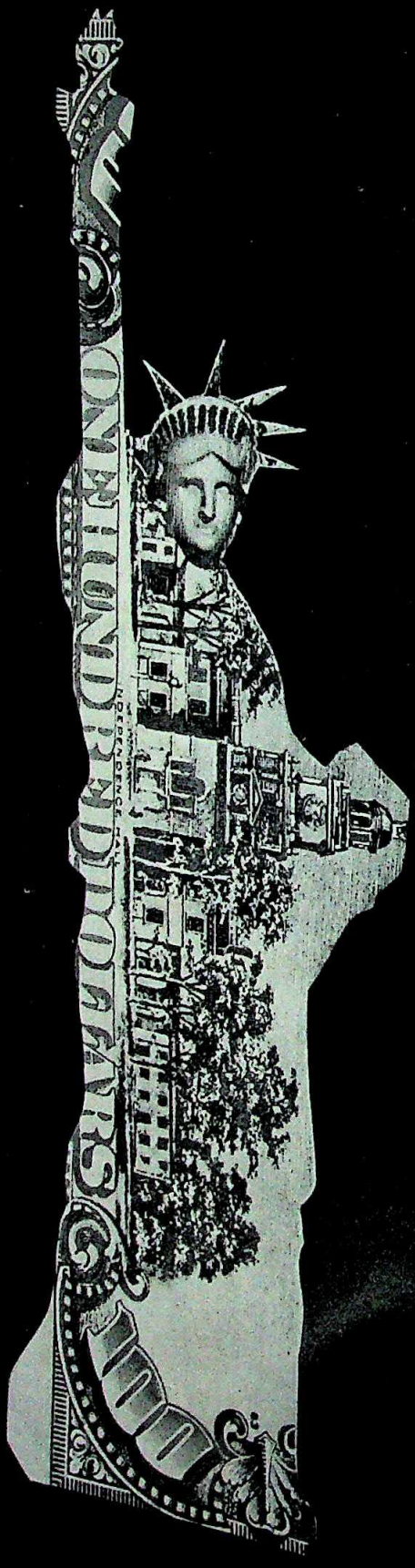

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■ Home is definitely where the heart is, at least for **Naresh Trehan**, 36, and **Pervez Ahmed**, 34, two young New York-based heart specialists. Last fortnight, New Delhi's Lt-Governor laid the foundation-stone of an ambitious project in the capital in which the two doctors will play a key role. The project is the Escorts Heart Institute and Research Centre, the world's largest free-standing heart institute and the first of its kind in India, specially designed for Indian needs by New York based architect Avinash Malhotra.

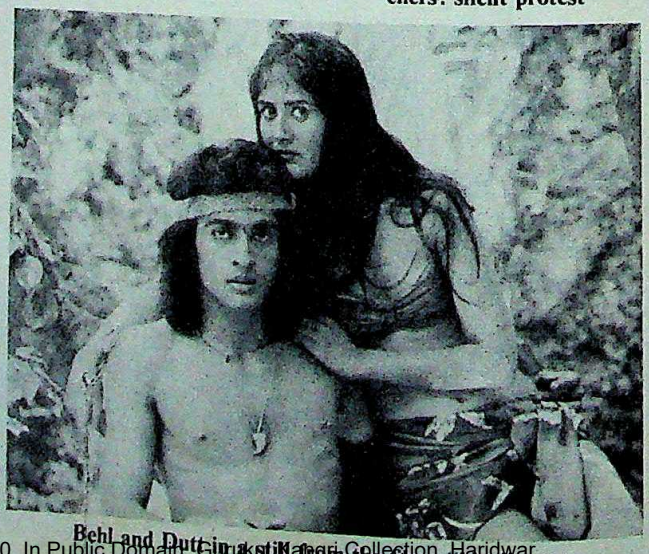
Financed mainly by Escorts, the rapidly growing engineering company, and partly by Indians abroad, the project is estimated to cost around Rs 15 crore, with Trehan and Ahmed as directors. When it comes up, the project will be an unfortunately all too rare reversal of the brain drain. Both doctors are abandoning a flourishing practice—and incomes reportedly in the region of $500,000 (Rs 47.5 lakh) each—in New York in order to head the project.

Trehan is a cardiovascular and thoracic surgeon affiliated with New York University Medical Centre who has performed over 2,000 open-heart operations so far, while Ahmed, son of the former president, Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed, is physician-in-charge at the Brookdale Hospital in Brooklyn and an acknowledged expert in critical care medicine. Ahmed, predictably asked whether he was returning to India to get into politics was blunt in his reply: "Would I have spent so much time and money in the medical field if I wanted to join politics?" Says Trehan: "The combination of experienced physicians and sophisticated equipment will enable us to provide the highest standard of cardiac care available anywhere in the world."

Ahmed (left) and Trehan: reversing the brain drain

■ "Anything Hollywood can do, we can do worse" seems to be a slogan that producer **F.C. Mehra** has adopted with cheerful abandon. Mehra, the producer of *Manoranjan*, the shamelessly plagiarised Bombay version of *Irma La Douce*, is at it again.

This time, his latest bit of piracy is another Hollywood hit, *Blue Lagoon*, the teenage love story set in a lush tropical island sprinkled liberally with nude shots of nymphet Brooke Shields. Mehra's home-made version will have former model **Ayesha Dutt** in the lead role and her steamy scenes will be played opposite **Mohnish Behl**, the tall, muscular son of film star Nutan. Judging by the publicity photos, Mehra's version promises to lay bare the emotional and physical nuances of a teenage love affair, and give the two stars some overdue exposure.



Behl and Dutt in a still from the film: "blue" copy

■ Some people will go to any lengths to espouse a cause, especially if they believe in it as fervently as **Sunder Lal Bahuguna**, 55, the ... conservation and ... the rapidly-spread... movement. Last for... bearded crusader s... how far he was p... go—3,000 km ... exact—when he w... striding briskly along ... Bengal town of Siliguri ... a band of loyal disci... on their long march w... ted in Kashmir and ... end in Kohima to sp... gospel of preserving t... resources of the Hima... is, as Bahuguna says, ... ique way of "helping ... ssage of hill develop... protection to reach the ... that-be"—an uphill ta... the least.

Bahuguna with his loyal marchers: silent protest

SIGN POST

■ **Appointed:** J.R.D. ... the non-official direct... board of directors of A... The sudden removal ... from the board last ... voked a spate of critic... the airline world.

■ **Awarded:** The ... award, to Professor P... and Ramchand Sharma ... Rehabilitation Resea... Regional Limb Fitti... in Jaipur for cre... "Jaipur Foot" hailed ... the most fascinating ... and technological inn... in health care anywh... world". The foot is ... people amputated b... knee and is made fro...

■ **Died:** Pyare Lal ... former secretary to ... Gandhi, at the A... Institute of Medical ... New Delhi, followin... roke. He joined ... Mahatma's non-co... movement in 1920 an... panied him on many ... visits. He was his secre... a long time. He la... engaged in writing a ... volume biography ... Mahatma at the time ... death.

■ **Died:** N.N. Wan... former governor of ... Pradesh and Kerala ... also worked in Bihar ... as an ICS officer.

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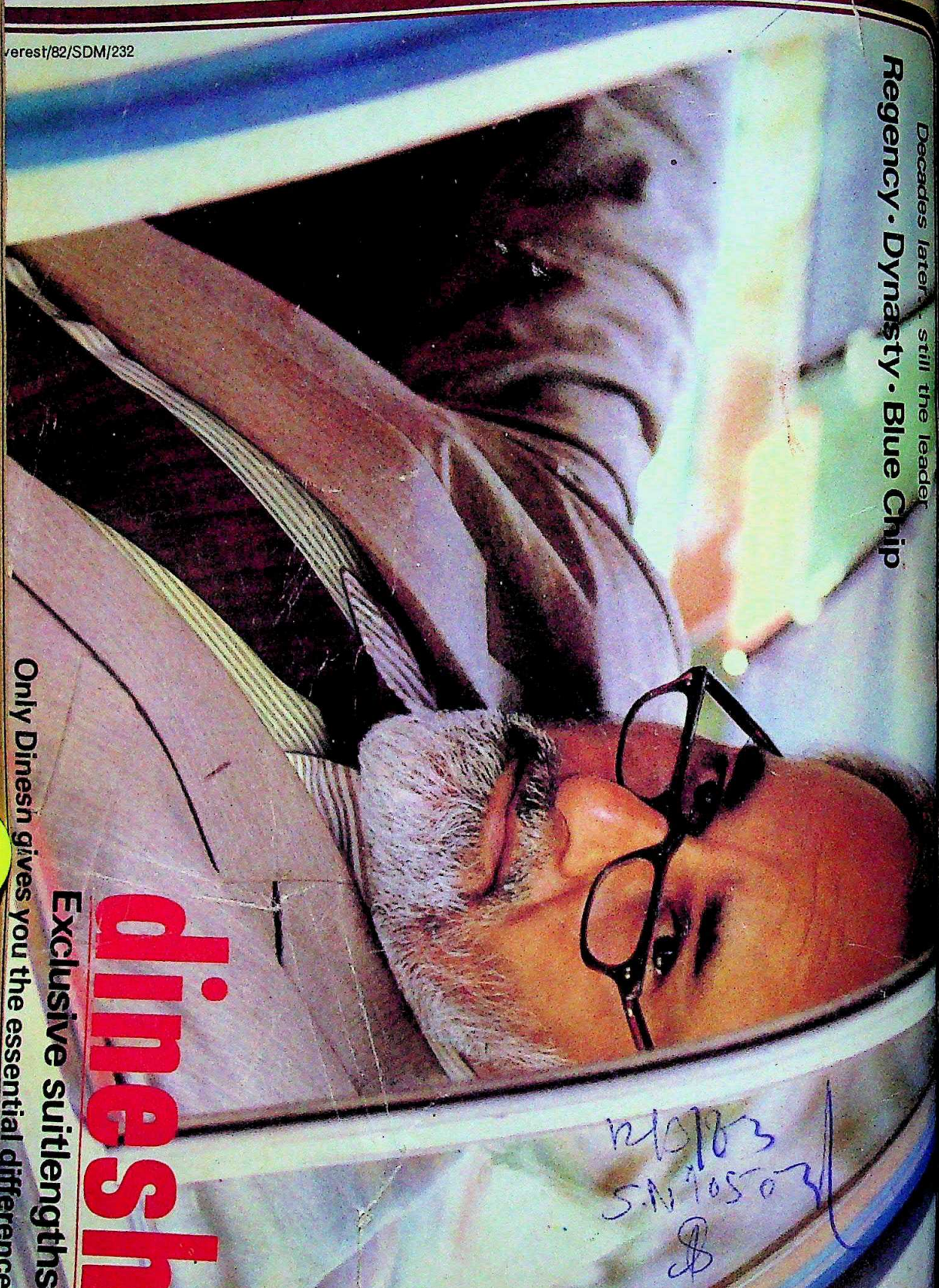

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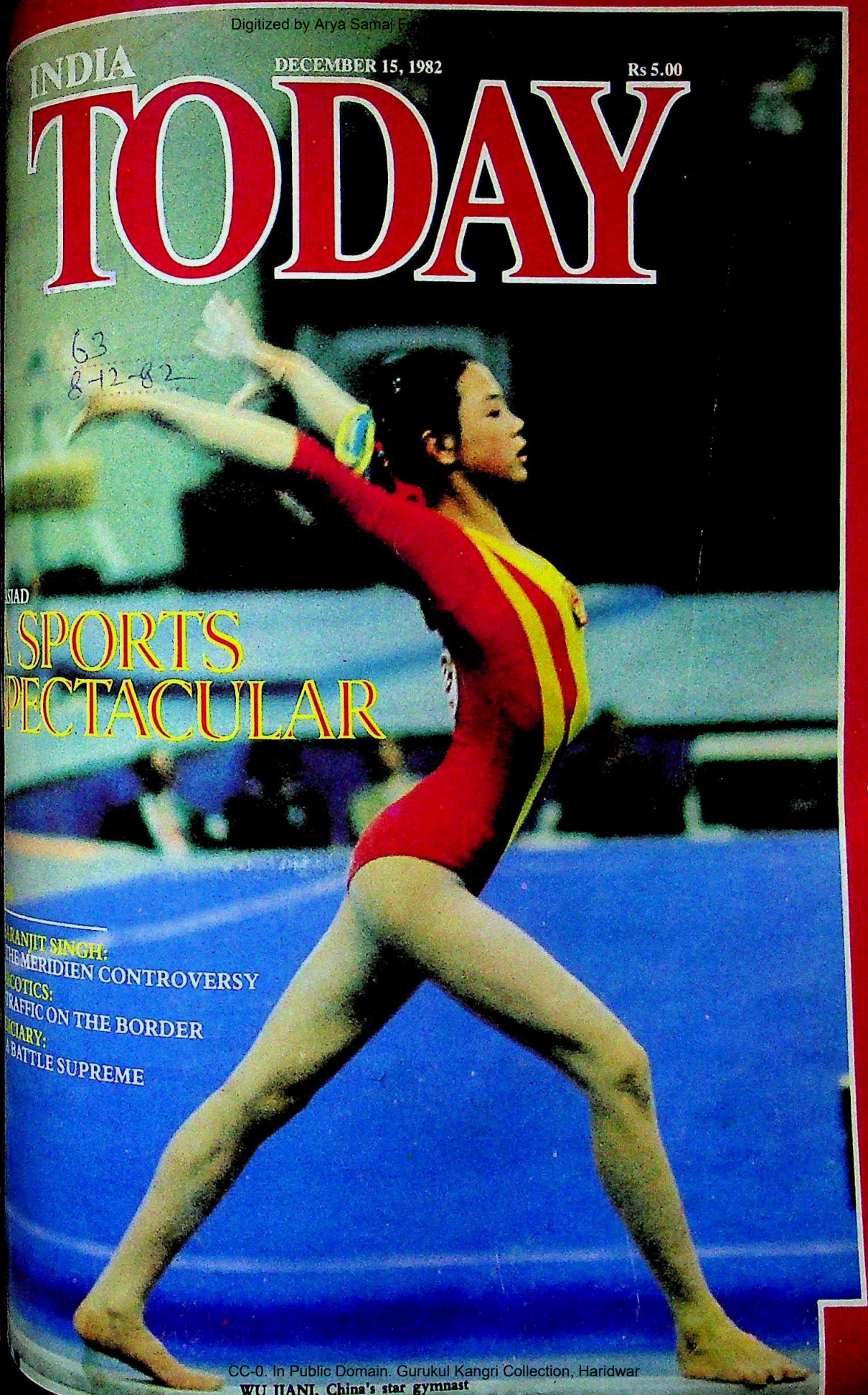

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WU JIANI, China's star gymnast

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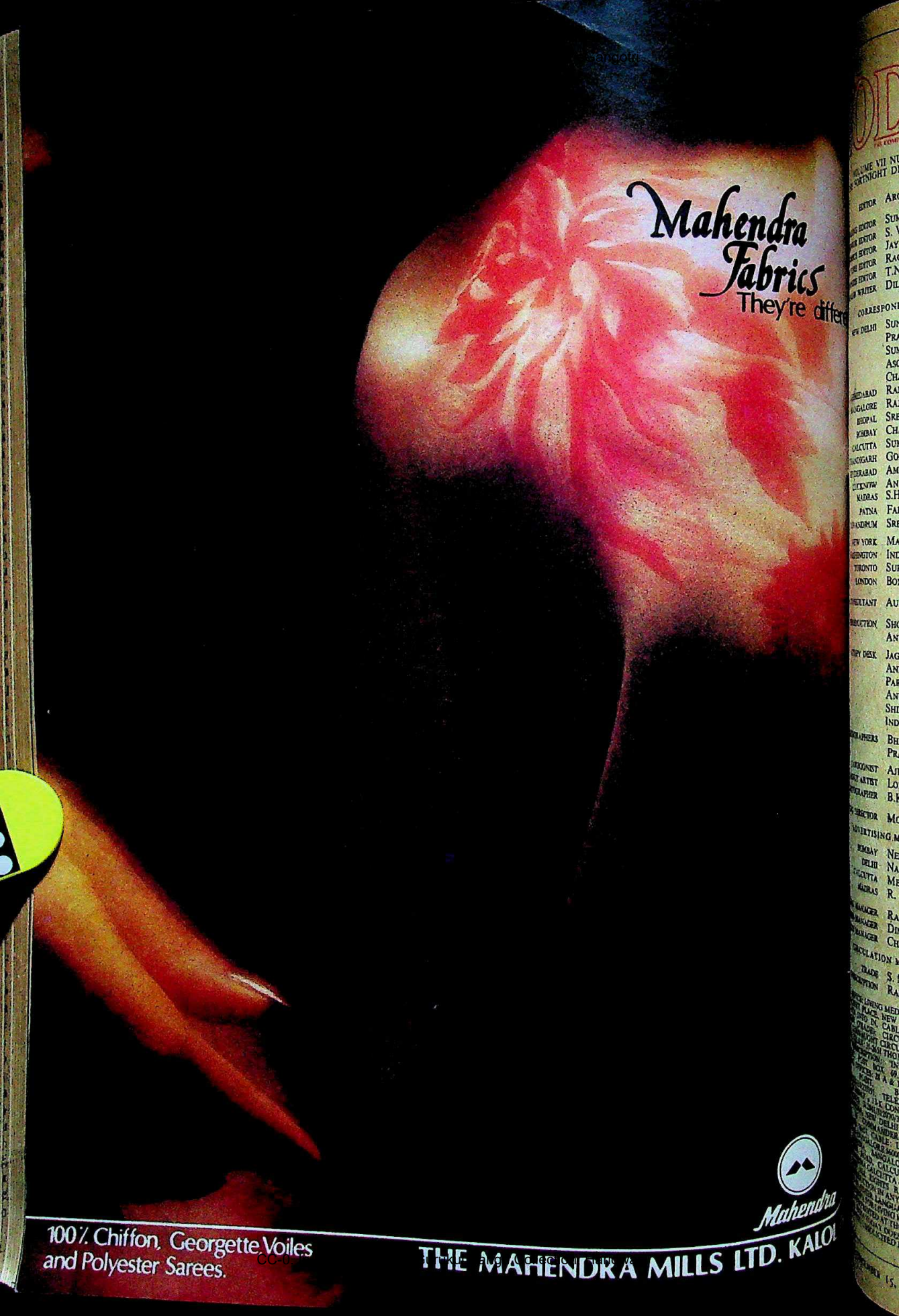
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LETTER FROM THE EDITOR

IT ISN'T often that a single event claims two covers in a row. The only other time this has happened was in the buildup to the 1980 election when the magazine featured three successive cover stories on the gathering political forces, focussing on the various combinations that were about to enter the electoral battle. But Asiad is, by any standard, an event worthy of extensive treatment. Colour, excitement, competition, beauty—a colossal extravaganza that could not but claim centre-stage of the country's, and indeed the Asian continent's, attention. At INDIA TODAY, *ever since the Games began, the staff has been divided into two camps: those whose professional calling took them to the Games to cover them or those fortunate enough to have got hold of coveted tickets to key events, and most of the rest who remained glued to a colour television set keeping track of the Games even as they wrote, researched or edited this issue.*

But doing justice to an event such as this was no mean task. For one, the magazine was scheduled to appear on the news-stands just as the Games were in their final stages, having started printing several days earlier with the Games barely through their half-way point. For another, the high pressure on the accreditation facilities meant that an inadequate number of photographers and writers could obtain the coveted green press pass. And, third, the tight security surrounding the athletes, whether at the village or in the sports arena, made it virtually impossible to get close enough to the competitors to gauge their feelings, their moods, hopes and disappointments, which are so much an integral part of a sports story.

It was clear from the beginning that with such vivid visual possibilities, the emphasis of this fortnight's cover story would be on a portfolio of colour photographs. Under the overall direction of Picture Editor RAGHU RAI, *Photographers* BHAWAN SINGH *and* PRAMOD PUSHKARNA *zeroed in on key events as they occurred, shuttling from venue to venue—from 10 in the morning before the Games started till after the curtain was rung down each evening.*

To write the text, INDIA TODAY *mobilised no fewer than six writers. Senior Writer* DILIP BOBB, *keeping track of the high points of the Games on television and occasional forays into the Games Village, was joined by Hyderabad Correspondent* AMARNATH K. MENON *and Bhopal Correspondent* SREEKANT KHANDEKAR *who toured the stadia, met athletes, coaches and officials to get a fix on the Games. Correspondent* SUNIL SETHI *took stock of the success of the impressive inaugural ceremony while Correspondent* ASOKA RAINA *met officials responsible for the success of the Games. With a team of eight people directly involved, it was an unparalleled effort for* INDIA TODAY *as well: never before have so many photographers and writers been merged into a single team for one story.*

AFTER a ten-month legal battle, INDIA TODAY *last fortnight was finally cleared by the Supreme Court to publish stories about businessman-politician Charanjit Singh. As a report in this issue makes clear, the judges threw out Singh's objections in a case which began last February and was reported in the magazine (*INDIA TODAY, *June 15) before coming up for a final hearing. It was, for the magazine, just another story which got blown up in importance because of Singh's case against it. The story, as it was originally conceived, was long since overtaken by events. Singh's hotel has now been declared open, and the story relevant now is told by Principal Correspondent* PRABHU CHAWLA *on some controversial aspects of the hotel project.*

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AHEAD

INDIA TODAY team has done full the magnificent spectacle being Delhi. The reports on the Asian November 30) were proof of the search that must have been done. journal has written about but I think this magazine is far rest.

Nirbhay Lodh

Medal Hopes" was marvel-ched and well analysed. And best was that it was free from

C.K. Rao

L DISINTEGRATION?

cover story "Bracing For A (November 15) was timely provoking. It highlighted the cises facing the Government Akalis and reinforced my belief movement is taking us dan-ar to national disintegration.

Mukul Bihari Verma

Sikh religious leaders are playing gerous game. What they are easily be interpreted as a de-ing of the Hindus. They have to fight for their legitimate but not by stirring up religious

M.E.A. Usmani

report was totally biased. Your to present the secessionist de-tatements of the Akalis in its not clothed in sweet reason-the article just stops short of

Ganpat Tonde

Sikh Government must be firm with the more extreme of the I think that by granting some of the more moderate ones they would be able to create a favourable atmosphere. For example, Amritsar should be granted 'holy city' status quickly as it is a reasonable demand.

Ranchi *Shailendra Narayan*

■ The Muslims got Pakistan, so let the Sikhs have Khalistan. Very soon we can look forward to the Hindi belt wanting a separate nation and the south wanting to safeguard their identity. The future of this country has never been brighter.

Faridabad *P.K. Saha*

■ Unless the Government goes all out for a peaceful settlement this kind of movement will snowball to all parts of the country. We must contain these campaigns locally.

Calcutta *Soumitra Dey*

■ INDIA TODAY has done a service by translating the Anandpur Sahib resolution. It has gone a long way in relieving our minds as it now becomes evident that Punjab's demands stop short of secession.

Dehra Dun *T.S. Wasu*

■ It is laughable that the Sikhs complain about discrimination. The Sikhs have never been regarded as anything but one of the most integral communities of India and Punjab has always enjoyed preferential treatment.

Sindri *Ishwar*

■ The top Akali leaders are divided in their ideas and opinions and motivated by selfishness. They have no idea where they want to take the hypothetical state of Khalistan. They should keep in mind that nobody remembers the fiery Telengana movement and the public should remember that the leaders lost their fire once they gained office.

Raichur *S.S. Kaddargi*

POPULAR POPULISM

If the Midday Meal Scheme is MGR's "shrewdest political move" ("Midday Manna", November 15) then let there be more such shrewd moves. By providing free meals to schoolchildren he has tempted those who used to idly roam the streets into schools and assured undernourished youngsters at least one square meal.

Bangalore *Stanley Carvalho*

■ Even if this scheme has been made to serve political ends it is still a thousand times better than the usual populist ploys like rallies and shows.

Jammu *Sujiv Jain*

■ The report was much too critical of a scheme which, in spite of the political mileage it will give its patron, will at least feed a large section of underprivileged schoolchildren. As for carping about the cost, who pays for all the meals subsidised for public sector employees? The same taxpayers and they probably feel much better about this scheme.

Bombay *V. Govindsamy*

■ The midday meal scheme is all very well but it is sickening to see the kind of cheap publicity that the chief minister is wringing out of it. The scheme has become a double burden for the taxpayer—paying for the scheme and for the publicity.

Madras *Sunil Shroff*

■ From where did the state Government get the funds for this scheme when they couldn't rustle up funds for providing potable water?

Trivandrum *R.V. Venkatraman*

INSPIRING FEAT

J.R.D. Tata's feat is sure to inspire the youth of this country ("Flight Into History", November 15). If a man at that age achieves what he has set his mind on through sheer determination and against all odds then I am sure young people in the country will realise that everything is within their grasp.

Muzaffarpur *Prabhat Kumar Sinha*

■ The interview with JRD was marvellous. It convinced me that if the Government consults him at regular intervals it would benefit the country.

Kanpur *Vijay Kumar Thukral*

■ Never underestimate the power of the babus! With their unbridled power they can make fools of men even of the stature of JRD. All they have to do is withdraw this licence or grant that one and one or other industrialist, no matter how affluent, bites the dust.

Panaji *Sunita Pereira*

■ Isn't it strange that though the Tatas pioneered heavy engineering and set up the first steel mill in the country, after Independence our leaders ignored them and invited foreign powers to set up industry here? Isn't it stranger that even now it is the Tatas who are showing profit while the public sector is still struggling to get out of the red?

Calcutta *Sujash Kumar*

NO DISCOVERY

It is good to know that your guest

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columnist has at last discovered Ritwick Ghatak ("Posthumous Acclaim", November 15) but Ghatak was never ignored in his own lifetime and has not been neglected after death. Ghatak was popular in West Bengal not only for his films but also for his plays, *jatras* and articles. Ghatak's memory is alive and this column also contributes its mite. But it cannot be seen as a "discovery" of Ghatak.
New Delhi *Jag Mohan*

APPU'S WOES

Were the AGSOC officials dozing when the reports about Appu's training appeared in different journals and a film showing her training was broadcast over Doordarshan ("Appu Who?", November 15)? Not only have they got away with torturing this poor elephant but also with separating her from her mother.
New Delhi *Vijayanta N. Chitale*

■ The AGSOC and Appu's trainers must be punished for the treatment she received. It is the duty of the SPCA to intervene and hold an inquiry into the matter.
Bangalore *K.C. Ravishankar*

APOLOGY FOR EDUCATION

The report, "Dumb Charade" (November 15), highlighted the irregularities and bungling in Patna University. The exams have become a joke. But I think that the lecturers are equally guilty. Or else how would they allow the children of influential people to top exam after exam?
Patna *Gita Mishra*

■ At Patna University boycotts and cancellations have become a regular feature and cheating is regarded by the students as a birthright. And now casteism has reared its ugly head and every department has become a citadel for one or other caste. To put this house in order one would have to first demolish it and then build again from scratch.
Patna *S.K. Singh*

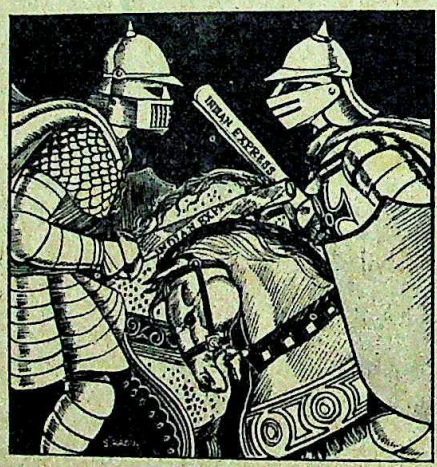
EXPRESS ORDER

The article "Battle Behind The Lines" (November 15) gave a very good account of the factors and events which led to the breach between proprietor Ramnath Goenka and editor Arun Shourie. And the timing was superb!
Madras *Ranjit S. Mokashi*

■ It was a sorry day for Indian journalism when Shourie's pen was capped by the proprietor of the *Indian Express*. The only people happy must be his politician victims.
Mangalore *Dr Naresh Shetty*

■ With the dismissal of one journalist there is no need to ring Indian journalism's death-knell. It is just over-reaction to say that with the exit of one man, no matter how fearless, the paper will lose its crusading spirit. The *Express* and Goenka were both known for their anti-establishment stance much before Shourie joined and I'm sure that his leaving will have little effect on this policy.
Bombay *K.R. Krishnaswami*

■ The exit of Shourie has made the *Express* just one more of the mediocre papers that we are burdened with. This is sad as the paper always symbolised truth, justice and fearlessness. The *Indian Express* I knew has died.
Bombay *Jayesh B. Mehta*



■ I think what everyone neglects to recognise is that Goenka is ultimately a businessman and will in the final analysis judge by whom, what and where to sell and buy with maximum profit.
Jaipur *R. Shivpuri*

■ It is a pity that at the end of a long and illustrious career, Goenka has besmirched his reputation with this unethical act. After being the self-styled saviour of the press he knocks down a man who practised what Goenka preached all these years.
Bombay *Adi B. Billimoria*

■ Even though he has been virtually ousted from the *Express* I hope Shourie will write in other journals. We continue to hope that one day his shouts in the mountain will start an avalanche.
Bombay *N.C. Mohindra*

■ I don't think that Shourie was sacrificed because Goenka wants to [illegible] with 1 Safdarjung Road. I think [illegible] because the Indian environment [illegible] allow those who have exceptional [illegible] survive. The only way one can [illegible] top in this country is by coupling [illegible] ing with mediocrity.
Bombay *G.R.*

■ What an irony! But for [illegible] other journals, we would not have [illegible] of the atrocities in the *Express*!
Calcutta *Nirmal*

■ Democracy's great crusader [illegible] very different face in Bombay [illegible] instructions from headquarters [illegible] the newly-formed union at the [illegible] Isn't it ironic that a man who [illegible] timise so many junior journalists [illegible] Bombay office should now be [illegible] the same shabby manner?
Goa *Devika*

■ While journalists are fighting [illegible] ments like the Bihar Press Bill, [illegible] are busy strangling freedom by [illegible] rageous journalists. With the [illegible] trade unions around one cannot [illegible] as touch a peon, but an editor [illegible] thrown out at will.
Kolhapur *Talya*

DEAF TO DISTRESS

The agreement between the [illegible] ments of India and Bangladesh [illegible] Tin Bigha ("Corridor Of Con[illegible] November 15) has encouraged [illegible] between Angarpota and Daha[illegible] on the other hand has thrown [illegible] into geographical isolation, risk[illegible] ves of 32,000 poor people. It [illegible] the Government only listens to [illegible] voices like those of the Akalis and [illegible] to the cries of the destitute.
Sagar *Sag[illegible]*

■ The much-publicised gain [illegible] H.M. Ershad has been the pitch[illegible] the impoverished people of Tin [illegible] again the Government has gone [illegible] short-term gain at the risk of [illegible] losses. *Gen[illegible]*
Bhubaneswar

LEAPING BACKWARDS?

The article on lobsters [illegible] "A Giant Leap" (November [illegible] what direction? The scientists are [illegible] hoodwink us into believing the [illegible] periments on the lobsters are [illegible] all they are doing is sacrificing [illegible] manity for the sake of a few [illegible] in the export market.
Bangalore

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Events
Elections: Shrewd Timing
Stiff Postures
Back To The Ice
City Of Conflict
Elections At A Price
Taming The Terror
Kashmir: Factional Feud
Misfortune Magnified
Mutiny In The Ranks
The Great Reunion
Preparing For Polls?
Rising Chauvinism
Feature
The Bagmati Blunder
From Paris
Mitterrandism Works
Voting
Channel Of Change
From Washington
From Scratch
Bachchan: Switching Off Hindi
Nation
Singh: The Meridien Controversy
Story
A Moment Of Pride
Traffic On The Border
Ties: Straws In The Wind
Beacon Of Hope
A Battle Supreme
Economy
The Pangs Of Growth
Automobiles: A Takeover Drive
Seeing Red
Staying Afloat
Village Of Thieves
Reliving The Legend
Too Little, Too Late
In The Blanks
Quickie
Moonstruck Satellite
Column By Dhiren Bhagat
Artists: Acclaim At Last
Homage To Tradition

PHOTOGRAPH BY BHAWAN SINGH

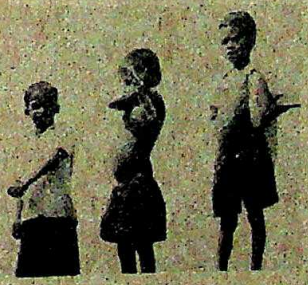
IN FOCUS THIS FORTNIGHT

COVER STORY: By the time Asiad '82 was halfway over, it was evident that the biggest sporting event in Asia was going to be a spectacular success. The success, however, was not only in the sporting achievements and the litter of broken records, it was also evident in the efficiency in the running of the games and the high calibre of the facilities provided. **Page: 82**

INVESTIGATION: Last fortnight, one of the capital's newest hotels, the Meridien, opened 100 rooms with much fanfare. The hotel project, promoted by businessman and politician Charanjit Singh, has been plagued by controversies ever since it was first conceived. A report on how it came into being and a companion story on the Supreme Court judgement in favour of INDIA TODAY discarding Singh's objections to the magazine writing about his business activities. **Page: 74**

CRIME: The clandestine influx of heroin and opium from Pakistan into India has grown steadily and now rivals South-east Asia's famed Golden Triangle. A report from the border check-post Attari on the many ingenious tricks of the smugglers, their markets, and the hard-pressed enforcement agencies which are trying to staunch the flow. **Page: 106**

LAW: Hints that all is not well between the judges of the Supreme Court have surfaced from time to time. Recently, Justice V.D. Tulzapurkar launched into a tirade against the trend of public-interest litigation in the course of a speech in Pune. Tulzapurkar's unnamed target was fellow judge P.N. Bhagwati, a keen protagonist of activist law-giving. A report on the war between the 'conservatives' and the 'progressives' in the highest court of the land. **Page: 118**



BEHAVIOUR: Can the practice of crime be passed down through the generations? Going by the inhabitants of Desar, a small, poor village in Gujarat, it can. Nine out of 10 people in the village are hereditary criminals who have no use for the laws of property, or indeed of anything else. Even the police seem to be hesitant about tackling the lawless of Desar. A study of this unique community and the factors that drove it to, quite literally, a lifetime of crime. **Page: 141**

CINEMA: At last, after years of conception and creation, Sir Richard Attenborough's epic journey through the life of Bapu unwound on screens around the world last fortnight. *Gandhi* begins with the dramatic passing of the "naked fakir in the loincloth" and details the power, the glory and the message of the Mahatma. A review of Attenborough's epic. **Page: 147**

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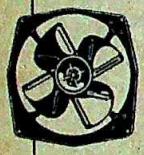

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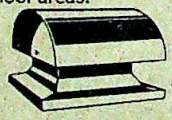

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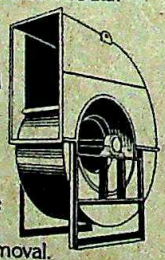

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TANKS FOR SALE

INDIA's remaining complement of Centurian tanks are up for sale again. Though India has been trying to get rid of its Centurians for some years, the process was halted when some of the tanks sold in 1980 found their way to South Africa. Since then, it had been decided to use the remaining tanks for target practice. But with a reconsideration of the decision to sell the remaining tanks taken last month, the tanks once again wear 'for sale' stickers. The Government, however, is taking no chances of the tanks winding up in the wrong hands and the man entrusted with ensuring that this does not happen is Minister of State for Defence K.P. Singh Deo. According to informed sources, the Government has already put out feelers to possible buyers. The feelers are being kept very quiet to avoid a repeat of the earlier fiasco.

STATE DIALOGUE

CONGRESS(I) high command wants to keep the ...s on its right side. This became clear last fortnight ...the party instructed its West Bengal unit not to ...major obstacle for the ruling Left Front by way of ... The instructions came from Union Finance Minister ...erjee to state party leader Subrata Mukherjee in the

Subrata Mukherjee (far left) and Pranab Mukherjee: easing up on the Front

... state unit's decision to come out in the streets ...te Government's proposal to raise public transport

...e apparently feels it needs the Marxists' support if ...ush ahead with its plans to hold elections in Assam ... of the existing electoral rolls—which is why it ... to rub up the Left Front the wrong way. ...he decision to raise the fares has irritated the smaller ...e Left Front who feel that the Marxists have taken ... and imposed it on them. That's one more addition ... irritants that's been plaguing the ministry.

...ING REWARD

... a few people are likely to be amply rewarded for ... efforts in making the Asian Games a major success. ... of them is Shankaran Nair, the chairman of the ... Special Organising Committee (SOC). According to ... is being tipped for a gubernatorial post. The most ... the governor's post in Goa, recently vacated by ...dhra's Lt. governor. Currently, Goa is being looked ...ashtra's Governor I.H. Latif. Nair, who is a for... chief of the Research & Analysis Wing (RAW), had ... earlier this year to comprise a one-man committee ... a long-overdue cadre review of the country's in... particularly those under the Cabinet Secretariat. ... the Asian Games has obviously earned him bigger

ANOTHER ANTULAY?

IF BOMBAY architects have their way next fortnight, Chief Minister Babasaheb Bhosale has a problem. The Practising Engineers, Architects and Town Planners Association (PEATA) will take the Government to task in the Bombay High Court for non-implementation of the Urban Land Ceiling Act (ULCA). According to PEATA, the Government has made no efforts to change former chief minister A.R. Antulay's policy of withholding construction permissions and hiking up flat prices. They add that virtually no clearances under Section 21 of the ULCA have been made, despite assurances given to PEATA months ago. With flat prices falling, PEATA members argue that a powerful builders' lobby has persuaded the Government to stall clearances, since they were expected to cause a sudden glut of land and push prices down further.

Last May, in fact, PEATA had already got its entire case ready when Bhosale's ministry assured it that clearances would promptly be given.

SPECIAL APPOINTEES

THE LATEST person to take over the scheduling of Rajiv Gandhi's appointments and programmes is his mother's long-time special assistant, R.K. Dhawan. This post has always been troubled with different people being tried out. The first appointee was M.L. Fotedar, secretary to Mrs Gandhi in her capacity as president of the All India Congress Committee(I).

Dhawan (far left) and Fotedar: changing duties

Fotedar was side-lined when complaints from different sections of the party surfaced. The next man to be tried out was Arun Nehru, the MP from Rae Barelli. Nehru followed Fotedar when some Congress(I) leaders reported that they were facing problems in getting past Nehru to Rajiv. Dhawan, it is hoped, with his reputation of being above factional politicking and for doing things strictly by the book, will set the standards for this job. Political observers, however, feel that this will just be a stop-gap appointment until Rajiv is given a top-ranking party position.

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APPU'S CHOICE

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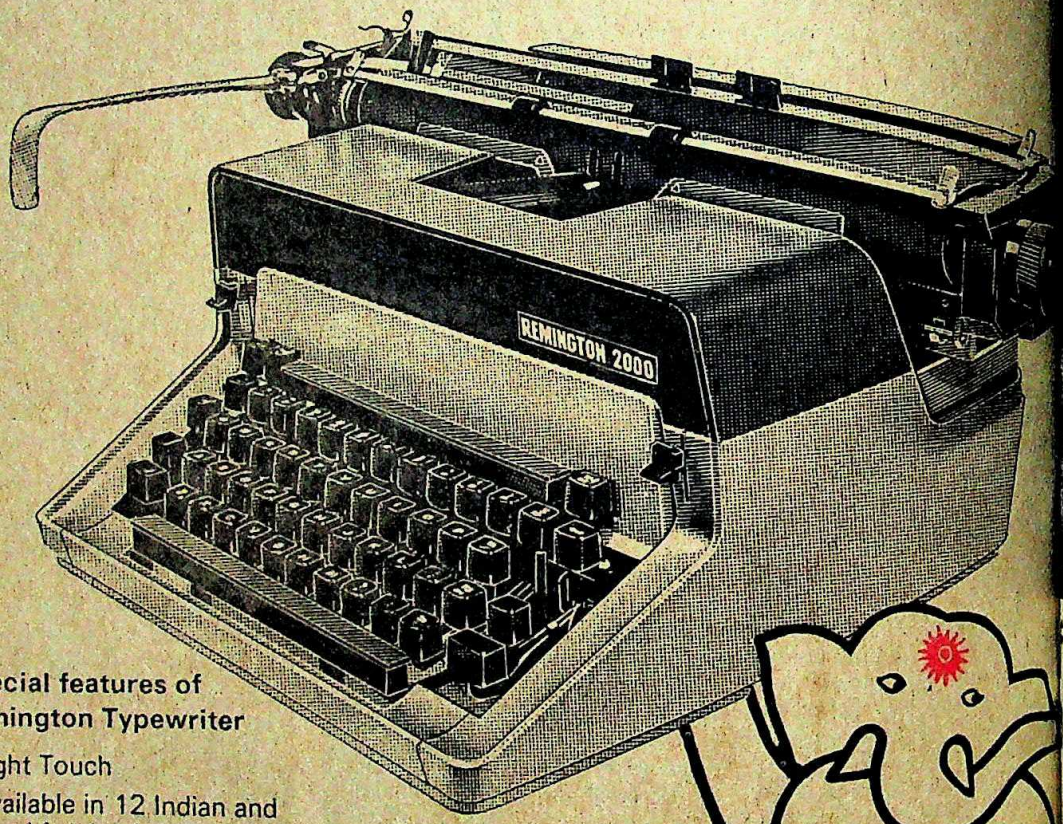

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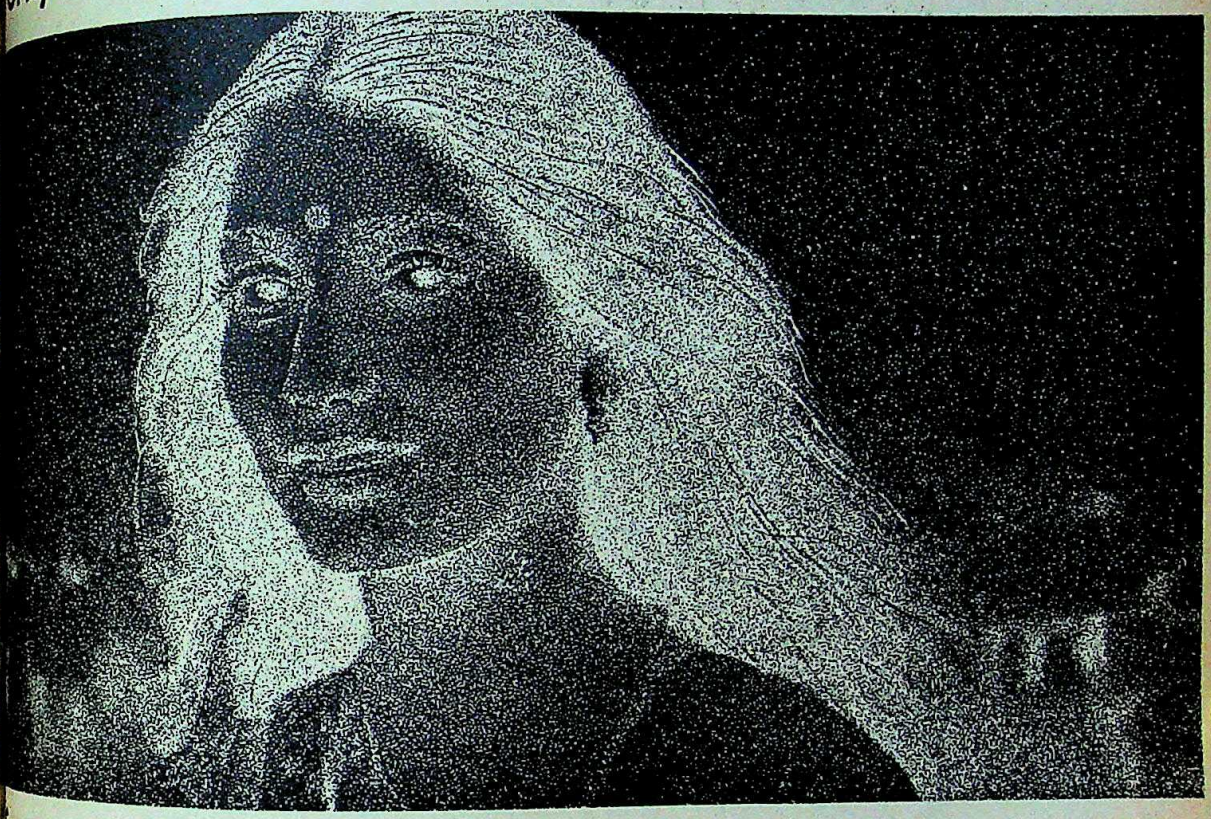
elhi, January 1980.

s a lively young working girl egins her day, a wayward truck ends her life. only...



only prevention had been priority.

Two years ago, a pretty 24-year old working girl in Delhi died when the autorickshaw in which she was travelling was hit from behind by a truck. The driver of the auto was hospitalised with multiple fractures and the truck driver absconded.

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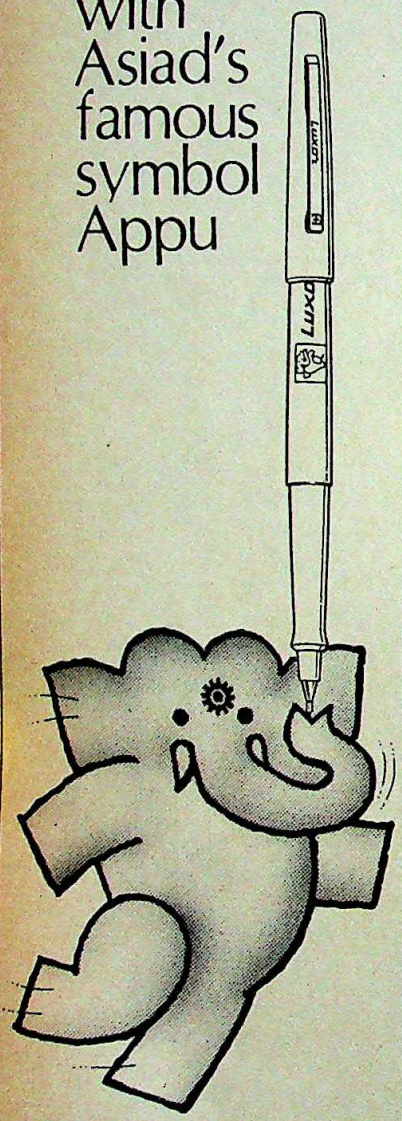

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• The upper crust Indian is among the worst chest-beaters in the world; hardly does anyone run down his country as persistently and vehemently as

—*Editorial comment in* The Times Of

• In the initial stages, we had a Congress president who did not think had "sung for his supper" like little Tommy Tucker till he had accused some or other of CIA connections.

—*Piloo Mody in* Ga

• What Indian politics needs today is an injection of talent. Not pious the Bhave variety; not idealism of the JP variety; not passivity of the Ga variety—and certainly not the incompetence and thuggery of the Antulay-Rao-Bhosale-Mishra variety.

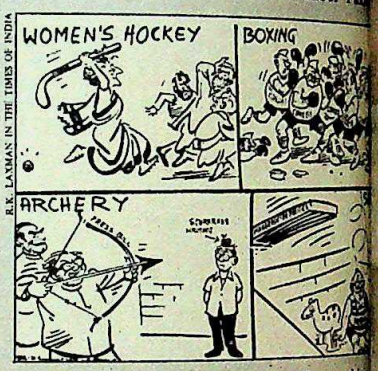
—*Minhaz Merchant in* Gen

• The Congress(I) in Nagaland was born out of artificial insemination.

—*Former Naga* MP *Rano Shaiza quoted in the* Express

• The creation of Bangladesh could not have been completed if there was perfect collusion between India and the Soviet Union to dismember Pak Pakistan will not be foolish in the future to offer further targets to India and the Soviet Union....

—*Zia-ul-Haq in* Sunday



• I am an inexperienced and virgin politician and there are more experienced men already in the fray to handle the (Akali agitation) affair.

—*Farooq Abdullah to newsmen in New Delhi*

• We have come to hate the 'bureaucracy' so much that its very mention urges us to do a few funny thing view it as a huge, headless, heartless monster with ill-temper and scorn through its eyes. We feel like tearing its eyes, if not stoning it to death from distance!

—*Vepa Rao in* The Hindustan Times Ma

• If (Jagannath) Mishra remains longer, the Congress will be finished in ...Bihar under Mishra has virtually collapsed.

—*Abdul Ghafoor in*

• We are a separate race, a separate community. Many of us do not be forming a separate nation, but the way the Government is handling the si it is just possible they could drive us to such a thing.

—*Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale*

• Given the choice I would rather have been a Wimbledon champion or Chand than a Cabinet minister or a Nobel laureate in literature.

—*Khushwant Singh in* The Hindustan

• The arithmetic of the Indian democratic process is such that very few (the Muslim politicians) dare oppose the process.

—*Syed Shahabuddin in*

• It is important that Indians and Pakistanis should be friends— but it be possible till Pakistanis and Pakistanis are allowed to be friendly...

—*A Pakistani emigré quoted*

• I think they (girls) react to my sexuality, the macho image I proje would seem that each woman is turned on by different parts of my body.

—*Mithun Chakraborty in*

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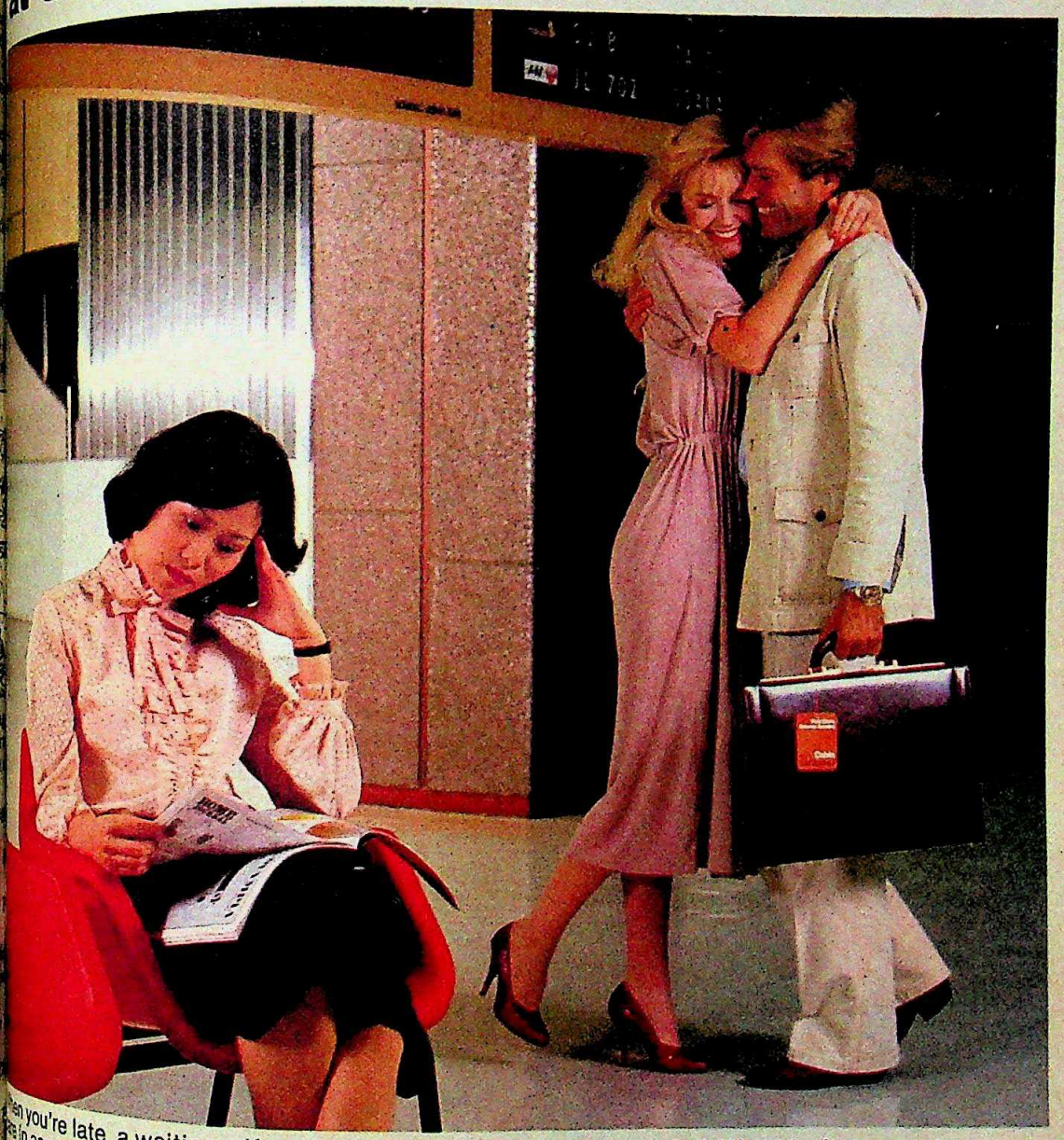

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RAYMOND'S WINTER FASHIONS

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Combinations are in vog this season—contrastin but complementary jackets/trousers—stylis opportunities for dash a dramatic flair. Chocola brown and beige, burgundy and tan. Eve the traditional blazer, i fine coming of age, ma now sport a motif, a discreet fleur-de-lis, for instance, on a midnigh blue base. Silver butto for a sovereign flourish Grey tapered trousers, p blue shirt, striped tie— ensemble at ease on a luxury yacht or a five-star lounge.

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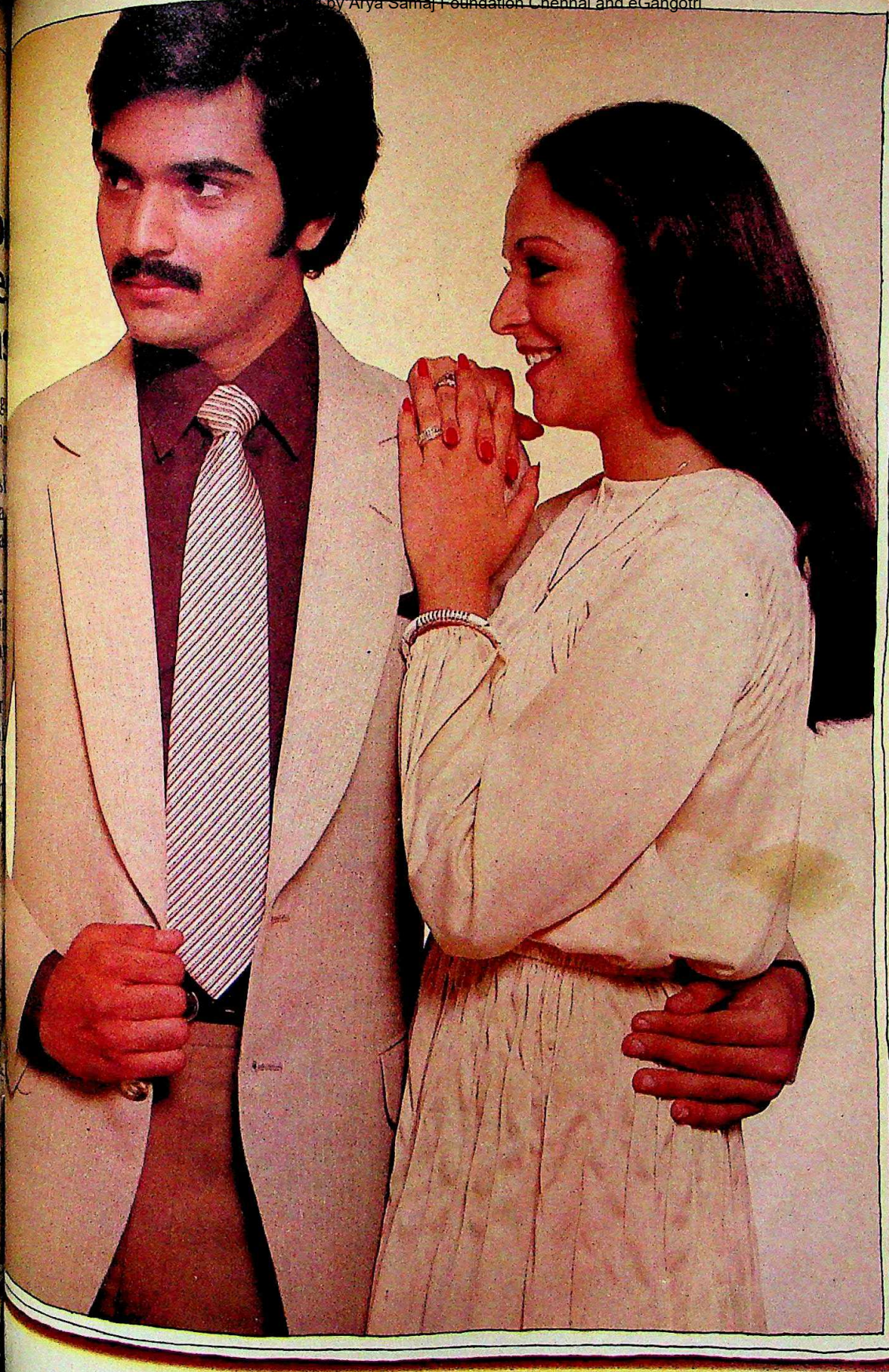

ide to the well-dressed male

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For those who value taste

Singham Mahal, Torway, — Bejapore
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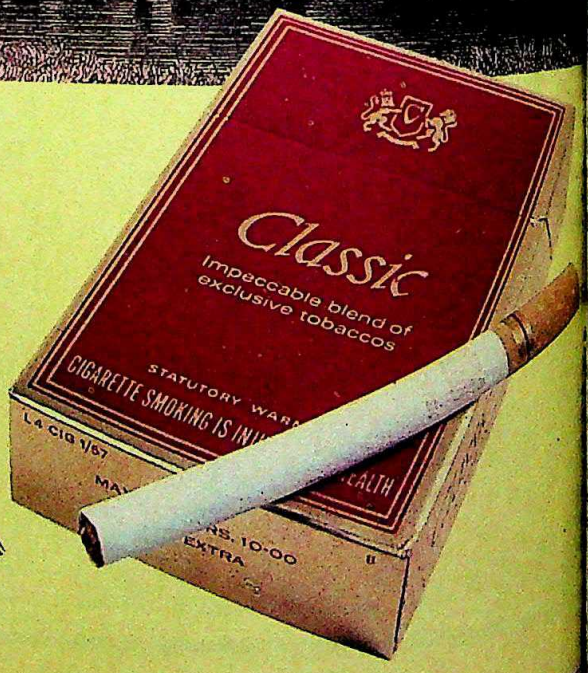
Engraved by H. Wallis.



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EXCHANGE

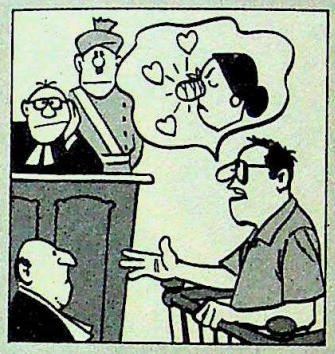
Ingle was a police attached to the police station near and on most days, shine, could be seen trusty rifle keeping of disorder at bay. Ingle is not supposed the most imagi- people, but Ingle proved that the free enterprise is in socialist India. was on duty at the

Bassein electrical supply company's office, warding off a vociferous group from a consumer organisation. Quite a while later, he wandered into the police station, obviously brimming with good cheer and alcohol, his trusty rifle missing. The station in-charge shook him up and asked him where his trusty rifle was and Ingle replied Shorry, don't know where rifle ish.

The rifle wash, or was, hidden in grass near an illicit liquor den. It turned out that Ingle, thirsty and tired, had reportedly swapped it for a few pegs. The constable, swaying daringly, was brought before a magistrate who released him on a personal bond.

BITE

, it is said, can be in many ways: of flowers, a ra- ful scramble up to or a 20-page let- k-full of the most phrases. But never been demonstrated as or of a Bombay supposed to have



done very recently.

The story came out in an additional chief metropolitan magistrate's court last week. K.C.K. Sharma was the defendant and the charge against him was that he had bitten a female colleague's nose. The magistrate set bail at Rs 1,000. In his bail application, Sharma prayed that he be set free as he had only bitten the nose out of "love".

Sharma was released, but his story has interesting possibilities: imagine the Bard giving a new twist to the Antony-Cleopatra heavy-breathing act by having him close his teeth on her nostrils—and some nostrils they were, too. Then, indeed, she would beggar description.

THE GAME

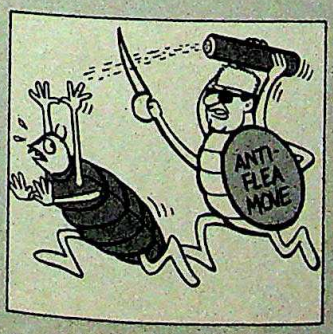
Asiad fever was at in the capital—so newspapers—and understandable that a officials concer- seeing that the drink went to the person lost a bit of Three days before was to open, the jolted one night phone call from at the Indraprastha Stadium who screamed that the bus meant for the Indonesian squad had been hijacked.

This, of course, had the police up in arms. But in the end it was a wild goose chase. The police discovered that the 'hijacker' was none other than the team's own security guard who had arrived at the stadium while his charges were practising inside. He did not have any identification with him and

did the next best thing by raising his shirt and flashing his service revolver. The stadium guard allowed him to take the bus away. If this was the 'security' at the Games, it was a wonder that they went so smoothly

SCHEME

Ironate indeed are children of Tamil Nadu. the last few months the Government of Ramachandran, he of cap and the dark been showering on them. First the midday meal sch- millions of chil- a hot, nourishing the first time in After this the zeal somewhat into



farce when the administration announced that it would distribute tooth-powder to the children so that they could beam their gratitude when the Great Celluloid Chief passed by. Now, ladies and gentlemen and boys and girls, here is another block-buster from the man who launched a thousand roles: the lice eradication scheme for girls.

Apparently, MGR, in his concern for the children of Tamil Nadu—with an eye to their fathers and mothers who vote for him—took one look at those nasty little beasties crawling about in the hair and decided that it was time that the beasties went. So, come October, the scheme was launched in the form of 'specialised medication packets' which will beat the hell out of the lice. No less a person than Dr K. Venkatasubramaniam, M.A., M.Litt., Ph.D., the director of school education, Tamil Nadu, did the honours at the Presidency Girls Higher Secondary School, Madras. And all the beasties ran away.

—Compiled by JAGANNATH DUBASHI

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If fun had a flavour....

.... it w
taste this
good.

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strawberry, ras
mango, apple
Goldenmist or
marmalade an
guava jelly

Kissa

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(From left) Rao, Bhaskara Reddy and Nripen Chakraborty: readying signals

ELECTIONS

rewd Timing

S GANDHI has not lost her ned sense of timing. Last ight, by calling elections in f Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh , she demonstrated it once sembly elections will be held 5, 1983 and by choosing that Gandhi appears to have killed three birds with one stone: an disunited and squabbling was caught flat-footed, n the party, especially in desh and Karnataka, will not do much more damage to the ability, and by advancing the southern states and them with Tripura's—where to be held before January 9, Gandhi has avoided the of a defeat in that Marxist

, opposition leaders kicked about the short notice, which them of any chances of the now legendary "electoral ". Complained N. Giri ary, Andhra Pradesh State the Communist Party of India deliberate attempt to help the gain an advantage over the ties. However, we accept the go to the people for the Congress(I)." Added A.K. ident of the Karnataka State nata Party (BJP): "The afraid of the election results want to manage the election victorious."

Step: In retrospect, the seems to have been pushed to Intelligence reports from indicate that the party is from dissidence activities based on casteism. Both Mrs Gandhi and Rajiv Gandhi have visited the state—Mrs Gandhi drew huge and responsive crowds but Rajiv's gatherings were nowhere near the vast numbers that turned up to listen to Telugu Desam leader N.T. Rama Rao. Rajiv could not put up a good show reportedly because of the lethargic party organisation in the state. As the chances of ironing out differences in the party were bleak, Mrs Gandhi chose the shock treatment to bring warring factions together.

As elections in Andhra Pradesh could not be held in isolation, both the Karnataka and Tripura governments were asked by the Election Commission if they were willing to go to polls as well. Chief Minister R. Gundu Rao of Karnataka, who had told party legislators a day before the election schedule announcement that elections would be held on February 25, 1983, had to give in to the high command and agree to the polls. According to Election Commission sources, the Andhra Pradesh Government, presumably on directions from the Centre, asked the Commission on November 25 to make arrangements for elections on January 5, 1983.

The battle lines are clearly drawn. In Andhra Pradesh (294 seats), the contest involves Telugu Desam, a loose electoral alliance between the BJP, the Janata Party, Congress(S) and the Republican Party of India, the CPI-CPI(M) front and the ruling Congress(I). An alliance between NTR and the rest of the Opposition seems remote now: NTR wants 200 seats for himself and allows 94 for the Opposition. The Opposition is not willing to give him more than 100. NTR claims that they can't win more than 50 seats anyway.

The final line-up will probably emerge by December 11, the last date for filing nominations. Latest indications are that the Opposition will come together. In addition, opposition leaders expect a large number of dissidents to stand and split the ruling party vote—as happened earlier this year in Haryana and Himachal Pradesh.

Internal Problems: In neighbouring Karnataka (224 seats), Gundu Rao is comfortably placed with the Opposition unable to put forward a leader of comparable stature after the late Devraj Urs. Although corruption scandals have touched many of Rao's colleagues, the Opposition's disunity is a bigger electoral handicap. But he might face problems from within: over 100 of the present 185 MLA's are defectors and the 'loyalists', those who stood by Mrs Gandhi during the Janata regime, are demanding their reward.

In Tripura (60 seats), the Congress(I) is very poorly placed. It has no seats in the house at present, and the point is not whether the Marxists will return to power but whether the Congress will retrieve some of its lost ground—it had always ruled the state until the last elections, when it drew a blank. Its chances lie in the Bengali-dominated areas of the plains where there has been considerable erosion in popular support for the Marxist following the 1980 riots triggered by the Mandai massacre, in which tribal extremists murdered 300 non-tribals.

Elections to these states will be followed by others in Jammu & Kashmir, Assam, Meghalaya, and Delhi. Mrs Gandhi is obviously waiting to see how her party, racked as it is by dissension, performs at the hustings and whether her charisma still endures. If she gets through in the traditional Congress(I) bastions of the south, that will give her and the party enough confidence to face the tougher tests ahead.

—PRABHU CHAWLA

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PUNJAB

Stiff Postures

WHEN the Akalis decided to demonstrate during the Asiad, "to focus world attention on the plight of the Sikhs," they could never have suspected that they would come a cropper so miserably. Confronted by the threat, the Central Government retaliated with a combination of artfulness and heavy-handed force that had the Akalis at sixes and sevens.

Right from the outset the Centre went on the offensive, seizing the initiative from the hands of the dithering Sikh leaders. Days before the Games began more than 50,000 policemen and para-military troops were moved to the state borders to prevent the Akalis from reaching Delhi. Police armed with light machine-guns stopped every train and car heading towards Delhi. The Amritsar-Delhi National Highway was blocked at 10 different points. The police even went to the extent of checking car boots for weapons. Their searches yielded results at the Shinghu check-post on the Haryana-Delhi border where they recovered a cache of more than 800 swords and other weapons bound for Delhi.

Enthusiastic Support: All roads from Punjab to Delhi have to pass through Haryana, and the Centre found that its efforts to keep the Sikhs from reaching Delhi had an enthusiastic supporter in Haryana Chief Minister Bhajan Lal. Lal, who initially maintained a studied silence over the Akali demands, suddenly, vociferously denounced them and called upon the people of Haryana to stop the Akalis en route to Delhi. And he matched his words with action: road-rollers were moved across the road at some points of the border, to deter even the most determined Akali from trying to gatecrash the Asiad. Inevitably, Bhajan Lal's actions came in for fire from several quarters.

The Centre's moves also had plenty of other critics. The intensive checking caused severe delays. Large numbers of travellers in Punjab are said to have deterred from starting out on their journeys. Many Sikhs who were suspected of heading to Delhi to take part in the morcha were sent back and one remarked, that "wearing a blue turban is sufficient to attract the attention of the police." Added another sarcastically: "The border between Punjab and Haryana looks more like the Wagah international border."

The Centre's intensive efforts to hermetically seal off Delhi were however only one part of its strategy to contain the Akalis. A few days before the Asian Games began the Government had initiated a series of steps to keep up the facade that the crisis was on the verge of a solution. These moves threw the Akalis off balance and lured senior Akali leaders, Prakash Singh Badal and Balwant Singh to Delhi.

While Badal and Balwant Singh waited for an invitation to the talks, which never came, the Government had already fed a story to the press that an agreement was as good as ready. On the 19th morning the United News of India, *The Indian Express* and *The Tribune* reported that T.N. Chaturvedi had flown to Chandigarh with the terms for a package deal. These reports added, though without confirming from Amritsar, that the Akalis would call off their agitation by afternoon. The reports all carry profuse details and said amongst other things, that Chandigarh would be handed over to Punjab after Asiad. They also claimed that the Supreme Court would decide the river waters issue, and that a commission would be set-up to decide territorial claims.

The deception was carried to elaborate lengths, and a special plane was said to have been kept ready at Palam Airport for Chaturvedi and the Akali leaders. In Amritsar, even senior officers of the state administration, the Intelligence Bureau and the Research and Analysis Wing, who were not in the know of the real position waited all night at Raja Sansi Airport for from Delhi. Badal and Ba finally flew back to Amritsar by Indian Airlines flight. It was out that the talks had broken procedural difficulties.

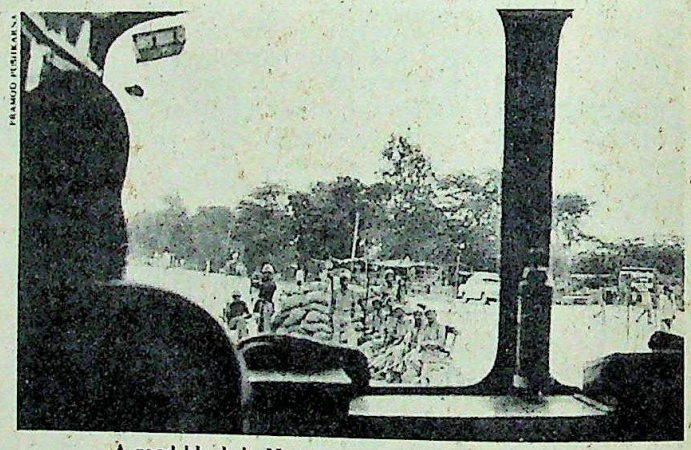
Growing Cynicism: But that a solution was near, co dropped so soon. Two days vernment team was flown by to Amritsar where they immed into a huddle with Badal and Singh. Longowal was also late into the talks. By now, with conflicting news reports, the A getting cynical. Said militant S Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale: "I not to go to Delhi. Let Indira come if she really wants to help. tral Government is dishonest." day Bhindranwale refused to Inder Singh, MLA, who had flow way from Delhi.

Even if the talks ken down at any st had been taken to e the Akalis would n to resume their quickly—soon after started the Punjab ment had rounded u level Akali activis when the Akalis wi the Centre's game seemed a danger tha tation might be re the seniormost Ak except Longowal w ted.

By the end of night it was more parent that the Akali plans Asiad had more or less flopped busloads of demonstrators were arrested in Delhi but the morch ver hoped for an impact. But, a lis retreated in disarray, they we drawing up plans for future. L ready collected the resignations MLA's and MP's. Among the p considered for the future were mass protest to Delhi and block and government offices in P Sikhs were also thinking of tryin meeting of all minorities.

Punjab was also trying to a spate of bomb attacks that b in the state. Among the targe Education Minister Harchan Ajnala. But terrorist attacks no ing, there was no doubt that time, since the agitation began had managed to beat the Ak game.

—GOB



PRAMOD PUSHKARNA

A road block in Haryana: containing the agitators

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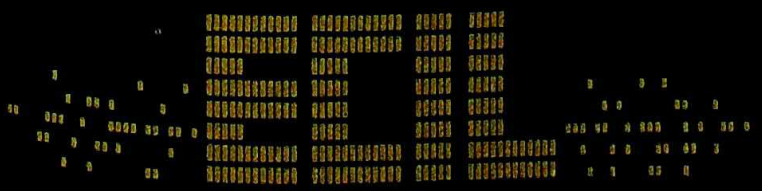

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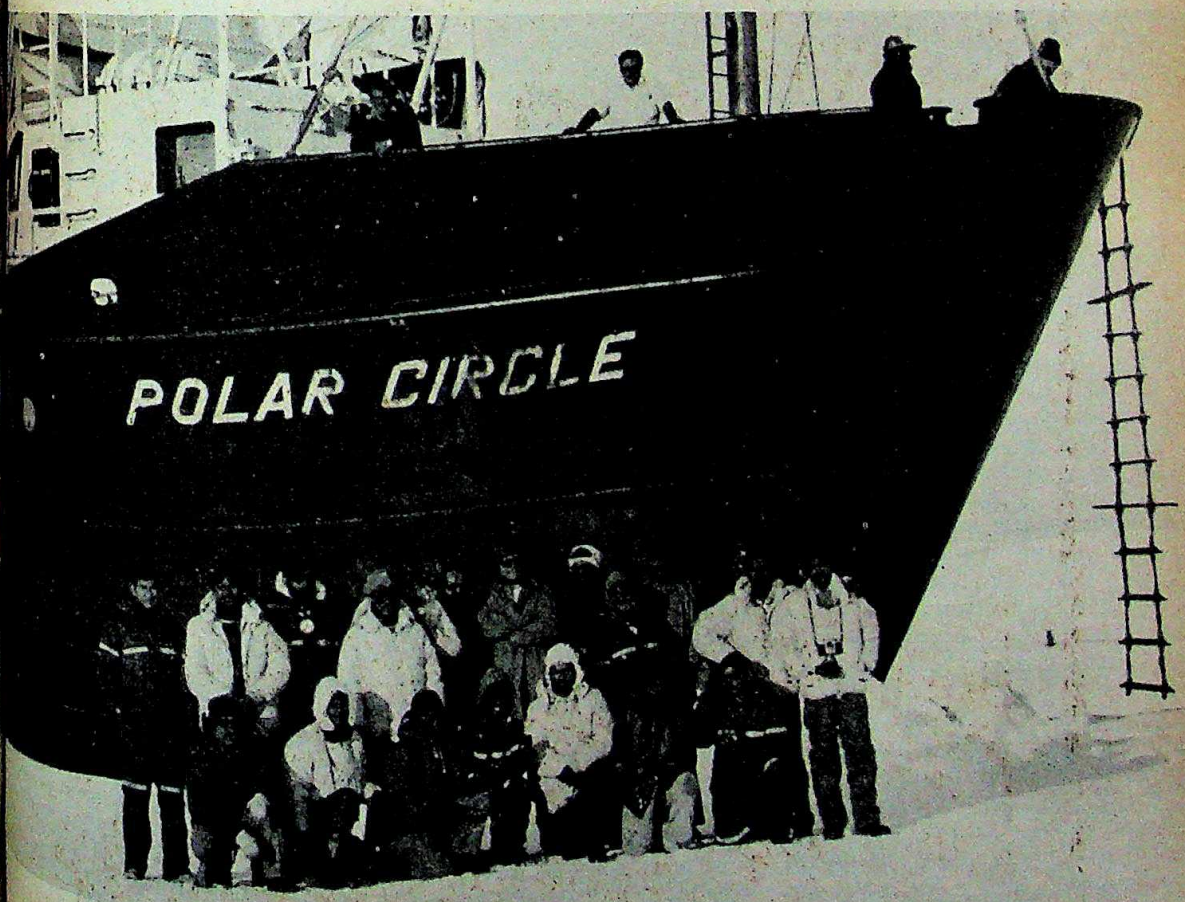
k To The Ice

f last month, a compact ship hed anchor and moved out Marmugao harbour in Goa. decks and hold were crammed phisticated array of instru signed to measure every and shift of earth, wind and shared their quarters with two two snow-scooters and one Finally, there were the score who, for almost three months, and manipulating this equip- destination: Antarctica. Their olar Circle, 5,000 tonnes. Their solidate the Indian 'bridge- hat white, inhospitable land- redibly rich in resources, a established barely a year ago ery same *Polar Circle* ferried ter S.L. Qasim's team of ntists and naval officers to the ernal ice on January 9, 1982. Circle, however, is not making m so that Dr V.K. Raina of cal Survey of India (GSI), who leads the team—nine other scientists from assorted research institutions, about 15 naval officers who provide logistics support, and one Films Division cameraman—can take pretty pictures of penguins and instruments. The purpose this time is much larger: if the first expedition was a preliminary reconnaissance, this one is a full-scale attack. It will, INDIA TODAY has learnt, try to establish a permanent camp in the form of two all-weather huts, and lay out a 10,000 feet runway close by so that a direct India-Antarctica air link becomes possible.

Quick Preparation: Only months after the first expedition's members had recovered from minor afflictions of frost-bite, the Indian Government gave the green signal for yet another 11,000-km trip to an area christened Dakshin Gangotri by the first expedition (INDIA TODAY, March 31). The second Antarctica expedition has taken only six months to prepare, a very commendable feat given the fact that this is considerably more ambitious than its predecessor. The first 'Operation Gangotri' cost Rs 1.8 crore. The bill for the second will come to more than Rs 3 crore. In January 1982, the expedition members spent 10 days in Antarctica; in December 1982-January 1983, they will spend nearly two months on the ice.

But time and money will be well spent. Antarctica covers an area bigger than India and China put together, contains what is probably the world's largest coalfield, and immeasurable quantities of oil—US estimates indicate about 45 billion to 50 billion barrels of oil and 115 trillion cubic feet of natural gas—iron and even uranium. This is a luscious pie and in the middle of the century country after country stuck its flag in the Antarctic ice. Three of the claims overlapped and none of the countries recognised the others' claim. The Antarctica Treaty of 1961 put an end to this squabbling by suspending all territorial claims and setting the continent aside for scientific and other peaceful purposes. Currently, 12 countries operate research stations there. India was the first developing country to raise its flag on the ice—followed a few months later by China.

Big Drive: The great leap forward on



Members of the first Antarctica expedition with their ship on the ice: a preliminary foray

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the southern ice was started when people in high places, notably Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, decided that to play a major role in the Indian Ocean region, India had to establish a link with the continent at the South Pole. After the success of the first foray this year, feelers came from other Third World countries—not including Pakistan—that if India were to go full tilt at Antarctica, the countries would provide all the financial and material assistance they could. In the front line of these generous nations were the African states, which reportedly wanted to counter South Africa's moves in that direction—the racist state already has a research station on the ice.

This offer was accepted, but another, more generous one that came from Soviet Russia was not. The USSR was willing to allow India the use of its runways and research sheds on the polar cap, but the prime minister refused and told the Antarctica team that India would do everything on its own. Apart from being a considerable morale booster, this was a prudent step, as one source comments, for to use another country's material as a crutch would be self-defeating in the long run. As in 1981, the only country that officially knew that India was going south again was Norway, and only because it was again requested for the use of Polar Circle.

BESIDES the usual paraphernalia of instruments and programmes of geological and meteorological study, two basic objectives were chalked out. The first was to establish a very definite presence on the continent. This the team will attempt through two all-weather huts built to survive the extremely exacting Antarctic conditions. Designed by the Central Building Research Institute at Roorkee the huts are made of aluminium, with insulation from the below-zero temperatures provided by a combination of fibreglass and thermocole. Each hut weighs 3.5 tonnes and can withstand temperatures of up to –80 degrees centigrade. For the month-long journey on the Polar Circle, the huts have been divided into 400-kg packages which will be carried by helicopter to Dakshin Gangotri and secured on the rock.

The making of the huts was entrusted to various manufacturers at the Okhla Industrial Estate, Delhi. A feature of the Dakshin Gangotri camp will be that the huts will be set on rock and not ice and snow. Other countries have established their huts on ice; after a few years, the huts sink completely into the ice and new huts are placed on top after cutting a hatch in the first one's roof. According to an Antarctica expert, many countries which have been there for a long time, have ended up with three- and four-storey constructions underground.

Runway: The second aim of the expedition is, however, considerably more ambitious. Engineers are supposed to lay out a 10,000-foot runway on the ice, using powder dyes to mark the snow. A major factor in the laying out of the runway is the wind, and the engineers are going to spend a lot of time choosing the right direction for the runway. When the strip is ready, however, India will have its very own 'airport' in one of the most inaccessible regions in the world, a quite considerable feat for a country that laid its first hesitant step on Antarctica less than a year ago.

However, the programme appeared to have run into an insurmountable problem when it was discovered that none of the aircraft available with the Indian Air Force could make the trip to Antarctica without refuelling. Then the Indian Government came up with a solution in true pioneering style. If all goes well, a US built C-130 Hercules, one of the most advanced transport aircraft in the world, will take off from an airport in the West or in South America and land on the airfield carved out of snow by Indian engineers. This purchase has been kept very secret, but sources say that all has gone well and India will soon have a direct airlink with its Antarctica bridgehead by March 1983.

Direct Link: That will indeed be a great leap forward. It might put another achievement into the shade, whereby a Bharat Electronics Ltd communications unit will enable the prime minister in Delhi to talk directly to expedition leader Raina and his colleagues over the phone. This is a vast improvement on the system used by the earlier expedition for communicating with India: a shore to Polar Circle link, then a ship to Norway link, then a telex connection between Norway and India.

These three major objectives of 'Operation Gangotri II' will, if they are successfully accomplished, overshadow the activities of the other scientists. The frenetic pace of India's Antarctic drive can be measured by the fact that planning for 'Operation Gangotri III' has already begun. The object of that journey will be to establish a manned station on the continent. Then, at last, India will have its man on the spot in one of the richest, largely untapped regions on earth.

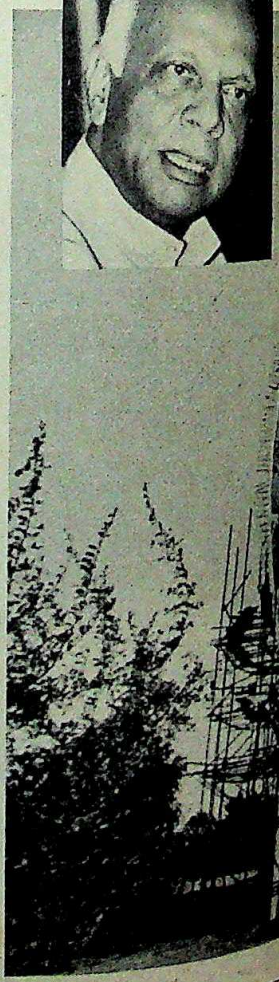
—JAGANNATH DUBASHI

AUROVILLE

City Of Conflict

IT BEGAN as a project of inter-unity, with the imposing name City of Dawn. Over the years, ver, Auroville, the sprawling 20 township 6 km from Pondicherry South Arcot district of Tamil Na become a city of squabbles, with than four parties, including the Government, fighting over exactly would run the project. Last mo November 8, the Supreme Court down a judgement that brought a rary calm to the yet incomplete to it upheld the constitutional validity Government's take-over of Auro November 1980, after a committee that the Sri Aurobindo Society (t original sponsor, had misutilised fu

Ever since the Holy Mother



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Auroville has been plagued group conflicts that are opposed to the spirit of the the centre of the township the sands of 108 countries mited in 1968. For the Government and the Community Of Aurovillians had impleaded itself in the in favour of the take-over, be pleased. The SAS which is nearly 75 Auroville residents, wounds. The so-called group the Auroville Residents' Asso—the COA accuses them of ents—is also sore because a take-over might mean take-COA.

ves: In this welter of cont- more than likely that the impose only a very tempo- for the moment, however, the ew. General Secretary Guru C.S. Nair, secretary of the Committee, wrote to L.P.

Nigam, a former judge of the Allahabad High Court, who is the project administrator appointed by the Government, offering whole-hearted cooperation. Said Pershad: "I requested Nigam to ensure that Auroville residents who owed allegiance to the Society were not put to trouble or harassment." The elderly SAS Chairman Navajatha Poddar said that he had sent a message to Prime Minister Indira Gandhi offering unstinted cooperation. But the SAS will probably file a petition in the Supreme Court seeking a review of the ruling.

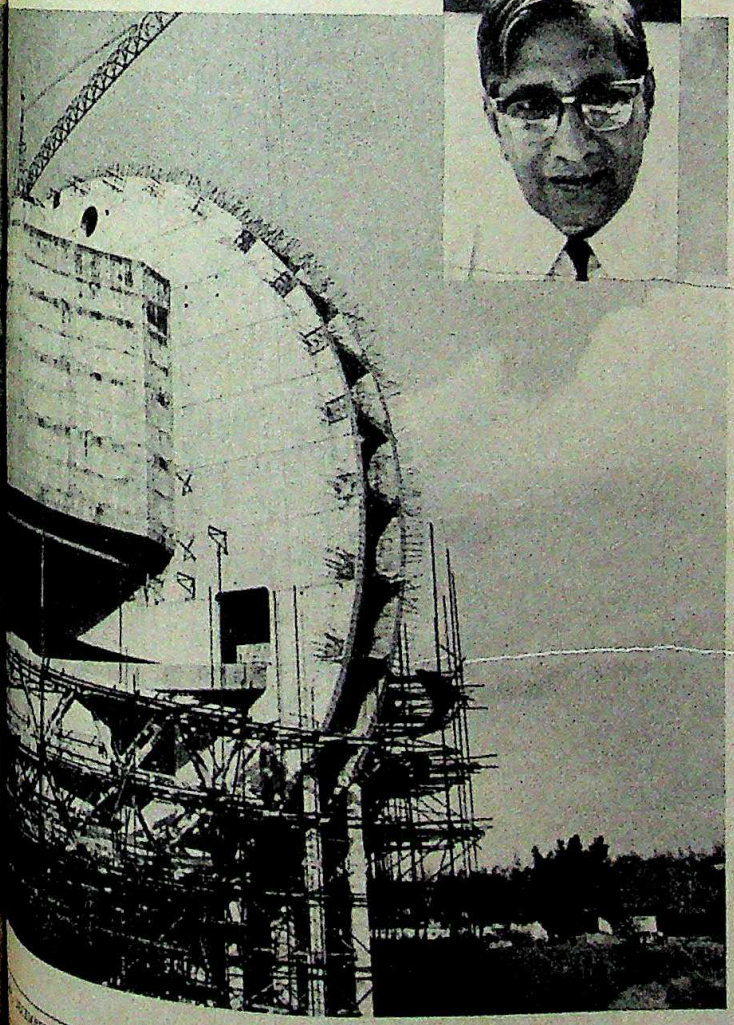
The administrator's swift moves in changing the managements of various Auroville settlements managed by either SAS or ARA loyalists has also caused heartburn. Says middle-aged Coco, who was shunted out of the 'Hope' settlement management in favour of Gerard Cruz, a COA moderate: "The authority of one settlement after another is being vested with members of the COA." Igor Roseggar, another neutral managing 'Hope', echoes her complaint. Deputy Administrator P.N. Ojha rebuts this charge and says that managements were being changed only when they did a bad job. With Rs 3.5 crore sunk in the project by the SAS—the Central and state Governments' share is Rs 90 lakh—and the township not yet complete, the Government was only too keen to ensure the project's economic viability. Ojha gives the example of one Gabriella, who was administering the 'Celebration' settlement, agricultural land and a school, but was removed because of her 'mismanagement'.

Changes: Indra Poddar, a veteran Auroville resident, is not so sure. He asks: "If improper and unprofitable management is the reason for change in portfolio, why have I been dethroned from the residential settlement of 'Promise'? Where is the question of profitability of a residential settlement?" The administrator's note effecting the management change endorses a copy to the SAS Auroville Committee secretary asking him to ensure that the change took place "without any fuss".

Indra Poddar cites other examples of alleged discrimination: Govind Bhavnani, in charge of the Auroville Information and Reception Centre at Bharat Niwas—a huge building in the centre of Auroville which is to contain a pavilion for each Indian state—was shunted out in favour of Deepti Tewari and Bhaga, vociferous anti-SAS Aurovillians. R.B. Sampoora, Prabhat Poddar and Kishore Pande will no longer supervise construction at Bharat Niwas; the charge has been entrusted to two foreigners, Gilles Guigan and Peter Anderschitz, and an Indian, Ramachandra Rao.

The cries of 'foul' are countered by others. Says Bill Sullivan, the athletic chief of the settlements surrounding Matri Mandir, the heart of the proposed meditation centre for the township: "The Society's administration of Auroville settlements has always been tainted by the power motive and an insatiable greed for the acquisition of property." SAS Chairman Poddar on the other hand, said in an interview that developments in Auroville after the Supreme Court verdict only detract from the divine ideals that the project sought to embody. "Unless the Government takes immediate steps to rectify its approach, the project will fall to irreparable ruin," he warned.

Committee Inquiry: The first sign that things were not well with the City of Dawn came in 1975 when a section of Auroville residents revolted against the authority of the SAS. On December 21, 1976, the Government appointed a three-member committee, headed by the then Pondicherry Lt-Governor B.T. Kulkarni to probe allegations of mismanagement of funds by the SAS. The Kulkarni Committee's audit team recommended streamlining the SAS's



Mandir; SAS Chairman (left) and Deputy Administrator Ojha; endemic discord

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accounting procedures; in mid-1977, the committee pronounced that the audit had confirmed earlier apprehensions of misutilisation of funds by the SAS. There was no follow-up action then, but in 1980—when Mrs Gandhi returned to power—the Auroville (Emergency Provisions) Ordinance was promulgated (it later became an act) providing for take-over by the Union Government for a maximum period of five years.

An aggrieved SAS went to the Supreme Court, contending that the take-over grossly violated the fundamental right of an unincorporated religious denomination to establish and maintain institutions for religious and charitable purposes, manage its own religious affairs and own, acquire and legally administer movable and immovable ... The SAS also ... Parliament's ... to enact the law ... ter came within ... view of West ... Legislative ... having been ... 1961 under ... Societies' Re... Act 1860.

SADANAND MENON

Buxloh: confident of the future

Last mon... ver, the SAS lost ... Its supporters ... that Auroville ... nerate into a ... ment underta... members ... this; Frederick ... an important ... der, says that ... vernment will confine itself to the ... ment of Auroville property. It is ... clear that a project visualised ess... an alternative to the money econ... a manifestation of the divine cons... has got bogged down in an earth... mire. —S.H. VENKATRAMANI in ...

THE VERDICT

Watershed

THE SUPREME Court's vindication of the Government's temporary take-over of management of the Auroville project has sent shockwaves through every registered group and society in India that claims to be a religious body. One of the main grounds on which the Sri Aurobindo Society (SAS) challenged the Central take-over was the alleged violation of the fundamental constitutional right of every religious denomination to establish and maintain institutions for religious and charitable purposes, manage its own religious affairs, and own, acquire, and legally administer movable and immovable property.

In adjudicating that the teachings of Sri Aurobindo and the Holy Mother did not constitute a religion but only represented their philosophy, thereby denying the SAS the fundamental right of owning and administering property, the five-judge Bench has admitted that "the word 'religion' has not been defined in the Constitution and indeed it is a term which is hardly susceptible of any rigid definition."

Confrontations: Every so-called religious society, therefore, now finds itself confronted with the intriguing poser: when it comes to the crunch ... prove itself to be religious? If ... doesn't the Union Government ... by virtue of the Supreme Court ... the right to usurp the manage... its property? Religious institutio... now feeling understandably vul... considering that proof of relig... religiousness involve a trou... academic splitting of theoretical ...

The arguments that were ... about in the Supreme Court ... case were indeed subtle and ... For its part, the SAS rattled off ... tire catalogue of quotations ... Aurobindo and the Mother ... home the point that their ... were the exposition of a ... ligion", a "spiritual religion" ... from "religionism", which ... generation into a "creed or cu... tem of ceremonial acts". Not ... behind, the Union Government ... 233-strong community of Au... which has been challeng... society's authority ever since ... of the Holy Mother's passing ... also trotted out a series of ... rebut the SAS claim. They re... Sri Aurobindo's explanation ... say that it is far from my p... propagate any religion, new ... and affirmation that: "We ... party or a church or religion ... their point.

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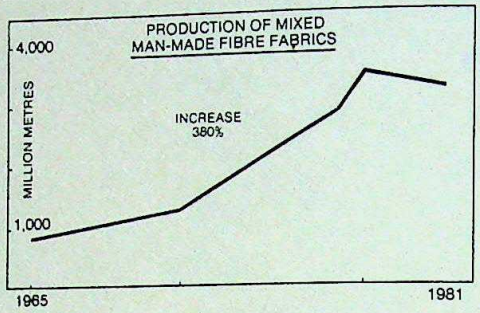

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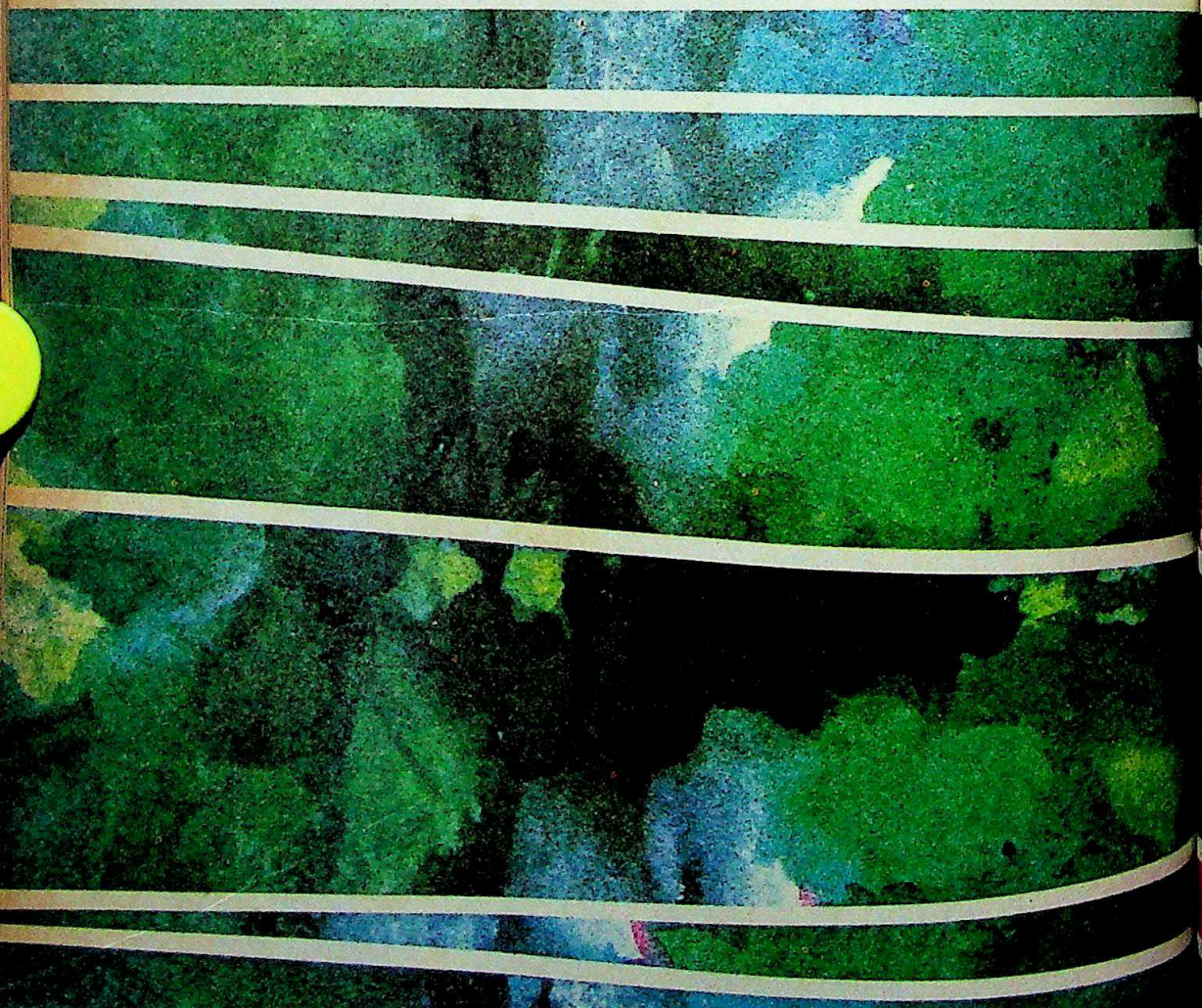
Catalysts of Industrial Growth



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we grow, industries grow... And we grow again

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THE ENERGY CRISIS.
AND A SOLUTION OUT OF THE BLUE.

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Wind.
It's a source of energy that can generate enough electricity to meet the energy requirements of an entire village.
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Coal is running out.
Gas is running out.
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NAGALAND

Elections At A Price

THE NORTH-eastern state of Nagaland has become accustomed to insurrections, army actions and a 20-year-long dusk to dawn curfew. But it has never seen the kind of political wheeling and dealing that has been taking place since the elections on November 10 that brought the Congress(I) to power—and raised doubts about the long-term future of the new ministry. The manoeuvres began soon after the party failed to secure an absolute majority in the 60-member Assembly, even after a month-long high-power campaign involving personalities such as the prime minister, her son and senior Cabinet ministers including Pranab Mukherjee and C.M. Stephen. In the end the Congress(I) clinched the issue by persuading eight out of the 11 independents to support them.

From the moment the results were announced, the horse-trading began. Even Chief Minister S.C. Jamir admits openly: "Before the independents had agreed to side with us they wanted to be assured that they would be made ministers." Jamir's deputy T.A. Ngullie is even more frank and says without a trace of embarrassment: "None of the independents who joined the Congress(I) will have cause for regret, as all will be included." He adds expansively: "You can ask them if you do not believe me."

Horse-trading: Ngullie's words have turned out to be surprisingly accurate. Within 12 days of the election, seven independents had been made ministers and an eighth had been made speaker of the Assembly. But this was not before Nagaland had witnessed the kind of scenes that are better known in states like Haryana. Till the moment the seven independents were sworn in, they had been kept under guard at the VIP tourist bungalow Congress(I) workers carefully scrutinised even the boots of cars leaving the bungalow—though, as it turned out, there was no real need for such checks as the MLA's were willing prisoners.

Said Ngullie, a young independent, soon after he was offered a ministership: "Now that they have agreed to make me a minister there can be no question of my leaving them." He had contested the election as an independent only after he was refused a Congress(I) ticket. He says: "Before the election when I asked for a ticket, I had even promised I would not want to be a minister if I was elected. After winning as an independent, I was offered a ministership in exchange for my support."

It was perhaps inevitable that the Congress(I) would get the better of the Naga National Democratic Party (NNDP) in the post-election horse-trading. The party has far greater resources in an expensively fought election. Each candidate was lavish in his spending, and rivals hosted huge feasts—each costing more than Rs 4,000 to Rs 5,000—in their constituencies. Once the voters got scent of the game, they made sure that they got as much as they could from it. In one constituency some voters threatened to beat up a candidate because he offered beef instead of pork—which is more expensive—which his rival had provided. The menu was hurriedly changed. Even the independents had to join the spending spree, and according to Jamir, most of them are now broke.

(From left) Jamir, Vizol and Marachaiba: power games

Recouping Losses: It is little wonder then, that they grabbed at the chance when they were offered ministerships. Jamir agrees that there is a very real danger that these people may try to recoup their losses once they assume office, but he hastens to add that he will ask each minister to declare his assests, "which will act as a deterrent to corruption".

The man in the street in Kohima and Dimapur views these goings-on with very little enthusiasm. Says one: "This is our introduction to the politics of the plains." Jamir, however, asserts that the Congress(I) victory has enabled the state to shake off regionalism and align itself with the mainstream of Indian life. But it is obvious that he is not very happy with the existing situation. He admits: "Such lavish spending is corrupting influence on the Naga p I wish I could stop it." Another lator adds: "Such extravagance is

Both pleaded that they were certain actions because the other already doing it. The same arg offered by NNDP leaders like for minister T. Vizol and NNDP Secret Kevichussa, both of whom lost a ings. Said Vizol: "The Congress it all and we had to keep up Joneses." Vizol, who has a good in the state, says: "I really won most of the candidates got the from." The best explanation that Kevichussa can offer is that "fr relatives contribute". The indepen Marachaiba remain silent on this

One way or the other there is that the Congress(I) is relieved outcome of the elections. Prime Indira Gandhi had herself camp three days and no effort had be to win over the vo Stephen was brou he repeatedly qu the scriptures in win the sym Christian voters. Minister Kedar Pa paigned for the B and Sikkim Chief Nar Bahadur Bha flown in to secure t vote. Political ob Kohima are unan with elections due in Assam and M the Congress(I) just cannot affo Nagaland. Says Jamir: "This is t centre of the North-east, the fi regionalism starts here."

Successful Election: For the p election has been a success. Even if won an absolute majority, it ha prevented the NNDP from return wer. But the containment of regio different matter, and the fact re even the Congress(I) ranks are f youngsters who have a deep-roo for rebel leader Phizo. And Jam testations of nationalism lose co he is reputed to change horses w suits him.

For the time being the mini secure. But it is no secret Congress(I) is a house divided w lost between Jamir and the party The chief minister is also disliked like Ngullie who have be Congress(I) longer than the chief For the moment they are lying l Jamir has been able to corner the most legislators. But it is anybo how long this will last. —S.

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ning A Terror

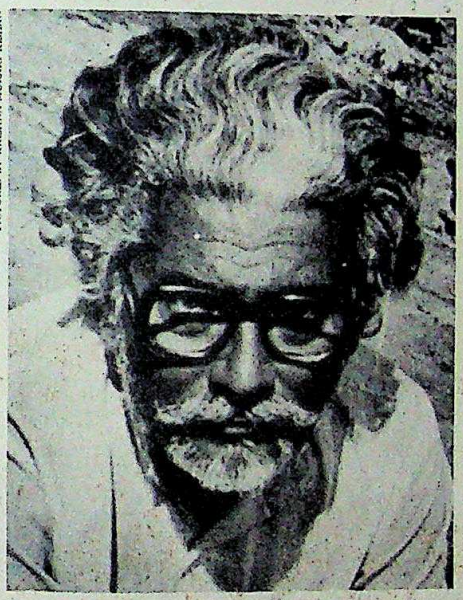
FOR THE Harijans and Adivasis of Manatu, in Bihar's most backward district of Palamau, terror has been an integral part of their lives. But last fortnight it seemed that the local landlord, or the 'mauar', was come to an end. In a series of raids headed by Deputy Commissioner Chakravarty and Police Superintendent Kunal, the power of the mauar, Jagdishwarjit Singh, was broken and the man himself has fled.

Accusations against Singh are wide range from land-grabbing, paying less than the minimum wage, whipping, imposing arbitrary fines, illegally felling forests, illicit distillation of liquor, failing to pay government dues promptly, terrorising the villagers with a panther and python and stealing food to feed them. The terror tactics have spell and for three generations they have been able to wring absolute obedience from the villagers and silence the district administration. Says a man of Ghirsiri village: "My father died working for the mauars. I have a son and two daughters and he and all of them are his personal slaves."

Appraisals: Maintaining Manatu as his personal fiefdom, Singh has 96 bonded labourers, the largest number in any state of Ladai Bhuiyan, who escaped from forcible labour, is representative. Ladai was beaten by the villagers. Ladai was then brutally, dragged naked and tied to a tree. On release he went to the police station and the papers grabbed from him by the Mauar's men. Ladai was then forced to leave the Manatu area.

Bhuiyan is another victim. Says he: "The mauar allotted me land for a crop and captured it. Now I work for 1 kg of *mahua* a day (worth 50 paise)." His complaint to the village: "He takes my wives on the pretext of giving work and then he and his men exploit them sexually. There is no escape."

Sohraj's view seemed to be the one shared by all the villagers. In police records that go back to 1928, the time that Singh's grandfather was alive, there is constant mention of the villagers' total servility as the mauars were considered almost omnipotent. Aided by aggressive goons and vicious pets, the family has been able to totally subjugate the area, which is inaccessible from the outside for much of the year. Nor has any school been allowed in Manatu as the mauars felt that education would make the villagers aware of their rights. Even their children were not encouraged to study as it was believed that this would soften them.



PICTURES BY KRISHNA MURARI KISHAN

Jagdishwarjit Singh (top); the police with a part of his ill-gotten gains a long history of terror

First Effort: Apparently all through the Government has kept a vigilant, if ineffectual, eye on the activities of the mauars. But it was only in 1980 that any real effort was made to bring Singh to book. The then deputy commissioner N.S. Madhavan mentioned in his report to the state Government: "His (Jagdishwarjit's) activities remind one of the old feudal days when a handful of zamindars used to exploit the Harijans and Adivasis and other weaker sections with impunity. His activities actually pose a challenge to the district administration because he feels and makes people feel that no one can do any harm to him for any anti-social act."

But as was the case with all adventurous officers posted to the area, Madhavan got transfer orders within 100 days of coming to Manatu. His last act, however, was to order the arrest of Singh under the Bihar Crime Control Act and institute cases under six sections of the Indian Penal Code. Singh escaped from police custody and procured a court order against his arrest. His image of invincibility in the eyes of the villagers was reinforced.

This year when Kunal was posted to the Daltonganj police station he was able to team up with Chakravarty who was already posted there. Both were equally keen to bring Singh to book. Undaunted by reports of past harassments and of officers being framed with false charges, they reopened the cases filed in 1980. Singh's political patrons swung into action in Patna and got Chief Minister Jagannath Mishra to transfer the case to the Criminal Investigation Department and out of the reach of the Daltonganj police station.

Quick Moves: In the meanwhile court orders arrived, ordering the attachment of Singh's properties in order to realise government dues and pay minimum wages to labourers. The police moved in quickly and carried out the instructions to the letter. With this public humiliation and sensing his reign would soon come to an end, Singh went into hiding.

This may, however, may just be a ploy to gain time. As vice-president of the district Janata Party, Singh has already sought help from senior Janata Party leaders including the state unit chief and MP S.N. Sinha and Thakur Munishwarnath Singh, a former Janata minister. Leaving nothing to chance, he has also contacted Congress(I) ministers of his caste who have started

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pressuring Mishra and the Bihar's inspector general of police to order an enquiry against Kunal and have him transferred from Daltonganj.

While Sinha has merely conveyed to the chief minister Singh's version of the affair, Thakur Munishwarnath has been very active in his attack on the Daltonganj police. Alleging that Kunal is a "criminal and sadistic officer who must be punished", he added that the actions taken against Singh were initiated by a Union minister who is against the "innocent mauar". Sinha has now had second thoughts and party sources say that he was under the wrong impression about Singh and was unaware of the many ways in which he exploited villagers in his secluded fief.

Buttressing Claims: Family members are also keen to propagate the idea of political harassment. Said Vijay Kumar Singh, grandson of the mauar: "These charges are all bogus and politically motivated. In 1977 mauar saheb supported the Janata Party and since then the Congress(I) people and now the Congress(I) Government, through its police, is out to destroy us." Denying all charges made against his grandfather, Vijay Kumar said that Singh had distributed all land amongst his six sons and given the excess to the Government. He also stated very complacently that no villager would step forward to testify against his grandfather.

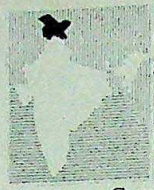
The last claim, at least, was already in the process of being proved false. With Singh going into hiding, the villagers are at last breaking their decades of silence and everyday the police station is crammed with people waiting to file complaints. Remarked the officer-in-charge of Manatu police station, Kuldip Narain Sinha: "The action against the mauar has emboldened the fearful villagers. This is a kind of revolution." It is becoming clear that the centuries-old feudal fear that has kept the villagers in thrall is slowly but surely disappearing.

Plans for the post-mauar era are already cautiously afoot. There is talk of constructing two schools, of building an all-weather road to the area and a more equitable distribution of land. Chakravarty and Kunal say exuberantly: "We are planning a campaign to educate the poor about their rights and privileges. The end of a dark night is not far." With Singh still lurking in the darkness, the enthusiasm may be a little premature for Manatu, and is certainly so for all the other villages in the country where different versions of Jagdishwarjit Singh still reign supreme.

—FARZAND AHMED in Daltonganj

JAMMU & KASHMIR

Factional Feud



IN STATE after state, the Congress(I) is learning that defections do not a party make. The latest storm of infighting hit it in the Kashmir valley when a meeting of the Pradesh Congress Committee-I (PCC-I) called to discuss organisational elections degenerated into a name-calling exercise. Last month, S.S. Sisodia, the observer sent by the high command, watched helplessly as PCC(I) Secretary Shafi Shaida accused PCC(I) President Mufti Mohammed Syed of building up his own faction in the party through a number of defectors to the Congress(I) and "tightening" his grip on the organisation by giving them key posts.

The acrimonious affair, which is the best indication yet that Chief Minister

Syed Mir Qasim (left) and Mufti Mohammad Syed: serious differences

Farooq Abdullah and his National Conference (NC) have little to fear from the Congress(I) at the Assembly elections to be held next year, took place behind closed doors at the offices of the party daily *Khidmat*. Syed's so-called caucus consists of Mian Bashir, a Gujjar MLA who was a deputy minister in the Sheikh's government but is now PCC(I) vice-president; Malik Mohiuddin, MLA and former speaker of the Assembly who switched loyalties two years ago; G.M. Bawan, a former Janata Party man who forfeited his security deposit againt the NC candidate in the 1977 elections; and Molvi Iftikhar, a Shia leader who was the Srinagar district president when he was in the Janata Party. Bashir and Malik have been allotted new jeeps and a salary of Rs 3,000 each.

Crippling Quarrel: This naturally has the 'loyalists' up in arms. Rafiq Sadiq, son of the former chief minister, the late G.M. Sadiq, resigned recently from his post as vice-president of a district unit in protest against the imposition of defectors. Said Sadiq: "Mufti is out to impose these 'Aya Rams Gaya Rams' on us." Co[illegible] block president of the NC: "It [illegible] Gandhi herself who masterm[illegible] tions in the Assembly to hel[illegible] weaken Sheikh Sahib, but this [illegible] be a miscalculation."

That is an understatement. [illegible] Syed says of the defectors that [illegible] to be broad-minded", the de[illegible] loyalists wrangle has undoubted[illegible] the party. Party stalwart Syed M[illegible] former chief minister and the on[illegible] independent standing in the Co[illegible] stayed away from the PCC(I) me[illegible] ing, "I don't bother going to [illegible] tions"—and Qasim was the ma[illegible] 1975, installed Syed in power. Be[illegible] nab, one of the most respected [illegible] the party, complained that she [illegible] informed of the meeting and [illegible] Mu^ti was keeping party leader[illegible] Qasim away". Qasim himself [illegible] culty concealing his contempt [illegible] who he believes has "never talke[illegible] seriously".

Syed brushes aside these [illegible] ments saying, "In democratic pa[illegible] are differences here and there [illegible] shouldn't jump to conclusions." [illegible] ther he nor anybody else can [illegible] implications of four distinct fac[illegible] Sadiq, pro-Qasim, pro-Mufti an[illegible] ulam Rasool Kar, the senior [illegible] dent. The pro-Sadiq group, whic[illegible] nised by Miss Mahmouda, a je[illegible] ry in the All India Congress Co[illegible] supports Qasim. A party lead[illegible] Jammu comments gloomily on [illegible] tions: "Under these circumst[illegible] can't have a consensus on a pa[illegible] Mrs Gandhi is therefore bound [illegible] Syed on us again."

Alliance Problems: Like th[illegible] elections, the Assembly elec[illegible] raised a knotty question: shou[illegible] gress(I), which at present has o[illegible] in the 76-member Assembly, [illegible] alliance with the NC? Abdull[illegible] tion for joining hands is that S[illegible] men be shunted out. New Delh[illegible] sed this and Vijay Dhar, a c[illegible] Rajiv Gandhi, is reportedly in [illegible] with Abdullah to work out [illegible] Dhar has reportedly made fr[illegible] Srinagar since the Sheikh's d[illegible] seen to be working towards a [illegible] erests between Rajiv and Abdu[illegible]

Rajiv himself does not s[illegible] much time for Syed. Last y[illegible] Rajiv dismissed the party un[illegible]

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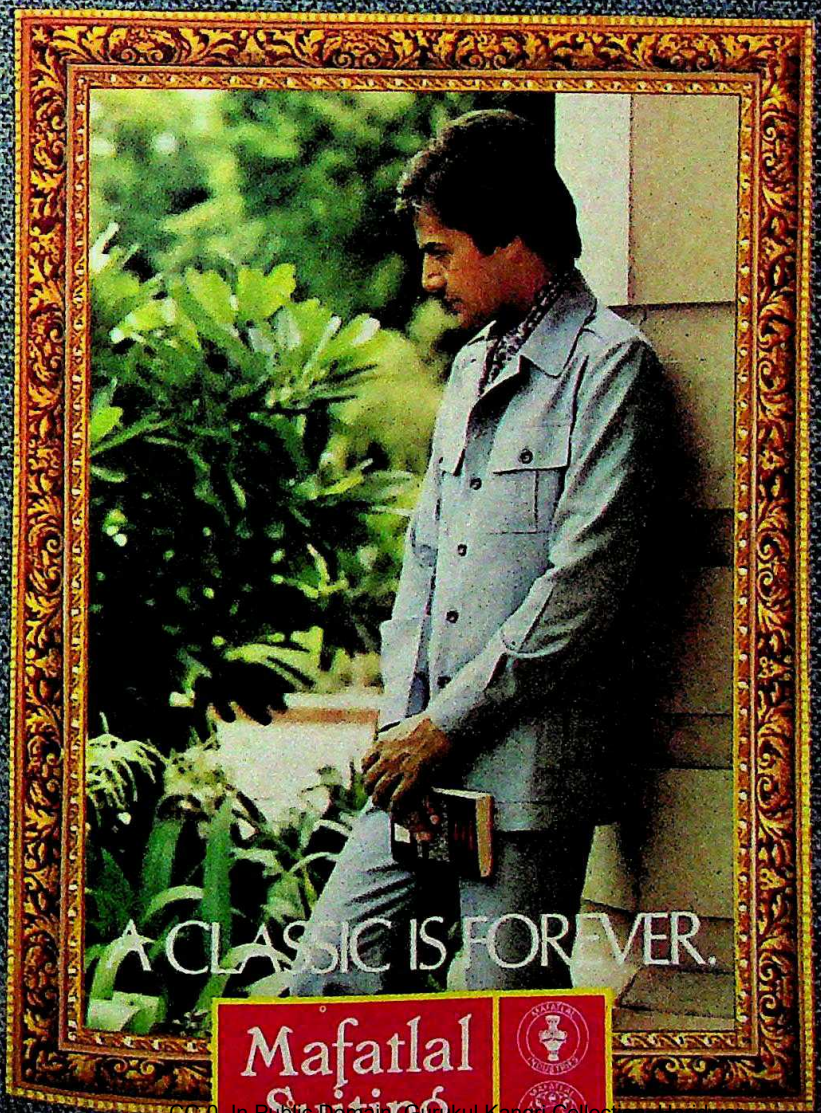

Mafatlal Suitings

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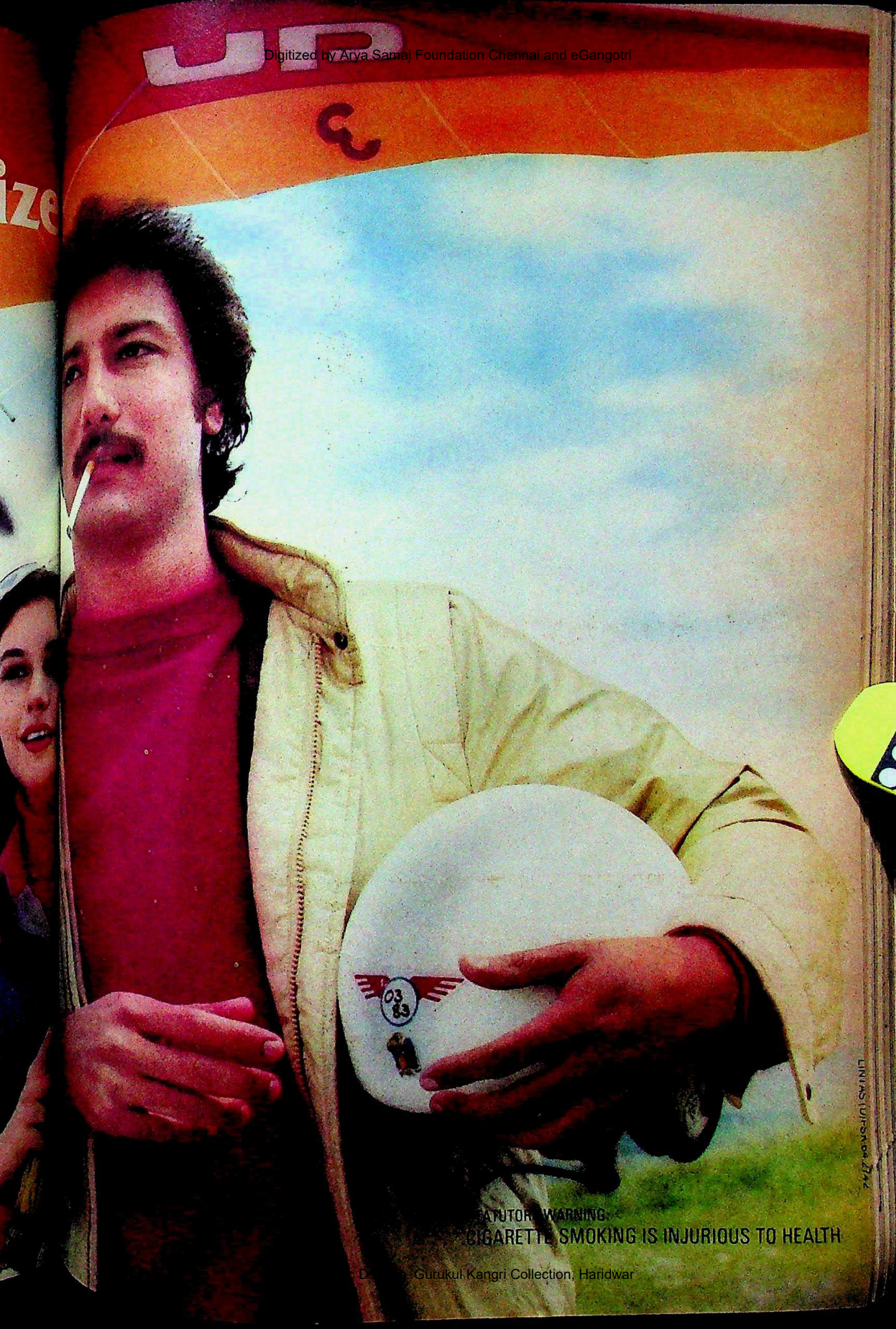

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However, the claim made the party office secretary, 8 lakh basic members" does ridiculous, considering that doesn't claim to have so many

pears not to favour an allian- "Elections or no elections, we to play second fiddle to any- about a possible merger he retorts: "Could there be stupid? In my view, regio- creating more problems for than they are solving." This ally opposed to Qasim's belief that an alliance is ne- counters that "the line of by the PCC(I) cannot be the anybody's personal whims".

however, no line of action at moment, Syed appears to be his may well be a hollow posi- the incredible degree of infight- ty. An alliance with the NC is oral escape route for a party tures to meet the ruling jugg- on, will most likely be cut to

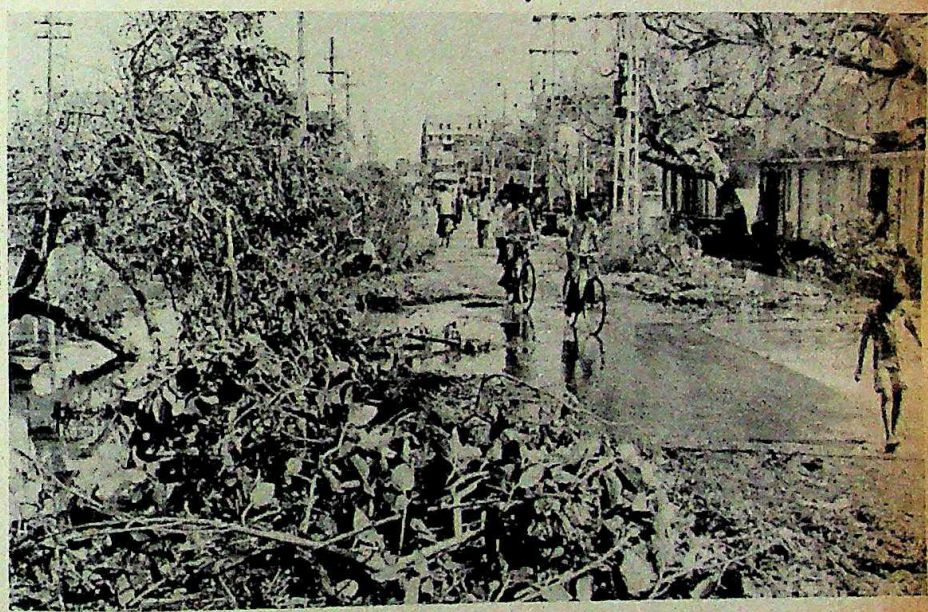
—GHULAM NABI KHAYAL

sfortune gnified

WEEKS after it was over, victims of the Gujarat cy- clone are still picking up the pieces of their cruelly shattered lives. Surround- ing them are constant re- minders of the November 8 that hit them like a sledge- the skies: rubble that once fields ravaged beyond re- dead or missing, mangled and twisted trees. But storm abated and normalcy another storm was gradually the fact that the de- not entirely natural.

0 people and 4,000 cattle per- Vankiya, Babapura and when "a wall of water" them after the sluice gates of dam were opened without water level in the dam star- heavy rain and gales swept the day of the cyclone. The started getting panicky af- the entire coastal region of plunged into darkness fol- power failure. Alarmed at

Broken betelnut trees scattered in a Chorwad field (above) and uprooted trees blocking a Veraval road: heavy losses



PICTURES BY: PRAVIN KACHIA PHULCHHAR RAJKOT

the impending danger, they opened the dam's sluice gates. A two-metre-high wall of water crashed down on the village, catching the villagers unawares. Survivors estimate that more than 100 people were killed. The village's entire flock of 900 cattle was swept away, as was a three kilometre railway track. And 207 of the 400 houses were reduced to rubble. For nearly three days, Vankiya village was a stinking mass of putrefying bodies.

Charged Keshubhai Patel, state unit president of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP): "There was absolutely no need to open the gates as the dam was not overflowing. The villagers were not even warned or evacuated." But Chief Minister Madhavsinh Solanki maintains: "Had we not let out the water, there would have been a Morvi-like disaster which would have wiped out 13 villages."

Devastation: In Lathi, a taluk of Amreli district, at least 20 lives could have been saved, had it not been for the behaviour of a temple priest. As mud huts crashed under the impact of rain and wind, the water level started rising. The villagers pleaded with the priest to allow them to take shelter in the temple which is situated at a higher level. But the panicky priest blankly refused; instead, he locked himself inside even as screaming villagers drowned in the waters outside.

All along the affected areas of

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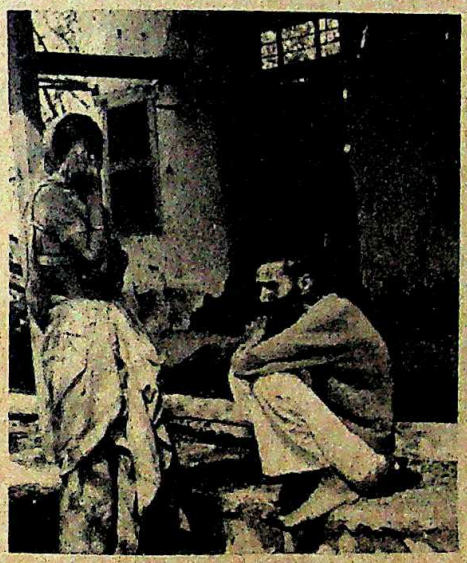
Rajgrol, Chorwad, Veraval, Amreli and Bhavnagar, the destruction, several days after remains terrible. Last fortnight were full of slush, all traces of having been washed away. Lots of work would be required to fit for cultivation again. Known for its scenic beauty and coconut plantations, was totally the storm.

which was seriously bat- over 150 dead and 5,000 cattle Over 7,000 houses were da- though cyclone warnings soun- before did reach the towns, in the countryside were caught The district authorities failed to or evacuate them to safer pla- the cyclone.

ming: That the Government napping when the cyclone hit Home Minister Prabodh his foot in his mouth when he the "unpredictable working" observatory. However, after minister remarked that it was mous destruction had occur- forewarning, an embarrassed that he was pleased with the the observatory. According to government had only six hours for the cyclone; however, the forecast a severe cyclonic core of hurricane winds mov- Bombay hitting north and south Gujarat two days Heavy rains with gusty winds started on November 6.

The devastating cyclone which finally battered the entire state, barring the four northern districts of Mehsana, Sabaskantha, Banaskantha and Kutch, left more than 700 people dead. It affected 63 lakh people in 4,500 villages, besides towns and cities. Though the Government played down the figures of those dead and missing, the official estimates are nonetheless staggering: 530 people dead, 3,28,381 huts and houses destroyed, 224,000 cattle dead and 76 missing. Unofficial estimates put the death toll at far higher since more than 400 people are reported to have died in Amreli itself.

When Mrs Gandhi flew over the affected areas, half of the state machinery was involved in sending messages about her arrival, landings, route and departures. Special telephone lines set up to speed up relief, as all lines were out of order, were used to monitor the movements of VIPs and ministers. Meanwhile, thousands of affected people were craving for food and water. In many areas, villagers complained that food and water did not reach them even 48 hours after the calamity.



In front of their shattered home (top) and dead cattle: irreparable damages

Government help to areas such as Diu and Una also came two days later. And in Veraval, the port where a 60-foot-high embankment wall was washed away along with 12 barges tied to it, people didn't have drinking water for 24 hours, while in Modhwad village of Amreli it was supplied 48 hours later. Said Rajendra Kumar Misra, a Rajkot-based journalist who toured the cyclone hit state: "The Government handling of relief operations was extremely tardy. There was complete lack of coordination and confusion was conspicuous. Ministers at Gandhinagar, who had little idea of the devastation, were only making tall claims."

Silver Lining: The only silver lining of the cyclone has been that the widespread rain it brought all over the state will benefit the rabi crops. The state, which had been reeling under severe drought, will be considerably relieved.

Said Solanki to INDIA TODAY: "It is amazing that in spite of such unprecedented calamity, the affected people had a high morale. While I toured the areas after a week of the calamity, the people all over were praising the Government for its speedy relief, clearing of roads which were so full of fallen trees and restoration of electricity and telecommunication services. Had it not been for timely action, many more would have died."

Solanki came under fire from the Opposition, because he was in New Delhi while his state was reeling under the impact of the cyclone. He had gone to attend the Gujarat Day celebrations at the Trade Fair after the first warning of the impending cyclone had been given. Congress(I) dissidents and the Opposition spread word that he was "watching a dance performance in Delhi when people in Saurashtra were dying". But Solanki angrily denied this, saying that he was keeping in constant touch with the developments and was delayed for a day because there were no flights from Delhi to Ahmedabad.

Even if he manages to charm the Centre to help him with aid, he has a Herculean task ahead. It won't be an easy task to piece Saurashtra back together. Solanki, who already had his hands full trying to defuse the increasing dissident activity, now has to face the storm left behind by the cyclone. —RAMESH MENON

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tiny In The Ranks

WHILE Mrs Gandhi was celebrating her 65th birthday in New Delhi, dissidents of the Gujarat Congress(I) were drafting an ultimatum addressed to her. In utter desperation, their boats time and again, led by Gujarat Pradesh Committee-I (GPCC-I) Vice-President Mehta, have decided to change in the Congress(I) state by the end of November. According informed insider, in case they response, 10 MLA's and six the party.

happens, and Kishore Mehta Rathwa—two Gujarat dissi signatories of the memoran- cut the threat, Congress(I) majority in the Rajya Sabha. if successful, might become a for dissidents elsewhere.

Kishore Mehta: "We are real who stand by certain ideals and cannot keep quiet when violated. If we want the state ship to be changed, it is becau those ideals to continue."

Dissidence: To add to the trou state Congress(I), Maganbhai and former Union deputy fi- who had been lying low he was unceremoniously drop- the Cabinet, has surfaced again boost to the restless dissident camp in the state. Revolting the Madhavsinh Solanki led a *jail bharo* agitation of last month, demanding that and Marsden mills, which earlier, be reopened. Barot workers, were arrested and The mills were closed becau- ment ran into debts, and the were cut off due to non-pay- The total liabilities of the into Rs 14 crore.

Parmar, a dissident MP from jumped into the fray and led workers to join the *jail* Meanwhile, on the same Janata Party (BJP) MLA led another 1,150-odd work-

Discontent: Barot told the the Centre was keen to get opened, but Solanki was de- Barot: "I am keen on gett- opened as they are in a traditional Congress(I) stronghold. The BJP is getting very popular in the area as it is leading the agitation of the workers. Discontent among the workers towards the Congress(I) is mounting. But Solanki has discouraged private parties from buying the mills as I may get the credit. Over 7,000 families have to go hungry because of Solanki's personal vendetta against me." Solanki, however, denied this, saying that he has in fact started discussing the take-over of the mills with various parties. "The Government is even ready to accord concessions to the new owners," he said.

The state leadership is also facing allegations from the dissident camp that nearly 10 lakh of the 12 lakh primary members enrolled during the recent membership drive, are bogus. Last month, Kantilal Gokal, an active Janata Party member, filed an affidavit in the Junagadh Civil Court, saying that the Congress(I) membership list included his name, although he was not a member. He charged that his signature was forged on the membership form and asked how he could be a member when he hadn't paid the membership fee. His is not the only case.

The Vanthali Janata Party President, Mohanlal Devji, in a letter to the state Congress(I) samiti, protested against the inclusion of the names of three of his members—Govind Maru, Baiu Vira and Manga Khima—in the Congress(I) list.

Bogus Membership: Mohanbhai Patel, the dissident MP from Junagadh, has collected documentary evidence to prove that the Congress(I) list had bogus membership. He has xerox copies of various membership forms with forged signatures and no other details and some forms that don't even have the member's signature. Said Patel: "The ministerial group has enrolled 20,000 bogus primary members and 1,000 bogus active members in Junagadh alone with the connivance of GPCC(I) Party President Mahant Vijaydasji and Minister of State for Social Welfare, Devji Vanvi."

Patel accused the Congress(I) ministers of visiting the different districts, having their cronies fill membership forms with names randomly picked from electoral rolls, and pay for the membership fee. This was to show up the dissident leaders. Admitted Dr Mehta: "We have not been able to enroll many members as we cannot indulge in corrupt practices like this. The Congress(I) should be ashamed of it." But Solanki insisted: "There is hardly any effort to enroll bogus members. Such instances have not come to my notice and I know nothing about it." Vijaydasji also denied any knowledge of bogus enrollment and wondered why Patel had not made a formal complaint to him.

SHUKDEV BHAGHUCH

Maganbhai Barot at the *jail bharo* agitation being taken away in a police van

With this political crisis on his hands, Solanki will have to gather his wits to keep his state party together. On November 20, he already faced the *en masse* resignation of Baroda City Congress(I) Vice-President Abdul Majid Shiekh and 18 other party ward presidents. Earlier, five Muslim leaders, all Baroda municipal corporators, quit the party because of the shoddy handling of the communal riots in Baroda. How Solanki is going to restore unity to his severely troubled state party has yet to be seen.

—RAMESH MENON

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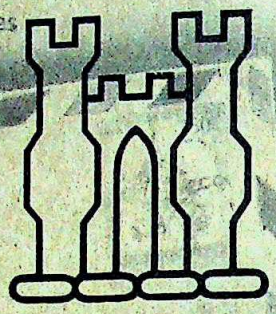

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Left to right: Jacob, Antony, Karunakaran and Moopanar: back to square one

e Great Reunion

THE WHEEL has come full circle. After a chequered four-year existence, marked by many experiments including a two-year-long partnership in office with the Commu- of India-Marxist (CPI-M), the led by A.K. Antony, has square one and decided to the Congress(I) in Kerala.

called the merger a home- there was more than a tinge of words. This came from the observers in the state were out, who fell out with Mrs detecting streaks of authori- her manner of handling Con- Later, he even quit the ership in October 1978 after to oppose Mrs Gandhi's in the Chikmagalur by-

Choice; It is generally agreed had few options. His party wandering in the wilderness ever deprived of its name, flag and they could hardly join hands with the Marxists, with had already found themselves incompatible.

and the effort was to conceal cessities in a cloak of pious typical of these was V.M. Sud- MP and Kerala Pradesh Committee general secretary "The Congress(A) has decided with the Congress(I) and we leadership of Mrs Gandhi and We would like to strengthen against extremist demands for a and other secessionist move- tempt tries to stress a different after all we are birds of the same not only a family quarrel." quarrel or otherwise, it took of hard bargaining and shuttling between New Delhi and Trivandrum before the merger finally came about. The state Home Minister Vayalar Ravi of the Congress(I) and Oommen Chandy of the Congress(A) have both been working behind the scenes to bridge the gaps between the two sides. Chandy set things moving two weeks ago when he met Mrs Gandhi and found her keen on an immediate merger without pre-conditions.

It was not quite as simple as that though. Congress(A) leaders admit that the prime minister's Principal Secretary P.C. Alexander played a major role in the whole episode. Alexander, who is a personal friend of Antony, has made trips between New Delhi and Kerala whenever the negotiations showed signs of breaking down. Says a senior Congressman: "The Congress(A) leaders were also able to get direct access to Mrs Gandhi through Alexander who finally clinched the deal."

The moment Antony gave the green signal, G.K. Moopanar, the All India Congress(I) Committee (AICC-I) general secretary who acts as Mrs Gandhi's troubleshooter, flew to Trivandrum to settle the matter. Said Moopanar: "The understanding about our coming together and the consolidation of Congress forces is perfect and the feeling is that the coming together is purposeful." It was also decided that the merger of both groups would take place in the presence of Mrs Gandhi.

New Stability: The merger has changed the face of Kerala politics. The addition of 15 MLA's has given the ruling coalition a new stability and added to the clout of the Congress(I). The Muslim League with its 14 MLA's feel that they will lose some of their standing and are trying to emphasise that Antony cannot be trusted. Many others echo the same view. Says firebrand Marxist legislator M.V. Raghavan: "Antony is after all the Bhajan Lal of Kerala politics."

There are rumblings within the Congress(I) also. A Cabinet reshuffle now appears to be a certainty. M.P. Gangadharan, the irrigation minister, who fought the merger tooth and nail may be dropped for his anti-merger stance. Gangadharan is unrepentant and says: "The Congress(A) are proverbial fence-sitters. They should be made to accept the leadership of Mrs Gandhi and Rajiv." When asked whether he accepts the leadership of Rajiv Gandhi, Antony side-steps the issue, saying: "All Congressmen are my leaders."

There are other pressures building up. For the first time the cohesiveness of Antony's little band seems threatened. Two young members of his group, Sudheeran and M.M. Hassan are gunning for Vayalar Ravi. At a high-level party meeting recently they criticised Ravi's style of functioning and requested Antony to get him replaced by Oommen Chandy. But there are also charges that Hassan himself is likely to defect. He denies this hotly and points out that he has given up his business interests "for the sake of party unity."

The biggest problem of all is to accommodate the numerous party bearers of both organisations. For the moment it is said that A.L. Jacob, the present president of the Kerala Pradesh Congress(I) Committee, will continue in office for the moment but he will be replaced next year by Antony. There are also rumours that Karunakaran will be replaced next year by Chandy who denies this, saying: "There is no need for a change. Karunakaran is doing a superb job."

For the time being, the Congress(I) with its new increased following, is sitting pretty. It is, however, almost inevitable that sooner or later the 'loyalists' versus 'defectors' drama is going to unfold in Kerala as it has in other states. But such thoughts are being stilled as A.K. Antony and Mrs Gandhi ready themselves for the great reunion.

—SREEDHAR PILLAI

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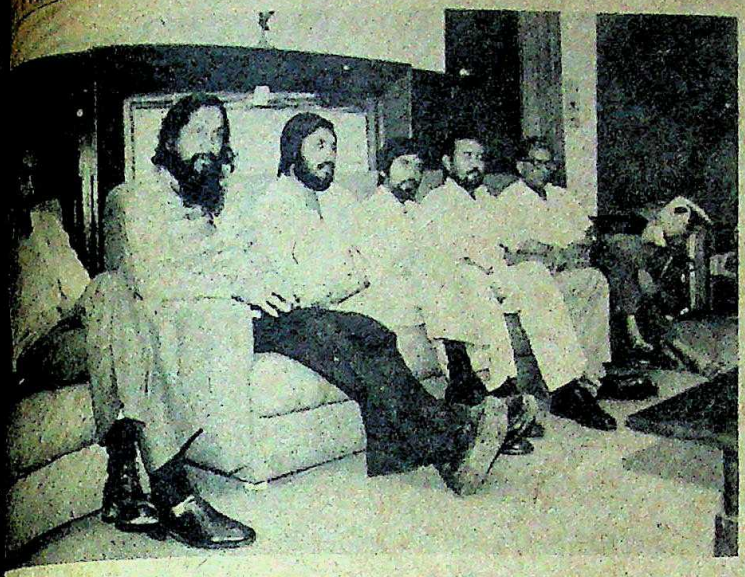

Assam delegation: threatening to resist elections with their lives

paring For Polls?

IT WAS an uncomfortable fortnight for leaders of the Assam agitation. For a start, when they took two Union ministers to the Bangladesh border to prove their contention that still coming in large numbers other side, they failed to prove To add salt to the wound, in strict the people they had clai- Bangladeshis promptly pro- mentary evidence to prove that ry Indian. And when, towards a gruelling day, an exaspe- Minister P.C. Sethi rebuked leaders, saying: "I cannot be gui- it almost sounded like the his final warning.

ministerial visit was clearly in- the more wind out of the AASU Students' Union) and AAGSP Grama Sangram Parishad)sails, extent, it was a success. For the agitators have been loudly about infiltration and the to the situation. The issue again at the last round of talks Sethi and Defence Minister Venkataraman agreed to a joint border with the agitation leaders.

Observed: It was only much the leaders realised that with the pre-planned, the border out- the just so'—and there would verify their allegations even only that, the state and the All Assam Minority (AAMSU) had ample time to organise demonstrations at the small town of Dhubri where the ministers and agitation leaders had been demanding early elections—and for a moment it did appear that the agitationists had indeed been isolated from the people.

That is clearly the impression which the state Government also wishes to create. Inquiries reveal that all the latest intelligence reports have been stressing the point that if elections are held on the basis of existing electoral rolls—a contingency which the agitationists have threatened to resist with their lives—there could be trouble in possibly 20 of the 126 constituencies of Kamrup, Nowgong and Darrang districts. A senior police officer told INDIA TODAY last fortnight: "As for laying down lives, the same threat had been issued two years ago when the Government had decided to bring out oil from the refineries by force. But they did nothing when the Government really applied force and it will be repetition of the same thing this time. Also, if elections are held, we have clearly told the Government that we are prepared for the polls."

Sethi and Venkataraman: pushing hard

The general impression in Gauhati was that the elections would be suddenly announced, and in the meantime no effort would be spared to play up to the agitationists so that they did not create any further trouble; the prompt agreement to visit the border was merely a step in that direction.

Considered Moves: A clear sign that preparations are being made for the polls is the fact that the Government is pushing ahead with the printing of electoral rolls. Printing presses in Gauhati were not entrusted with the job after they informed the state authorities of their inability to do the work. They fared reprisals, and the task has been almost entirely given to printers in Calcutta. Asked when the rolls would be ready, Chief Electoral Officer Khosla said: "I hope to have them within the next week." Khosla also said that alternative plans had been prepared if the state Government employees stuck to their stand that they would not cooperate with the task of holding the polls if the rolls were not properly revised. The state would need 12,000 polling personnel, and while Khosla would not say anything, it was learnt that arrangements had been made to get them from outside the state.

Finally, Home Minister Sethi further confirmed the feeling that elections would be held, after all, before March next year, when President's rule expires. There are also reports that the Congress(I) has been told to have informal agreements with the AASU at the lower levels so that it does not create too many obstacles for the party at the hustings, as this would only be to the benefit of the left and democratic alliance—something which the Congress(I) would like to prevent at any cost. There are fairly strong intelligence reports that the students themselves are also getting ready to prevent leftist victories by setting up their own candidates as independents, so that the non-Congress(I) votes could be effectively split.

The students' fear about leftists getting a fair percentage of votes in case the elections are held has been heightened by the latest Gauhati University results in which the Marxist-dominated Students' Federation of India (SFI) secured nearly 50 per cent of the votes, though the university is a strong AASU base and admissions are also controlled by it. Though AASU leaders would not comment, there are reports that this development is causing them considerable concern and may lead to their having a temporary truce with the Congress(I).

—SUMANTA SEN

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GOA

Rising Chauvinism

LAST month when violence broke out in the port town of Vasco in the Union territory of Goa, leading to 100 huts being razed to the ground and 300 families fleeing to neighbouring Karnataka, it created a national flutter. With the Akalis in full throttle in Punjab and the foreigners issue in Assam remaining tangled, the threat of a Goan brand of chauvinism suddenly loomed large after the Vasco riots.

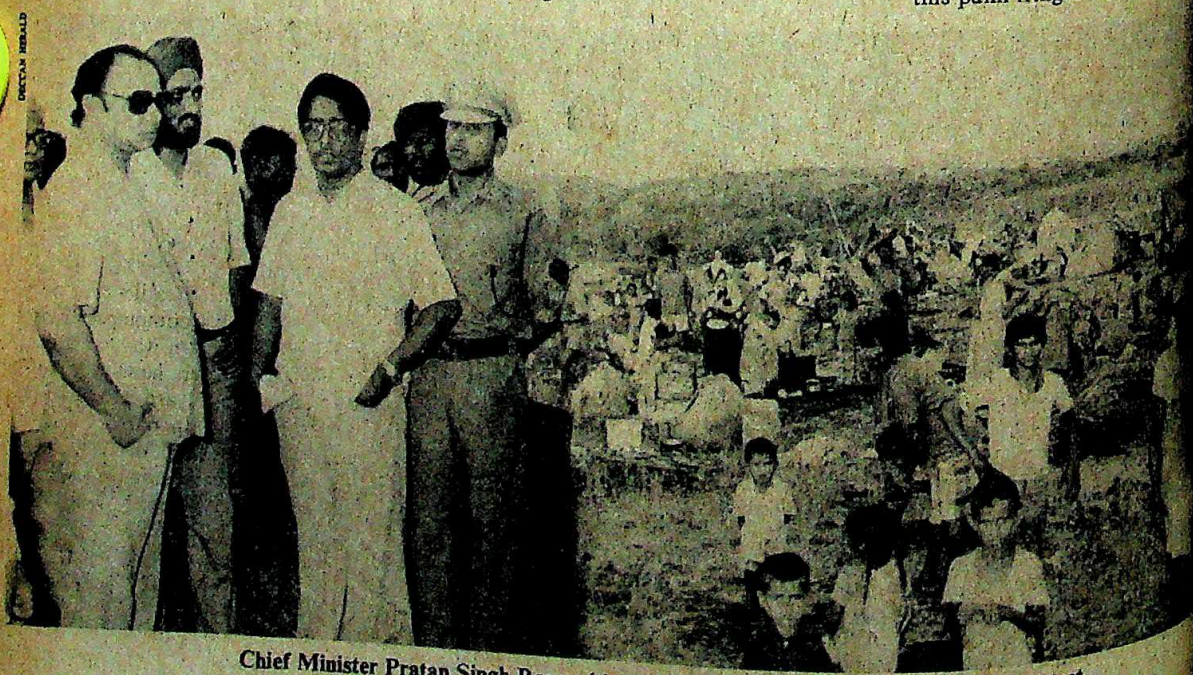
Sniffing the dangerous portents, the Union Home Ministry immediately instructed the Goa Government to rehabilitate all the people who had fled from Vasco and ensure protection to non-Goans in future. Last week, Chief Minister Pratap Singh Rane made haste to reconstruct the burnt huts, providing in the meantime shelter in tile-roofed houses in Vasco to those who had been affected by the violence. Said an emotional Rane in Panaji: "I have taken a vow to protect the interests of everyone residing in Goa and I will not hesitate to do all that is in my hands to fulfil this vow."

With the situation returning to normalcy in Karnataka, Chief Minister Gundu Rao cancelled his plans to send a team of officials, legislators and parliamentarians to study the situation in Goa. Earlier, the state witnessed widespread protest against the atrocities to Kannadigas in Vasco, resulting in stray incidents of stone throwing in Bangalore and many educational institutions remaining closed in other districts. The Karnataka Government set up special transit camps for fleeing Kannadigas who had landed in the border towns of Belgaum and Hubli. The Government has been persuading the people who had come from Goa to go back. Said Rao optimistically: "The problem in Vasco can be solved with cooperation, mutual understanding and cordial relations."

Growing Conflict: Tension has been building up between the non-Goans and the locals in the industrial harbour of Vasco over the past three months. Of Vasco's 1.5 lakh population about 60 per cent are from the neighbouring states of Karnataka and Maharashtra, apart from Andhra Pradesh and Kerala. Most of the immigrant labour live in disorganised slums near the Baina waterfront, Manger Hill and Dabolim. According to Kristanand Desai, a Goan priest, who has been working with the slum dwellers in Vasco and has been fighting for the Kannadigas, the non-Goans have been continuously harassed by a group of chauvinists called the Goa Samaj. The Samaj had been raising slogans such as "non-Goans quit Goa" and threatening the immigrants.

The first signs of trouble co[illegible] September when a Kannada [illegible] Dabolim was smashed. Then [illegible] October a fire broke out in [illegible] slum, dominated by immigra[illegible] families were rendered homele[illegible] fire, a group of sympathetic [illegible] Kannadigas rallied together to [illegible] Goa Poor Workers' Committee [illegible] against the atrocities. On No[illegible] when 5,000 workers of the com[illegible] out a silent procession in pro[illegible] broke out between the demonst[illegible] supporters of the Goa Samaj [illegible] people were injured and several [illegible] ted. The next afternoon, van[illegible] down 70 huts in Dabolim and [illegible] in nearby Vadem, after asking [illegible] to gather their belongings and [illegible] Goa Government called out the [illegible] further rioting was prevented. S[illegible] "It was a mean and cowardly [illegible] nish the voiceless and powerless [illegible]

Even after the violence [illegible] those who had fled from Goa [illegible] migrant labourers who had c[illegible] from the districts of Bijapur and [illegible] were reluctant to go ba[illegible] Sommapwar, a worker in [illegible] chemical factory in Vasco, who [illegible] Bangalore after his house in [illegible] burnt down, said: "We are sc[illegible] back. Unless the Goa Governme[illegible] us full protection, apart from [illegible] our huts, we will not return." B[illegible] situation fast returning to no[illegible] Rane's Government going all o[illegible] their fears, peace may once agai[illegible] this palm-fringed state —RAJ [illegible]



DECCAN HERALD

Chief Minister Pratap Singh Rane with officials on a site inspection: vowing to protect

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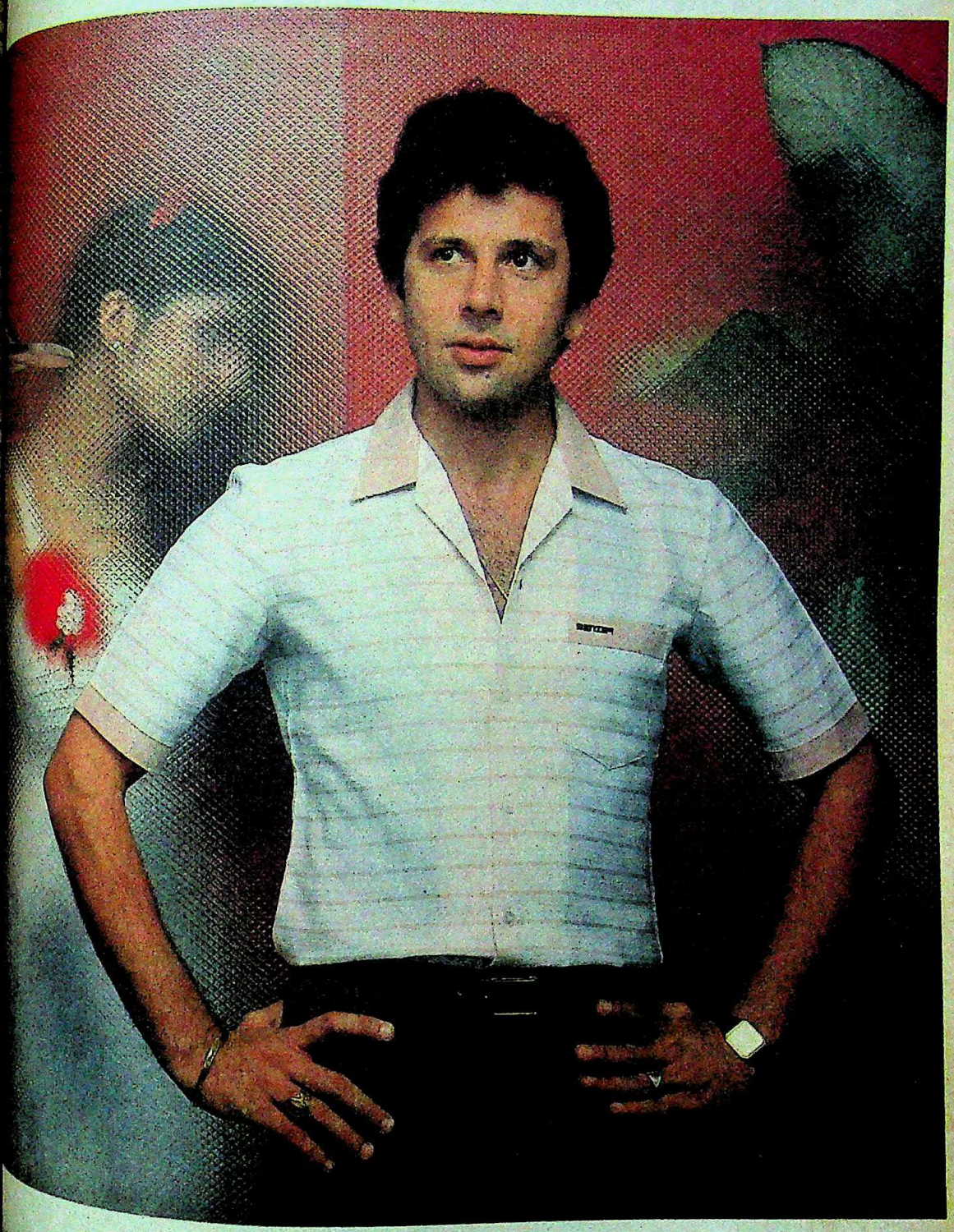

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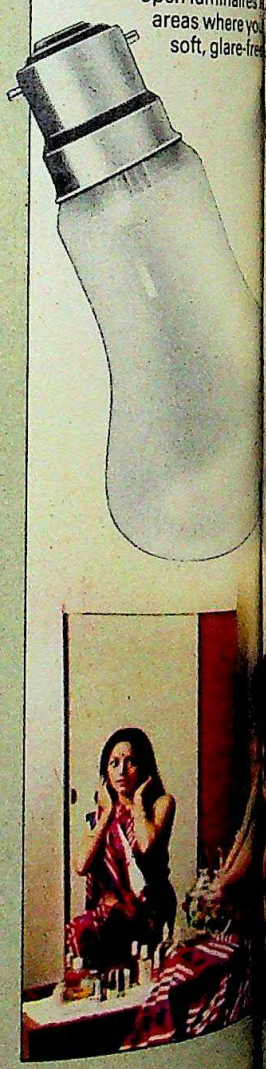

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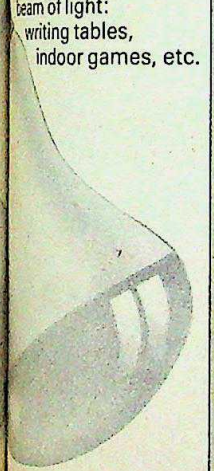

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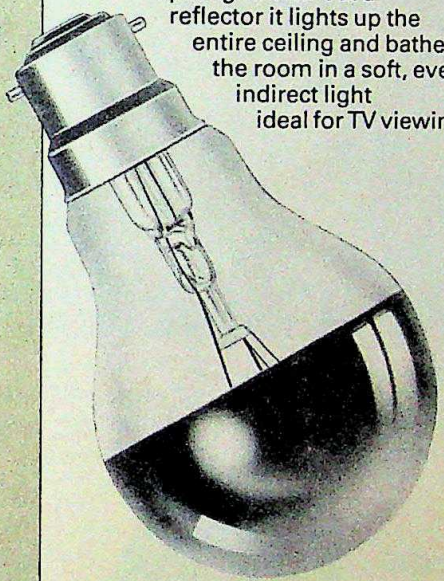

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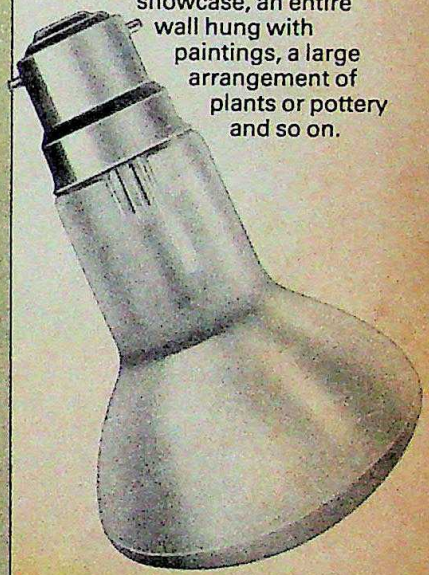

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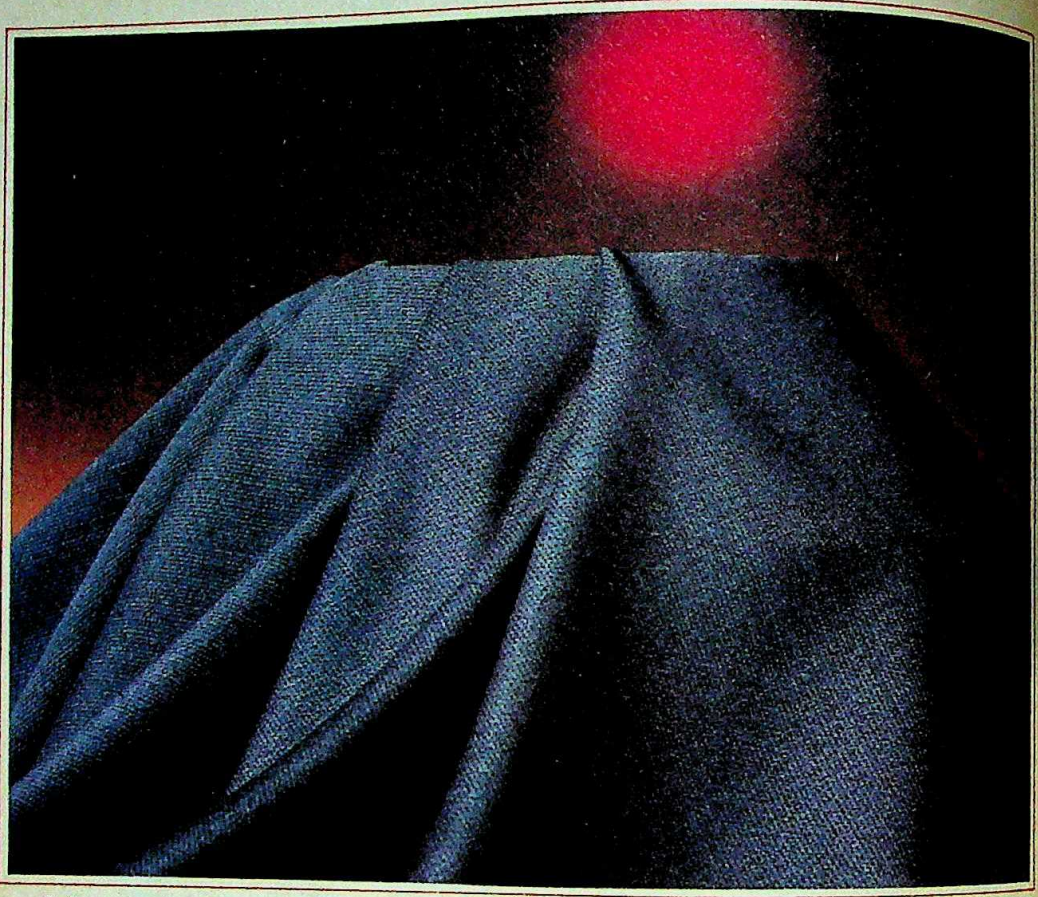

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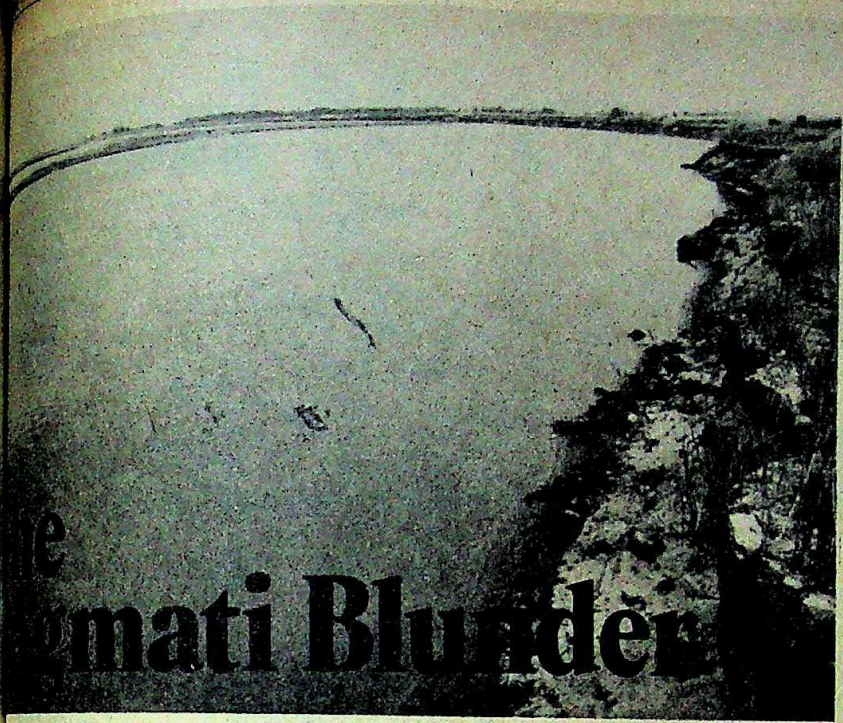
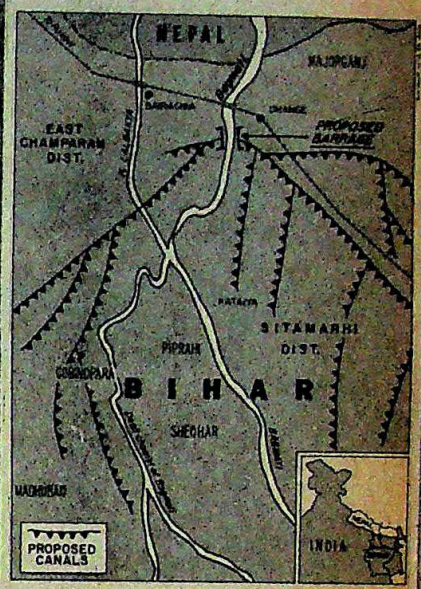


The site for the barrage: costly exercise



The Bagmati Blunder

DIOSE projects to improve lot of the people have never lacking in India. Unfortunat- of intentions often go astray, have, when politicians have more than they can chew. A the Bagmati River Project in district in Bihar: meant to ver and prevent the periodic provide the area with a disci- tion system, 17 years of 'work' lation have only reduced the District area into a dust bowl. crores down the drain, there is barrassing possibility of a row which is fuming because the ernment did not consult it ering with the flow of the

the vast army of engineers and put together for the project to construct a sand-and-earth on both sides of the river, the Indo-Nepal border and km into Bihar. This has pre- Bagmati from spilling over its there lies the catch. The far- area welcomed the floods and time again increased the ity. The embankments have fecund region barren. Said District Magistrate Ashok "The people are very bitter. that the whole project is un- the area. If there was no fear the people would destroy they have already done two places. It is a question of their survival." In fact, many villagers who had cut the embankment at several places were seen celebrating when the waters gushed into their fields.

Wasteful Project: The uselessness of the Bagmati exercise was highlighted in Parliament on October 11 when Union Irrigation Minister Kedar Pandey tried vainly to convince a Lok Sabha member that there was no proposal to abandon the construction of a barrage on the Bagmati. Pandey also declared that the matter would be taken up with the Government of Nepal at "higher and political levels". That the Government dared not put an end to the sorry affair, despite the obvious disillusionment and frustration of the engineers and officials working on the site, is clear from the fact that the Central Water Commission has cleared the latest variant of the project, technically speaking—cost: Rs 186 crore—in March last year. The files have been forwarded to the Planning Commission and the state's Seventh Five-Year Plan is expected to include it in its list.

Farmers of the area welcomed the floods which increased the land's fertility. The embankments have made a once fecund region barren.

The River Bagmati has its source in the Himalayas. After snaking through the Kathmandu valley in Nepal, it enters Bihar, meandering through Sitamarhi district and parts of Muzaffarpur district. Its basin extends over 200 sq m and takes in Darbhanga and Saharsa districts, with the main flow in Sitamarhi district. In the wake of the 'Bagmati Movement' led by the late Thakur Yugul Kishore—the husband of Union Minister of State Ram Dulari Sinha—the Government conceived a double-pronged project in 1965, with two separate schemes for flood protection and irrigation. The project was cleared in 1970. Envisaged cost: over Rs 12 crore. The flood protection section would embrace 397 sq m.

Rising Costs: According to Awadh Kumar, the chief engineer of the Irrigation Department, before the project was approved, the river changed its course, twisting away from Devapur where a barrage had been planned, and the blueprints had to be made afresh. Meanwhile, the familiar demon of cost-escalation was active: a revised estimate of Rs 26.72 crore was prepared in 1974-75. At the instance of the then Central Water and Power Commission this was revised to Rs 36 crore. But costs swelled relentlessly and the current estimate for the flood protection scheme alone is Rs 60.48 crore. As of now, Rs 22 crore have been spent on the embankment which has become the target for every farmer with thirsty crops. Irrigation Department

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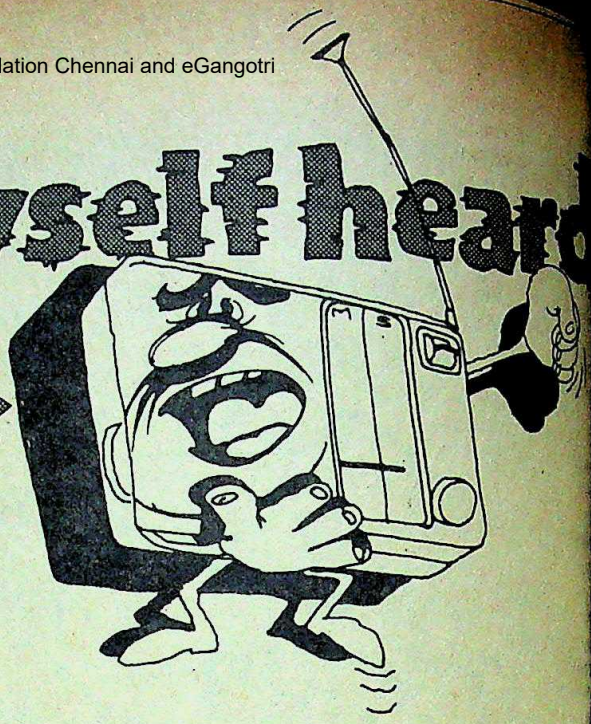

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Patna Secretariat said that, in km of embankment had been 14 sluice gates.

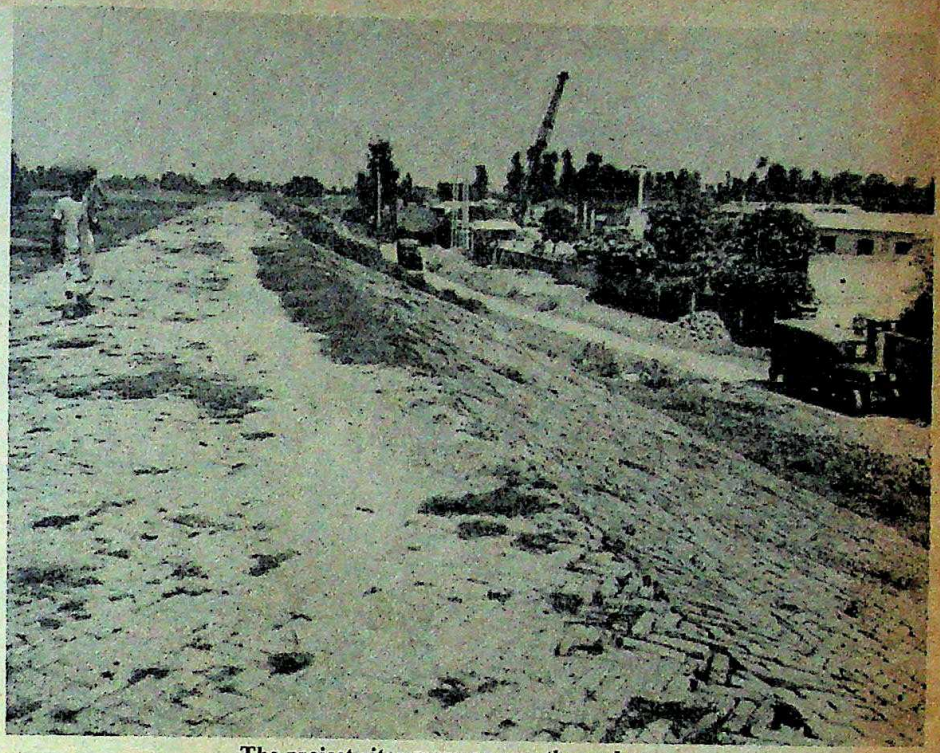
act of all this is starkly evi- region. Said Raj Narain educated unemployed youth of "Until the embankment district was considered a gold bumper crops almost every period. But now the entire di- patch as the Bagmati water, amrit (nectar) has been Gopesh Mishra of Sur- backed him up: "The project us. We are on the brink of

ist Yogendra Rigawal, who in the Bagmati Movement years ago, said that Thakur often quoted as saying that ment had brought them under of perpetual hunger and pov- her journalist, Krishna Sharraf, instead of making the region the project had only brought a cycles on the road as well as a the contractors.

Burden: The Government realised decade that it wasn't getting In 1975, work was suspended. according to Chief Engineer integrated scheme of flood irrigation was prepared. Esti- Rs 188 crore. There was to be at Ramnagar, 13 km upstream site and 4 km from the Indo- er. This is the latest version of that is to be included in the Sev- However, Inderdeo Jha, joint the Irrigation Department said proposal was not making any formal clearance from the Commission was still awaited.

er levels, there is almost uni- cism. District Magistrate that by the time the project was in another 10 years, its cost to Rs 350 crore—and only would be irrigated. Y.M. superintending engineer of the pro- that the project would be a boon both agreed that the cost would times. Executive Engineer Mahto pointed out that worth crores of rupees was the work site.

said that the Government had burden. It had crea- sections, seven works sub-divi- circles. These involve one two superintending engi- executive engineers, 21 ass- and 63 junior engineers. supplementary staff cost Rs 30 year. In addition, the Govern-



The project site: more a curse than a boon

ment sanctions Rs 2 crore annually for maintenance.

Official Protest: The woes of the farmers in Bihar are matched by those of their brethren in Nepal. Apparently, the construction of the embankments in India had caused the Bagmati to rear up angrily and flood areas in Nepal—especially the Gaur Bazar area in Rautahat district. High officials connected with the project reluctantly revealed that Nepal had raised

Kumar: struggling with delay

issues which put the very future of the project in jeopardy. Sources recall that in the early '70s, when construction had begun on the embankments, there was a spate of students' demonstrations in Kathmandu—led by the pro-communist Akhil Nepal Rastriya Swatantra Vidyarthi Union and the pro-Panchayat student organisations—followed by questions in the Rastriya Panchayat and a memorandum to the Indian ambassador.

Nepal's Government lodged a protest, furious that it had not been consulted when the project was being developed. Official delegations have made the journey to Kathmandu—once in 1977 and in July this year. Chief Engineer Kumar, who was in the delegation, said that the Indians tried to convince the Nepalis that the flooding might have been caused by seepages in the Bagmati and the Lalbakhiya in the upper catchment area—the Nepal side. The Indians suggested embankments for both rivers in Nepal as well, and their counterparts reportedly agreed. However, the Nepalis, still angry, constructed a barrage at Noonthore with foreign collaboration—and proposed a dam on the river.

This, of course, would put paid to the Bagmati project on the Indian side. Admits Kumar: "It will be fatal for us." Pandey told Parliament: "We cannot check Nepal from building the dam and the barrage but so far as India is concerned we are very serious about having an understanding with Nepal." The engineers say that there is need for a Indo-Nepal rivers commission on the pattern of the one India has with Bangladesh: most river projects like the Kosi, the Gandak and the Bagmati involve both countries. However, no commission can do anything for the farmers who watch the Bagmati flow sedately past in its channel, leaving their land parched and lifeless.

—FARZAND AHMED in Sitamarhi

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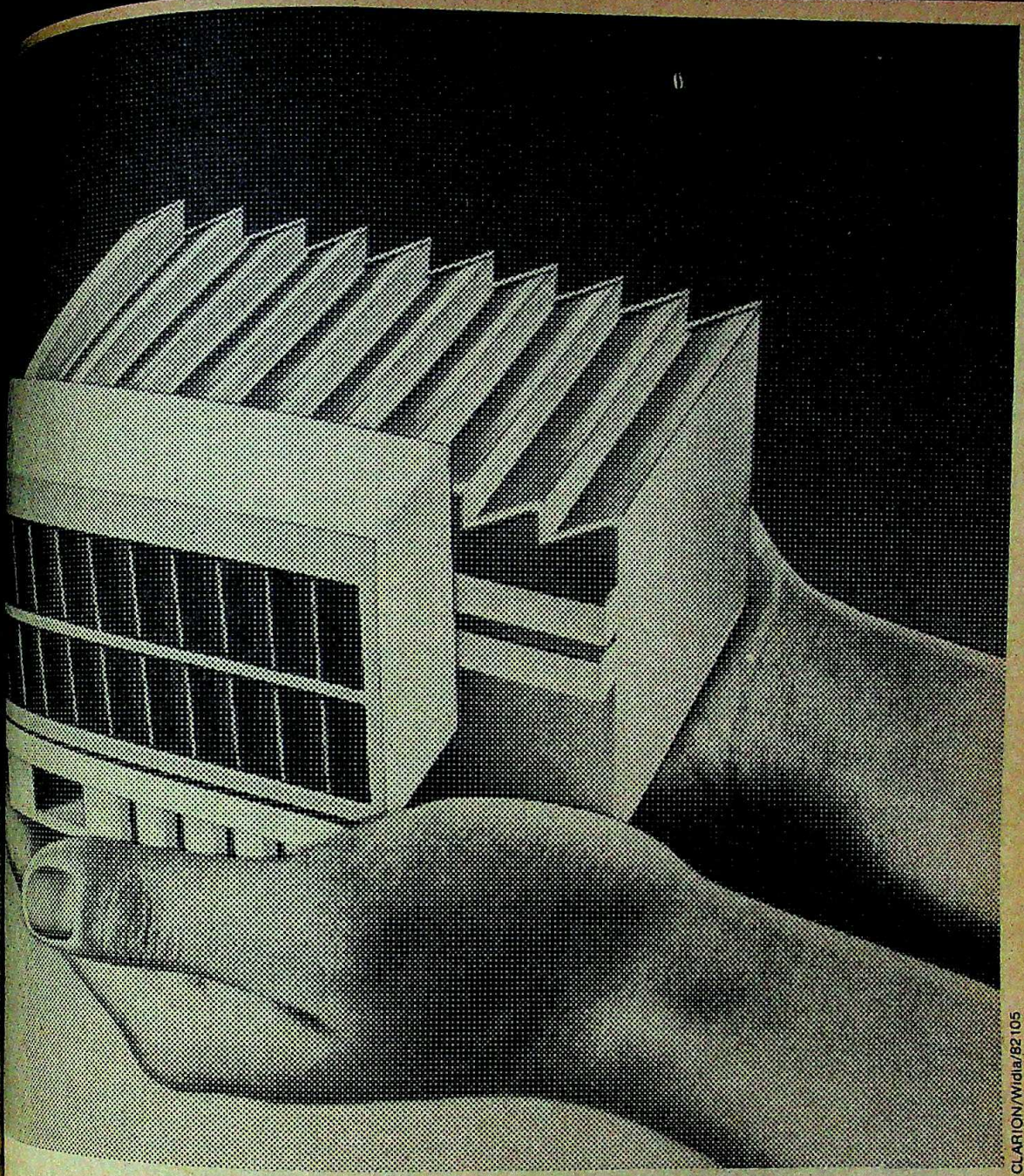

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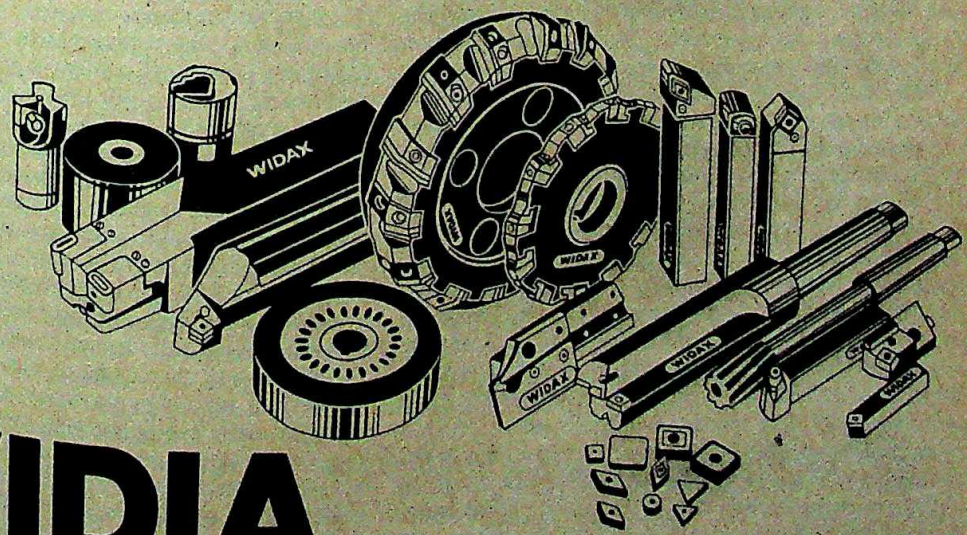

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leadership through technological breakthrough

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How Mitterrandism Works

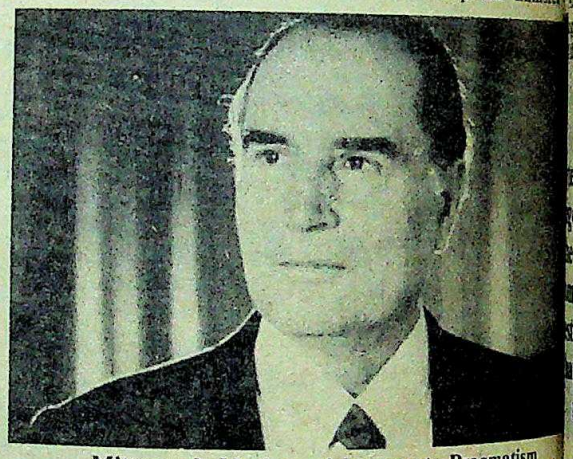
LAST month, an extraordinary 'summit' took place in Kinshasa, Zaire, which brought together leaders of 18 French-speaking countries with 18 more attending as observer nations and one West European President, France's François Mitterrand. More than anything else, the gathering starkly demonstrated the exceptional clout France enjoyed throughout the continent. Frequently referred to as "Africa's Gendarme", it continues to maintain a powerful military presence: 12,000 combat troops manning eight bases from the far west (Senegal) to the far east (Djibouti). In the past, these troops have intervened and quelled "insurrections" in Zaire, Mauritania, Central African Republic, Chad and Tunisia. The French military force in Africa is second only to that of Cuba's, but it is better trained, equipped and more widely distributed. Fleshing out this sinewy military muscle are over 300,000 French people, working in Africa not simply as expatriate technicians or in business, but also in the higher echelons of various governments.

All this bespeaks of the stature of France which, in just one decade, has seen attendance at these Franco-African conclaves rise to nearly 40 from the original 19. Yet one leader who refrained from attending the Kinshasa summit was Libya's Colonel Muammar Gaddafi who brands these get togethers as "exercises in old-fashioned colonialism". Gaddafi's remark might be expected to touch a sensitive nerve in France's 16-month-old Socialist Government. But Socialists out of office are a breed apart from Socialists in office. And Mitterrand's Government is no exception. As a party in opposition, French Socialists voiced concern about human rights violations in some African countries and had indicted the then rather patrician Giscard d'Estaing for continuing French support to Zaire's Mobutu Sese Seko and Guinea's Sekou Toure. The Socialists had strongly advocated Namibian independence, support for the Polisario front in the Sahara and denounced presidential friendships with dubious African "emperors".

Since coming to power, these ideals appear to have collided with a powerful mercantile sense of economic self-interest where commerce with Africa accounts for 11 per cent of total trade. Earlier Socialist appeals for renegotiation of French defence agreements with African nations have also been abandoned. "It is a changed perspective. We have no business to interfere in the internal affairs of sovereign nations. But if French assistance is specifically requested, we may respond," says the Africa Bureau aide. In other words, it is ideology giving way to pragmatism. Among the differences is that French military troops in Africa are now called "force d'assistance" rather than "force d'intervention". Like de Gaulle, Mitterrand seems to accept that France's grandeur depends on its prominence in Africa.

Changed Perspective: Mitterrand's recast Africa policy, this "changed perspective", is symptomatic of how the Government has backslided on its economic programmes at home. France's domestic problems are distressingly old-hat: inflation (14 per cent) and unemployment (2 million). Defying the trend in much of the Western world, the Socialist Party came to power embarking on an intrepid and idiosyncratic experiment of fighting unemployment rather than inflation. It went on a public spending binge, cut working hours and increased wages—tactics that all self-respecting French Socialists approved. A year later, the genial Prime Minister, Pierre Mauroy, whose thankless task it is to absorb all the flak, puffed to a halt and reined in the reflationary programme in mid-stride. The consequences of this reflationary strategy were predictable: in an open-trading economy co by recession, it invited a consumer-led import boom in the try that favoured foreign competitors, not French compani

The French currency floated to a new low against the Without the slightest trace of sheepishness, a revised progr got under way. Public spending was hacked and wages frozen for four months. Inflation is now around a more d ned 12 per cent and is expected to fall to 10 per cent by th of the year—although still twice as much as West Germa The rate of increase in the unemployment rolls has been m nally slowed. The franc has been devalued twice—with p one more around the corner, although Pierre Mauroy an ques Delors, the finance minister, both symbols of econom titude in this country, term talk of further devaluation as triotic". Most people agree that what are needed are w Thatcheresque would be called "austerity measures". Bu Palais Matignon, from where the French prime minister



Mitterrand: Ideology giving way to Pragmatism

tions, despises the term. They prefer the word, *rigueur*. The freeze ran out last month. The Government is now talking "voluntary restrictions" on wage hikes but restive labour are flexing their muscles. A storm of labour unrest lies ahe

The Government's economic reforms have been taken by politicians and commentators. Jacques Chirac, France important opposition leader, is prolific with adjectives abo cialism and economic reforms: outmoded, antique, sectarian alistic, irresponsible, while, Raymond Aron, the country nguished philosopher, sociologist and commentator, wrote latest column in the newsmagazine, *L'Express* "...As under Fourth Republic, France must apply to foreign banks. And the Fourth Republic, there are freezes, measures taken to inflation; under the pretext of reconquering the internal mark Socialists are flirting with protectionism. If the non-militant appears aggressive to authority, it is because they and not the who have to bear the responsibility...."

As soon as they came to power, French Socialists kept pulously to campaign promises: increasing minimum wage subsidies and unemployment insurance; reduced the wo week, lowered the retirement age to 60 and extended paid tions for workers from four to five weeks. They dismantl guillotine and on the whole made commendable efforts to p civil liberties and improve the living conditions of immigra

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two audacious structural changes which the Go- promised to embark upon—devolution and nat- —the latter is simpler to tackle. Much of is already under state control. The average used to driving to work in his Renault (nationali- his bank, the Credit Lyonnais (nationalised) light- (nationalised) with a match (nationalised), living dwelling place (subsidised), working for the French nalised) or catching an Air France plane (nationali- sing France is a tougher task.

the crux of the French Socialists, promise to remodel cracy. France is the most centralised country in the From far-flung Alpine hamlets to fishing villages even a swimming pool can be erected without the from Paris and the omnipotent prefects. Paris drains and wealth from the rest of the country. Now, Socialists, all that will be changed. In theory their bury Napoleonic France—some of whose laws days of Louis XIV, Colbert, Richelieu and Maza- Socialists are unfazed and are determined to pursue taking of the Mitterrand presidency.

gest, they hustled through a number of preliminary devolution in the Socialist-dominated Parliament. rabidly anti-Socialist daily, *Le Quotidien de Paris:*

rrand's recast Africa policy, this ed perspective", is symptomatic of Government has backslided on its mic programmes at home. France's stic problems are distressingly old- t: inflation (14 per cent) and unemployment (2 million).

sleep in July in a Jacobin state more in the tradition than of the French revolution. And *voila*, we woke in a decentralised country. What an adventure!" reform programme as it is taking shape, aims to gets and decisions from government ministries to local government: France's 36,000 local communi- trative districts and 22 regions. This stupendous a long time. In the meanwhile, however, the more party members are busy creating a leftist beach- pital—which is virtually Jacques Chirac's fiefdom.

Technology: Befitting the modern, upbeat, tech- European, the Socialists love to talk about scienti- and technology. Influential men like Jacques Attali, Socialist economist, and one of the French President's and Jean-Pierre Chevenement, minister for search and considered one of the country's faste- stars, wish to propel France somewhere close to United States with emphasis on biotechnology, microchip technology. France now aims to spend its gross national product (appx $15 billion) on re- '80s, a higher proportion than the Americans Germans now spend and not far short of Japan's. has already demonstrated its technological skills (ill-fated), the Airbus (highly successful), an envied missile and arms industry and now the fastest train in the world, the TGV (*train à grande vitesse*) which hurtles between Paris and Lyons with silken smoothness. French scientists have now wedded the television, the telephone and the computer to spawn a technological system known as "Telematics". The system now has been pioneered in a few pilot areas near Paris and will essentially provide homes with a vast storehouse of information that can be used for purposes ranging from education and games to business, shopping and weather reports. French manufacturers are constantly exhorted by officials: "We must reconquer the domestic market."

As far as the external market is concerned, it is the French arms industry that is booming. Today, next to the superpowers, the country is the third-largest supplier of conventional arms to the Third World. France is the classic example of a country with a strong military-industrial complex. During the decade 1970–80 arms deliveries increased fivefold. Indeed, the export of arms has grown twice as rapidly as the nation's total exports.

While in opposition the Socialist Party was highly critical of French arms sales, insisting that sales to 'colonialists', 'fascists' and 'racists' should be stopped. In 1978 Mitterrand even proposed a series of measures intended to create some parliamentary control over arms sales at home—he had called for a reorientation of French arms sales and those from the developed countries in Western Europe. Since coming to power such ideals have been quickly abandoned and all arms contracts are being honoured: Pragmatism once again smothering the Left's reforming zeal.

Arms Sales: As Andrew Pierre of the Council on Foreign Relations and author of the superbly-researched *Global Politics of Arms Sales* outlined, more than 300,000 persons are employed in the French arms industry, not to mention the spin-off effects through subcontracting and the provision of services. The hitch here is that the arms industry as a whole is dangerously overdependent upon exports. As much as 75 per cent of the armaments industry's products are sold abroad: of the 338 Mirage fighters that were ordered in 1974–78 almost 297 were for overseas buyers. The French sell wherever they can and that too, unsentimentally. Warns Andrew Pierre: should the overseas market become saturated and the competition from other suppliers increase, France's highly successful arms industry could suddenly go into a serious tailspin. Foreign observers are often amazed at the public apathy in France about arms sales and national defence budgets.

Is Mitterrandism working? How successful has it been in the last year and a half? A popular response is that Socialists deserve more time. Says Olivier Todd, novelist, former editor of the mass-selling *L'Express* and erstwhile *Newsweek* columnist: "Although the right-wing opposition sarcastically accuses him of indulging in 'jet-diplomacy', Mitterrand's foreign policy is widely accepted here. Most people, Left, Right and Centre feel that in facing the USSR, our president is tougher than Giscard was, especially over Poland. Mitterrand's moves in the Middle-East are perceived as constructive and fair to the Israelis and to the Palestinians. On the Left, with some supporters, the hangover comes from the unsolved economic problems, rising unemployment, inflation not yet under control, massive balance of payment deficits. Part of the wavering electorate on the Left—mainly after paying the latest income tax bills!—is wondering whether it was necessary to nationalise so much, so quickly at such a great cost. I think the Socialists have been trying to do too much. In July 1981, Mitterrand told me: 'If you don't do a lot when you reach power, you never do anything'. There's something in that. But too much momentum can be self-defeating if the funds are not available. I'd give Mitterrand another year or so before deciding whether the 'French Socialist model' has worked."

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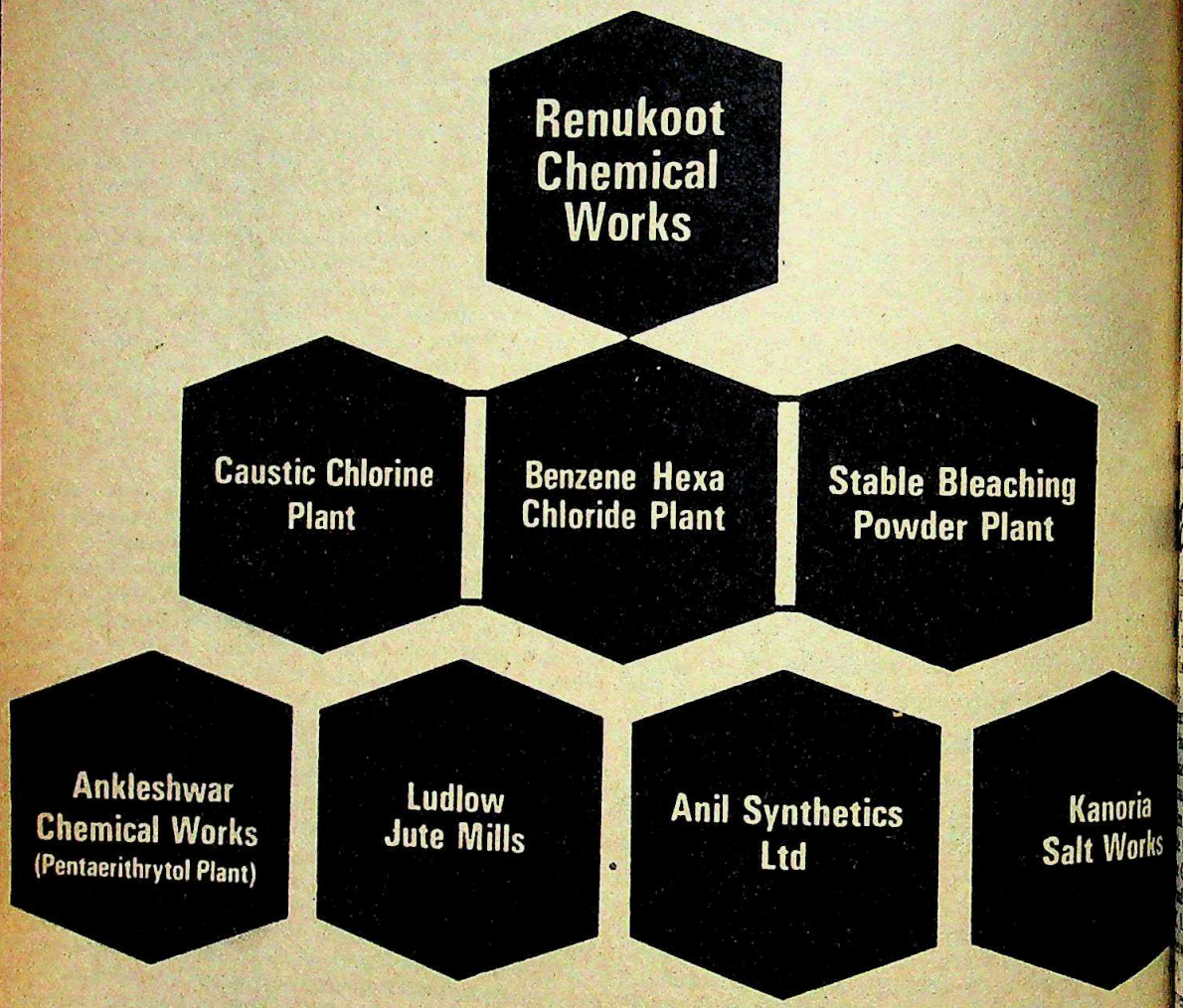

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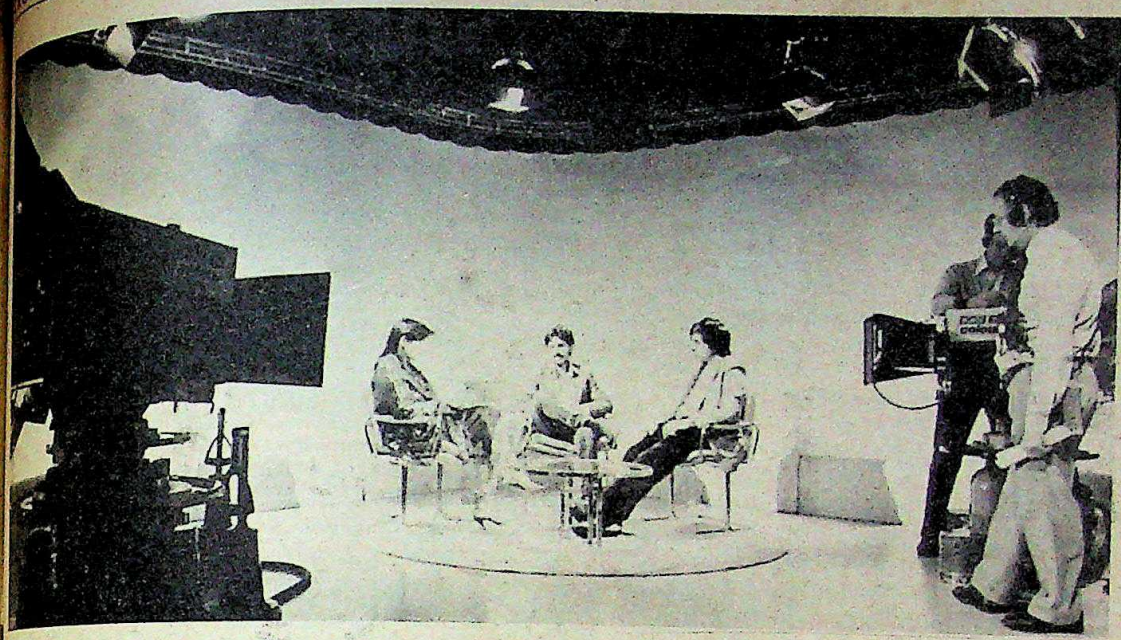

Channel 4 youth programme: dry as dust

Channel Of Change

WHEN British viewers, last month saw their much-awaited Channel 4 on their television sets, it came as a boon to the burgeoning immigrant minority. When it was first conceived by the planners of the new network company, a bulk of whose programmes will be commissioned from independent producers, bought from British and overseas production companies, made a pledge to cater to Britain's minority groups.

When Channel 4 came along, British viewers had a choice of three channels: BBC 1, BBC 2, both operating from the network, and Independent Television, a group of TV companies that gets its finances from TV advertising. After packing prime TV time in with programmes, these channels allocate an odd hour here and there to minority groups, including immigrants, women and handicapped. Channel 4 promises to change all this. To begin with, the network claims to have "commit itself to recognising the cultural status of Britain's society in its programming".

The network's planned showing includes a current affairs/news programme presented by women and a look at Pakistan through the eyes of Pakistani producer Salmaan Peerzada. Channel 4 is to be funded indirectly by the revenue gleaned from other networks, £5 million (Rs 8 crores) given over to making programmes by Britain's ethnic minority groups. Said Chief Executive of Channel 4, Jeremy Isaacs: "We intend to bring new voices, never heard before, to television." Among Asian programmes scheduled for transmission is a concert recital of sitar music by Ravi Shankar and two films made by the Federation of Bangladeshi Youth which will attempt to put across the opinions and life-style of Bengalis living in the East End of London.

Official Mouthpiece: The Asian programmes unit in Birmingham produces two half-hour shows in Hindustani for television as well as a short programme for radio. *Nai Zindagi Naya Jeevan* was first shown on BBC in 1966 when it was mainly used as a vehicle to teach English to Asian immigrants. Later it became a magazine programme with heavy emphasis on the preaching of government rules and regulations affecting Asians living in Britain. Over the years viewers have complained about the number of MP's from the subcontinent and Britain who were able to air their opinions on the programme. Said an Indian visitor: "It's almost as bad as Indian television if not worse."

Executive producer of the programme Ashoke Rampal agrees that *Nai Zindagi* and *Gharbar* (for Asian women) had become paternalistic. Said Rampal: "It is necessary to let Asians in this country know what new laws have been introduced and how they affect them. You see, Asian women in Britain and the older generation of immigrants from the subcontinent still haven't changed their attitudes and views." *Gharbar* is essentially a chat programme where middle class Indian women tell illiterate Punjabi women that they should give Vitamin D to their children or that they should learn English. It has little entertainment value and even less sparkle.

Initially there was a battle between Hindi/Urdu and Indian and Pakistani producers for equal representation on every radio and network programme. A sort of truce has been declared on the matter and today the language of broadcast is either Hindustani or English. The programme content, however, still suffers from lack of imagination. Rampal feels that the criticism of his programme does not take into account the difficulties he has to face. Said he: "You can't please everyone in the little time we are given. We really need four slots, one for the older generation, one for the younger viewers, one for women and one for the British viewer who wants to know his Indian or Pakistani neighbour."

Rampal recently attempted to give his programme a face-lift but the Indian and Pakistani viewers in Britain remained unsatisfied with the change. *Nai Zindagi* recently showed a documentary on an itinerant Pakistani salesman who bicycles around a remote Scottish island selling household goods. One viewer complained that it was not to his liking. Said he: "I watch your programme because I like the songs and music you put on. Please may we have more of that." And more of that is what the viewers and listeners want.

Corrupting Culture: What Lata Mangeshkar and (the late) Mohammad Rafi and video recorders have done to corrupt subcontinental culture in Britain has yet to

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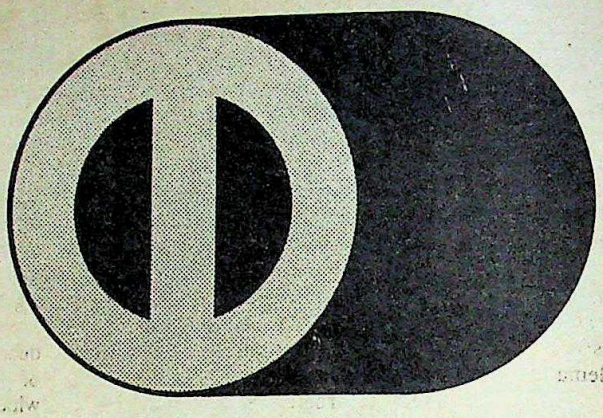

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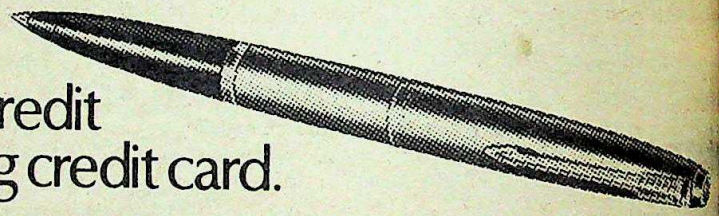

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recent survey in Leicester in found that almost 70 per seholds in the city owned a cassettes of Hindi films are ly throughout Britain and the more Hindi film music and

Corea, BBC programme advi- radio stations has the same of 27 local radio stations with special programmes for in English or Hindi, inclu- Derby, Oxford, London, West Leicester. Says Corea: "I make our programmes more ogram, but public demand only."

producer who has bypassed music trap is actor Zia Moyiuddin presents *Here and* -style programme for a ed television company. "My about Britain's ethnic mino- them. We try to show immi- as they are, without apology. This is what we are, this is our culture," said he. *Here and Now* looks at Asian and West Indian music, art and literature. The language used is English and, according to Moyiuddin, the programme is mainly watched by young people.

Also slated for November, Channel 4 will launch its own hour-long programme for Asian viewers called *Eastern Eye*. Producer Samir Shah says his aim would be to "show Asians as normal people". Says he: "So far they have only been seen on British TV as either problems or people with an exotic culture." Among subjects to be examined is the Ugandan Asian community in Britain 10 years after their arrival here. The programme language will be English again and Shah's team of young Asian presenters hope to "look at Asians in Britain and Europe, to examine all aspects of their lives here. We will provide humour, art and politics." Channel 4 will also bring great joy to Asian audiences here by introducing an Indian film season which will kick off with the showing of Bombay's block buster *Sholay* in December.

Most Asian TV and radio broadcasters welcome the introduction of a new programme for Asians. As Moyiuddin says: "Every new programme for Asians means that there is more employment and opportunity for our people in this field."

The advent of a new TV network has coincided with a major public debate concerning the introduction of cable television to Britain. A recent government report has welcomed the idea of American-style cable television which will bring a greater variety of programmes to British viewers. The debate centres on the question of control of independently produced programmes which cables will be able to feed into British homes. The BBC are worried that cable television with its numerous channels will present a threat to its lifeline by causing a fall in television licence fees. But immigrant groups here are looking forward to cable television to fulfil their dreams of minority language programmes.

—BONNY MUKHERJEE

ntity Crisis

PERAMKUTTY Joginathan, hereby announce that my me shall now be Peram- Narayanana Joginathan..." Ad- ments such as these have become a iliar sight in the Gulf. Too small to ch attention and too familiar to a closer reading, the 'name ge' is standard procedure need- explanation in the Gulf.

ere are a number of reasons for workers in the Gulf changing mes. It may be the result of a requirement by the ministry in the advertiser works. About a ago, the Kuwait Health Mini- talled a computer system to lab on all its employees. A flick switch and the screen would all necessary information about Mohammed Ibrahim. But only re Yousaf Mohammed Ibrahim. y one of these names and the would sulk. So every em- had to have three names: a first middle name and a last name. Indians, however, seem to prefer ing a middle name. Says a har- ministry official in Kuwait: "South for example, have half a dozen but not three names!"

re are at least 20,000 nurses in who have to change their Until about a month ago, they would have had to advertise their name change in two local newspapers and then get it published in the Indian Government Gazette. The process would take no less than three weeks. Now, they can just go to the embassy and get their names changed.

Losing Passports: Another reason

Sahai : timely steps

is sponsorship. Until recently, Indians could get into any of the Gulf countries after being sponsored by a native. Once a person arrived, he had to work for his sponsor. Since there were better jobs available, many people would leave their original sponsor. To avoid getting caught, some would claim to have lost their passports and get new ones made. Then again, there are the Indians who have undergone a change of religion. Most of these are cases of Indian Christian girls getting married to Muslim men.

Following a tour of the Gulf in November by the Chief Passports Officer of India, P.S. Sahai, the embassies have been provided with adequate staff to handle all the extra work. Sahai went on the tour specifically for the purpose of improving consular work to a level where all necessary services can be provided in one day. This has come to be known as the 'same day service' and in some cases, has already gone into operation. The missions abroad have now been delegated enough powers to effect name and profession changes without much ado. Another improvement is that from December onwards Indians resident abroad will be able to get the immigration clearance stamp from the missions abroad, instead of having to get them from regional offices in India. Sahai's sojourn was timely, to say the least.

With about 350,000 Indians in the United Arab Emirates, 150,000 in Saudi Arabia and another 110,000 in Kuwait, the embassies are perpetually flooded with people seeking extensions of passport dates, issue of new ones, endorsements for visas, registrations of marriages and births and more; the list is endless. Says a diplomat: "An Indian goes to his embassy with a sense of going home. It's one place he can fight, shout and complain." Now, with the new name-change game becoming increasingly popular, Sahai's efforts will be clearly put to the acid test.

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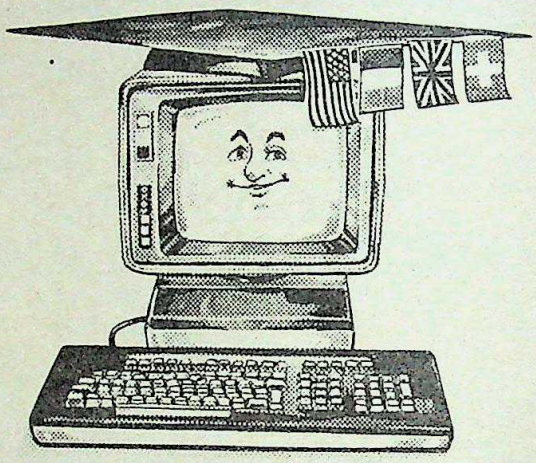

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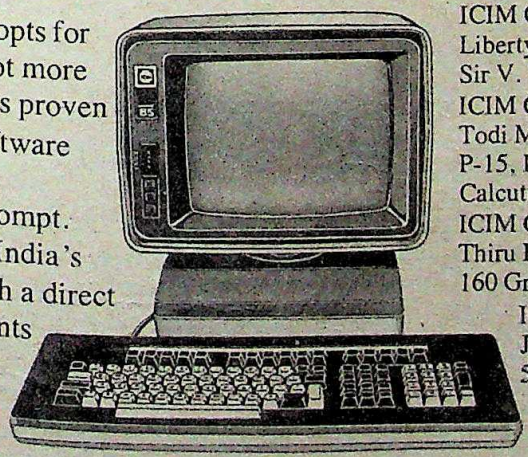

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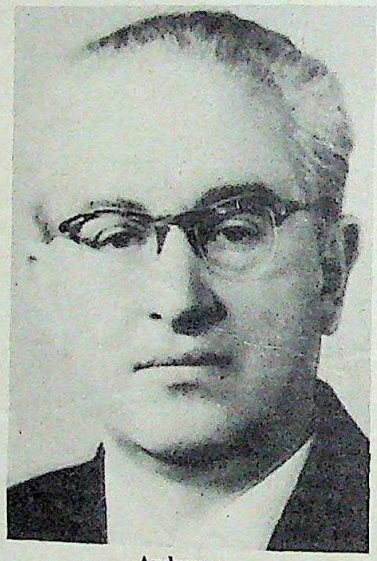
Starting From Scratch

LAST fortnight was a time for some heavy international political punditry. All over the world, the know-alls were emerging from the woodwork of academe and the ivory towers of think-tanks, and expounding on the geopolitical zigzags that would surely follow the death of Leonid Brezhnev. But in the end most of them wound up saying what amounted to: "The *apparatchik* is dead; long live the *apparatchik!*"

The elevation of Yuri V. Andropov to the Kremlin's tallest turret was more indicative of the Soviet Union's capability to change leadership in an orderly and cohesive way than of any precipitous turn in the direction of its polity or policies.

The Chernenko versus Andropov debate belongs in gossip magazines, not in journals of serious political analysis. 'That one is a liberal, the other a conservative; that one is flexible while the other is hidebound, matters not a jot in how the politburo or the Central Committee view Soviet interests.

Sign Language: In rejecting Chernenko, who was undoubtedly Brezhnev's protege, the Central Committee rejected not Brezhnevism but Brezhnev's passivity and the almost total lack of initiatives that marked the last few years of his regime. In choosing Andropov, the Central Committee selected a man, not to make any radical departures from Brezhnevism, but rather to do some fine tuning and to make the mid-course corrections that Brezhnev could not or would not make in the last few years of his life.



Andropov

Opposing Stances: In Washington, Secretary of State G Shultz played the good guy in urging President Reagan to Brezhnev's funeral, while Reagan played the heavy by re his foreign policy aide's advice. In Moscow, Soviet Minister Nikolai Tikhonov told a group of visiting A businessmen that he favoured "normal, or even better f relations with the United States". Later that day Deputy F Minister Georgi Korniyenko attacked Reagan's arms cont human rights policies.

But both sides stressed they wanted "better relation ween the two superpowers without indicating how th bridge the ever-widening chasm ove each defines *détente*. For the Soviets, means never having to say sorry for exce Afghanistan, or repression at home, wh ging closer and healthier commercial and ties with the West and proceeding with di ment negotiations. For Reagan, cannot occur in a vacuum. It must be a tool to reward the Soviet Uni changing its behaviour internally and e ly. It is the carrot that must follo stick.

As writer Murray Marder summed "Reagan's hawkish advisers insist th maintaining maximum pressure upo Soviet Union the United States can for turn inward on itself, and thereby red capacity to expand its global influence, quire it to reform and liberalise its ru opposing school of advice—very weak influence within the Reagan Admi tion—agrees that the Soviet Union ha

For the Soviets, *détente* means never having to say sorry for excesses in Afghanistan, or repression at home, while forging closer and healthier commercial and trade ties with the West....

So far as East-West relations are concerned, there are virtually no differences between Brezhnev and Andropov. During his last major public address Brezhnev reiterated that he had staked his entire career on *détente*, only to be rudely rebuffed by the Reagan Administration. Brezhnev noted during that speech: "Only two lines now clash in world politics. The line of the USA....for deepening tension and aggravating the situation to the maximum," against "our line for *détente* and strengthening international security." Andropov whole-heartedly agreed.

As an American analyst put it: "This huge gulf between Moscow and Washington is of far greater significance for the nations' joint fate than whether Yuri Andropov or Konstantine Chernenko or someone else emerged as Brezhnev's successor." Nevertheless, diplomacy is a game of signals and gestures, and world leaders seize the slightest opportunity to play at sign language—no matter how hollow the content—with one another. Brezhnev's death was such an "opportunity". The signals were contradictory and confusing; tea leaves are easier to read. The signs were really of bouts of sparring between leaders: they were cautiously feeling each other out.

pling, long-term systemic disabilities. But these specialists ain that the Soviet Union also has formidable durability has been demonstrated throughout the Brezhnev years. It readily yield to any amount of external pressure, but on th trary, is far more likely to magnify the danger to the States if it sees itself cornered."

American "pressure" on the Soviet Union, designed to ve a behaviour modification, has consisted not just of sanctions but also of building up America's nuclear arsen overwhelming superiority and achieving a first-strike capa The Soviets have responded by accelerating their own engi nuclear devastation in this climate of Strangelovian stand which arms control and all other types of negotiations to East-West tensions have become impossible.

Cynical: Veteran diplomat and Sovietologist George K says in his new book *Nuclear Delusion* that for more th years the security policy of the United States has been bas the view that a nuclear weapon should be viewed as "jus more weapon, like any other weapon, only more destructive calls this madness. The weapons development has made

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...e. Ironically, US security has been diminished by ...of weapons systems.

...Kennan, can US security be enhanced by stimula- ...Union to build a new inter-continental bomber, a ... to develop effective anti-submarine techniques and ...ch on warning" security system? Adds Kennan: ...control and abate the nuclear weapons race is not, ...ar we are doing for the Russians any more than it ...ourselves. It is a dictate of the security and survival ...on. Let us first meet *that* dictate. The next can ...ks."

...DOM of Kennan is lost on White House advisers ...e—and tell the public—that the Soviet Union is ...e most relentless build-up of weapons ever seen in ...rld domination. The truth is that the US has more ...weapons, more strategic wea- ...nuclear weapons in submarines ...clear weapons in bombers than ...Union. And the US weapons ...ore reliable and accurate than ...tems. In addition, comprehensi- ...ne by the CIA (Central Intelligen- ...self do not support perceptions ...Soviet advances and devastating ...in the world.

...Eastern Europe, Soviet influence ...staying power. According to ...official Ray Cline's indexes of ...based on demographic, econo- ...ic and military factors, the ...and its clients have 20 per cent, ...d China 70 per cent, and others

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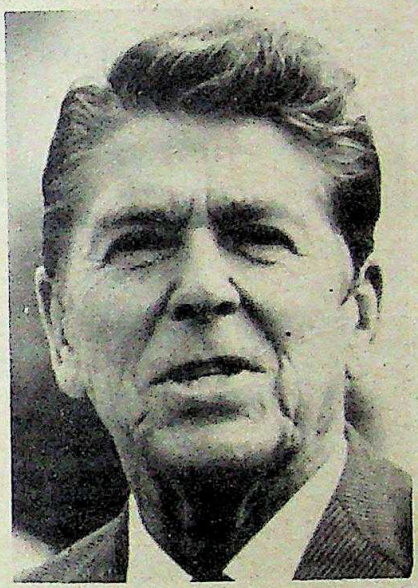

Reagan

an unprecedented arms race", and pledged to "tirelessly streng- then the defences of our own country". With East-West relations at their worst, there seems little prospect that the two superpowers will be able to meet the crucial 1983 deadline to curb nuclear weapons. If no agreement is reached by then the US will begin to place Cruise and Pershing missiles in Europe in order to achieve a first-strike capability against the Soviet Union.

Is there, then, no hope? Must the rest of the world continue to be held hostage to superpower nuclear hair-triggerism? There are some noticeable trends—straws in the wind, perhaps—that could be moderating influences in what appears to be an otherwise hopeless journey into nuclear terrorism.

Conflicts: There have been several serious conflicts—Persian Gulf, the Falklands war, Lebanon, Central America—where the two superpowers could have been drawn into war but for some reason avoided playing at brinkmanship.

America's Nato allies in Europe, particularly France's Mitterrand, are hopping mad about Reagan's handling of East-West relations and will continue to buck excessive anti-Soviet pressures. Reagan feels more comfortable with the new West German Chancellor, Helmut Kohl, whom he considers a soulmate and partner in the Thatcher-Reagan conservative axis. Kohl, nonetheless, supports trade and *détente* with the Soviets and urged Reagan to curb his anti-Soviet rhetoric.

The nuclear freeze movement within the United States is broadbased and widespread and is making its impact felt in Congress. The American economy is in a shambles and Reagan is going to find it more and more difficult to get from a budget-conscious Congress the megabucks he wants to spend on fancier and fancier nuclear weapons.

The United States is watching with great concern the new contacts and reconciliation talks between China and the Soviet Union.

...For Reagan, *détente* cannot occur in a vacuum. It must be used as a tool to ...ward the Soviet Union for changing its behaviour internally and externally. It is the carrot that must follow the stick.

...ed dozens of exclusive interviews with Reaganites into ...ntitled *With Enough Shovels*. The title is based on a ...T.K. Jones, deputy under-secretary of defence, who ...that a nuclear attack would be survivable if people ...ldes and bury themselves in the ground for a while. ...enough shovels to go around," Jones said, "everybo- ...make it."

...'s report has been hailed as a chilling indictment that ...ual lack of understanding in many of Reagan's advi- ...disregard for the dangers of nuclear war. Here are ...notes:

...Perle, assistant secretary for defence: "The anti-nu- ...ment in Europe is a ploy by European church leaders ...the fear of nuclear war to boost flagging church mem- ...Richard Pipes, White House Soviet expert: "Soviet ...ld have to choose between peacefully changing their ...stem...or going to war."

...wonder, then, that Brezhnev charged shortly before his ...the United States was "dreaming of isolating and ...nomically the USSR and its friends by mounting

The Soviets are said to be ready to negotiate troop withdrawals from the border with China and to make concessions in Afghanistan and Kampuchea. Any such concessions would be welcomed by the United States—because these are the very same concessions it wants as evidence of the Soviet Union's "change in behaviour" as a precondition for *détente*.

Trends: Experts say Andropov's "fine tuning" and "mid-course corrections" may include finding a solution in Afghanistan by involving China, Pakistan, India and Iran, thereby removing the cutting edge of US-backed international criticism while buying peace with Pakistan and China.

In the past, Andropov has depended on "innovative" Soviet thinkers who were sometimes chastised by the party stalwarts for not going along with their stodgy, conservative thinking. These thinkers and experts, who are likely to become close Andropov advisers in the future, include Fedor Burlatsky who was once criticised for "fresh thinking", Georgy Arbatov, a brilliant commentator on western politics, and Alexander Bovin, a political commentator for *Izvestia* whose articles have been praised by some western observers as "unusually thoughtful".

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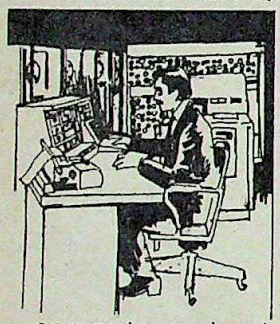

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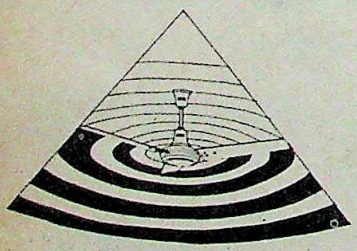

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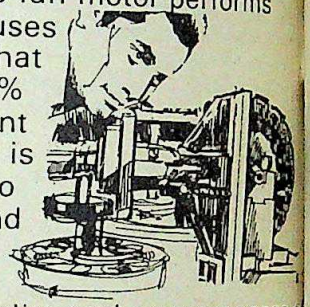

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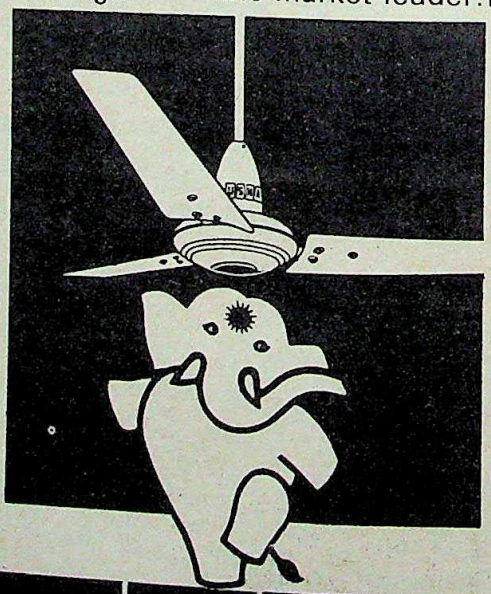

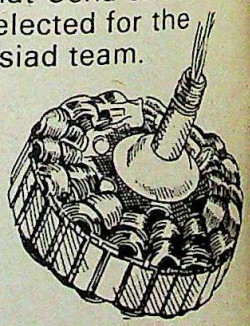

After all, quality always emerges the winner.

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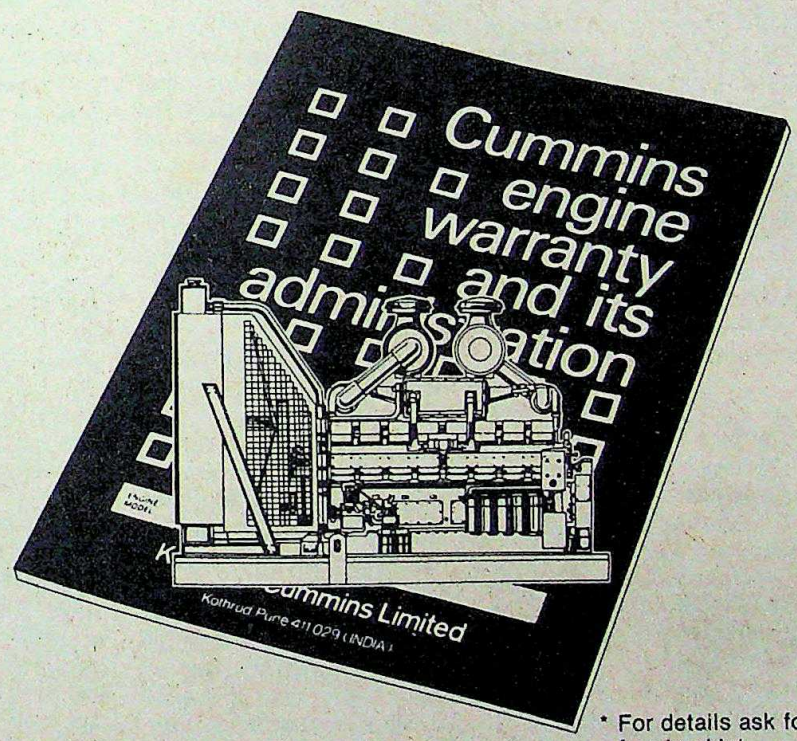

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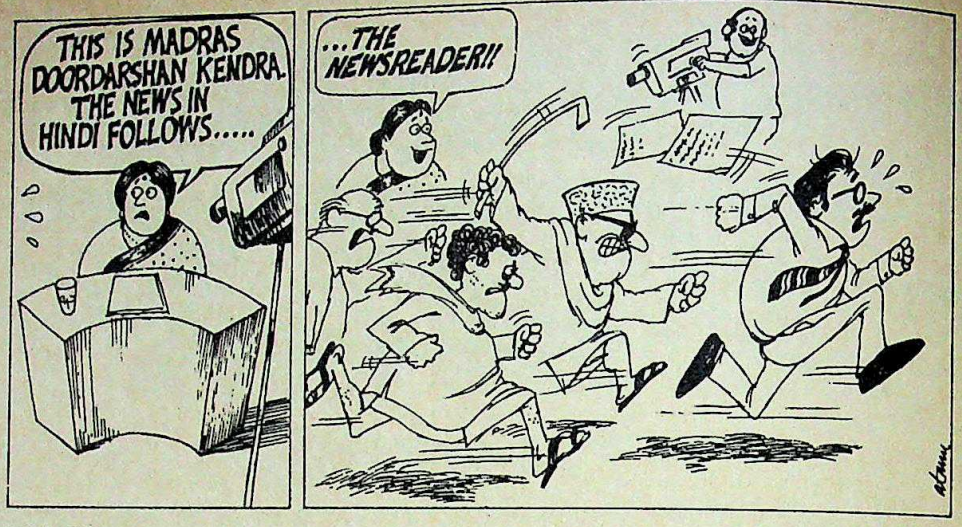

MADRAS DOORDARSHAN

Switching Off Hindi

'AND THAT is the end of the Hindi news'. While the announcement didn't exactly read like that—in fact there was no announcement—the linguistic division between the north and the south was emphasised once again when, at the beginning of last month, the Madras Doordarshan Kendra quietly withdrew the 15-minute Hindi news telecast, a daily item of the national hook-up diet introduced last Independence Day. The politics of chauvinism had won yet another victory over the politics of nationalism.

The Hindi news bulletin had been greeted with howls of protest from the three anti-Hindi Dravidian parties, the ruling All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (AIADMK), the opposition Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK) and the Dravida Kazhagam (DK), the party of the celebrated late iconoclast E.V. Ramswamy Naicker. Only a week before the Doordarshan Kendra caved in, Chief Minister M.G. Ramachandran gave a populist call to Tamils at a political gathering to switch off their TV sets when "we see or hear programmes in a language that we do not understand or like". MGR and his partymen saw in the Hindi telecast another attempt on the part of the Government to impose Hindi on the Tamils.

Apprehensions: What is more, the sentiments of DMK President M. Karunanidhi have not been assuaged even by the abrupt withdrawal of the telecast. MGR's political rival says: "In the scrapping of the Hindi news, as in the revocation of the order issued earlier this year—re-christening All India Radio as Akashvani—the Government has only offered false bait to win the goodwill of the Tamils. These were only the thin end of the wedge. Worse was yet to come, not to speak of the subtle but sure imposition of Hindi already under way."

Karunanidhi, in a graphic simile, likens the predicament of the Tamils to that of a camel dumped with load after load. When the camel whines in protest and threatens to break down, the removal of even the lightest burden on its back gives it a feeling of irrepressible relief, although a substantial part of the load will still be on it. Karunanidhi argues that it is essentially this sort of relief that is sought to be imparted to the Tamil "underdogs". As permanent cure for the malaise, the DMK president feels that an assurance against linguistic discrimination will have to be first written into the Constitution.

K. Veeramini, the acerbic general secretary of the DK, waxed the most eloquent on the topic. He felt, echoing his fellow Dravidian chauvinists, that the programme was another assault on the sensibilities of the Tamils. The DK organised a dharna in front of the Doordarshan office on the issue and was even planning to convene a conference of like-minded parties. However, the Kendra pre-empted it by stopping the programme.

Others have differing views on why the Tamils didn't like the Hindi news bulletin. Argues T.K. Ramamoorthy, an important Congress leader and member of the Legislative Council: "It was not the telecast of the Hindi news itself that was anathema to the Tamils but its unsuitable timing. It took away an initial chunk of a quarter-hour of the one and a half-hour national programme every evening, during prime viewing time. The Hindi news naturally encroached on local entertainment, which was too much for the Tamilians." The state Janata Party has much the same view.

Other Views: R. Sawdekar, the director of the Kendra, reveals: "Apart from the noises made by the political bigwigs about the Hindi news, Kendra itself received a number of complaints about the programme." He adds that the Asiad took up the quarter-hour for the time being. "In general we will be substituting the Hindi news with local entertainment". Programme producers at the Kendra say that but for Hindi films—and the well-lived Hindi news—the Kendra rarely produces programmes in Hindi. One producer gives a simple reason: "Ninety per cent of the people do not speak or understand Hindi."

However, the scrapping of the programme has not been universally received. Rangarajan Kumaramangalam, a young lawyer, the son of former union steel and mines minister, the late M. Kumaramangalam, calls the episode a slip, symptomatic of the lack of innovative genius in the official media". Spreading the message of Hindi, in Hindi, he feels, is essential in the context of the prevailing fissiparous tendencies in the country. Frelance photographer Murali thinks that the Hindi news was a legitimate part of the role of the media. "The tamasha was so much local fun," he adds.

While regional politicians congratulate themselves on their tactical victory, the intelligentsia sniggers at the storm in a teacup. And everybody is wondering about the next trick up New Delhi's sleeve.

—S.H. VENKATRAMANI

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MASWAMY

lling A

nce

R AVID TV viewers and ure-lovers of Madras, the sight e inimitable bald-pated, acerbic Cho Ramaswamy on the box rprise of a lifetime, last month. hour 20 minute farcical com- dras By Night, Ramaswamy the screen, after a protracted r with the official media. amy, who had been crying hoarse about radio and tele- having degenerated into official nda machinery, had been con- turning down invitations to do t programmes with the Madras shan Kendra.

aswamy, whose programme, By Night, portrays the comic l experiences of a young man ny and the funny situations he nself in, has been writing, pro- directing and acting in Tamil plays in Madras and other cities for over the last quarter century. With a degree in law the dramatist has over the years graduated from farcical comedies to social and political themes, and in the stifling and stultifying milieu of Madras culture, his plays have drawn eager crowds. Predominantly a political satirist, the principal butts of his merciless lampooning have been the DMK and the AIADMK politicians, M. Karunanidhi and MGR. Says Ramaswamy: "I don't characterise Congress(I) politicians because the Congress(I) does not have a character to be projected." In view of this it was no wonder that there is no love lost between Ramaswamy and the official media.

Long Struggle: The war with TV officials started when Ramaswamy received an invitation from Madras Doordarshan to perform. He turned down the invitation under the pretext that he was unable to be an accomplice in "official propaganda". He also refused to sign a declaration sent out by the South Indian Artistes' Association, who were given the task of locating potential TV performers by Doordarshan, Madras when it started. This incident occurred before the Emergency.

The dramatist was again approached to do a programme for TV during the fag-end of the Janata regime. He refused again, saying that the Janata officials had only remembered him after 10 months of their existence. It was only when former information and broadcasting minister Vasant Sathe paid a visit to Madras that Ramaswamy began to take Doordarshan's invitation seriously. Sathe apparently met Ramaswamy and asked him to "cooperate with the Doordarshan Kendra authorities". At Sathe's initiative the authorities subsequently patched up with the playwright, resulting in the telecast of *Madras By Night*.

Ramaswamy is presently working on a series of programmes for Doordarshan. However, his performances on the official media, some feel, may be a come-down, since he is wilfully giving up his right of political lampooning. Ramaswamy counters this by saying: "In spite of blue-pencilling, subtle criticism does manage to get into my official media programmes." And for the pungent satirist, appearance on television, a powerful medium, has been difficult to resist and undoubtedly a virtual volte-face —S.H. VENKATRAMANI

amy: dramatic volte-face

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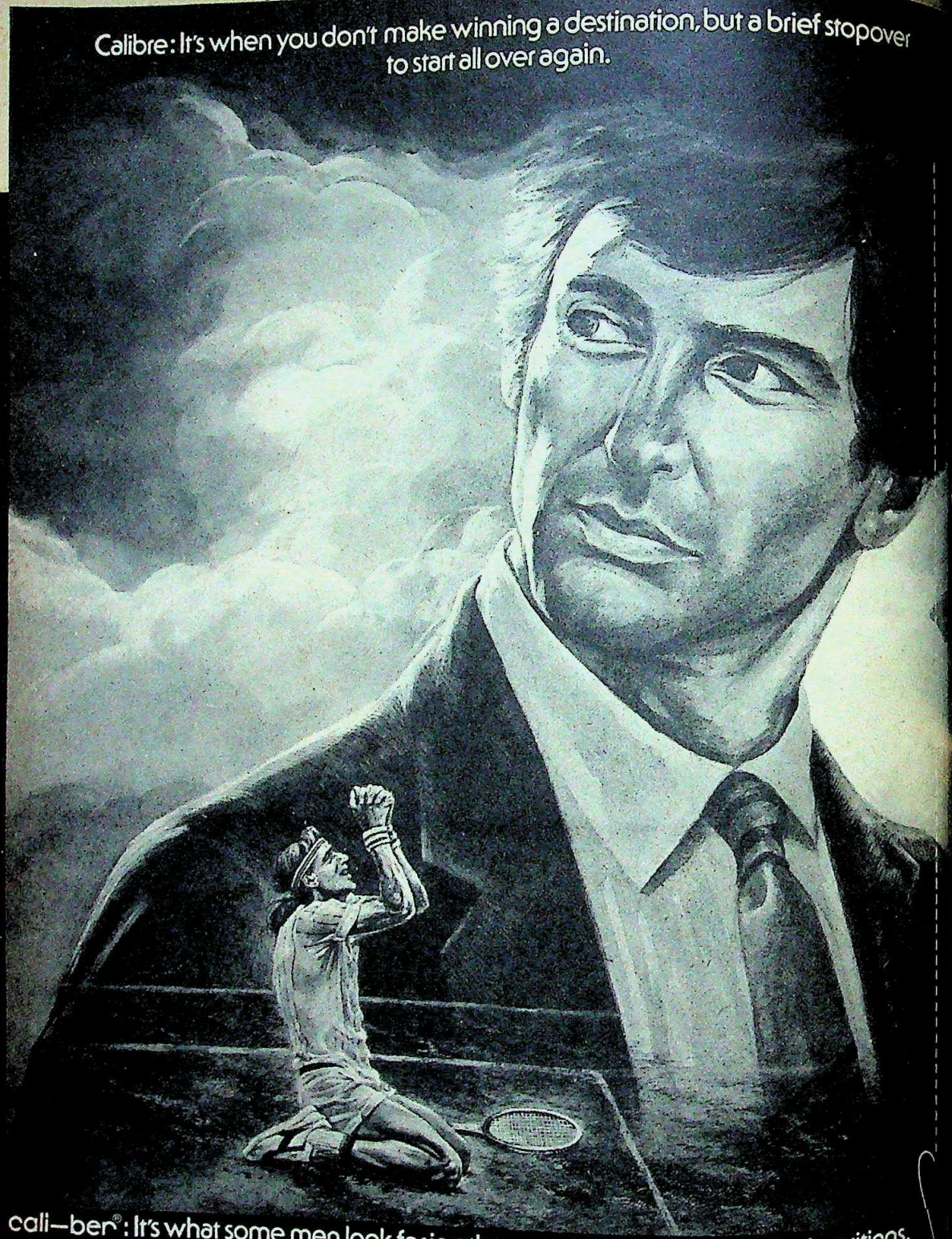

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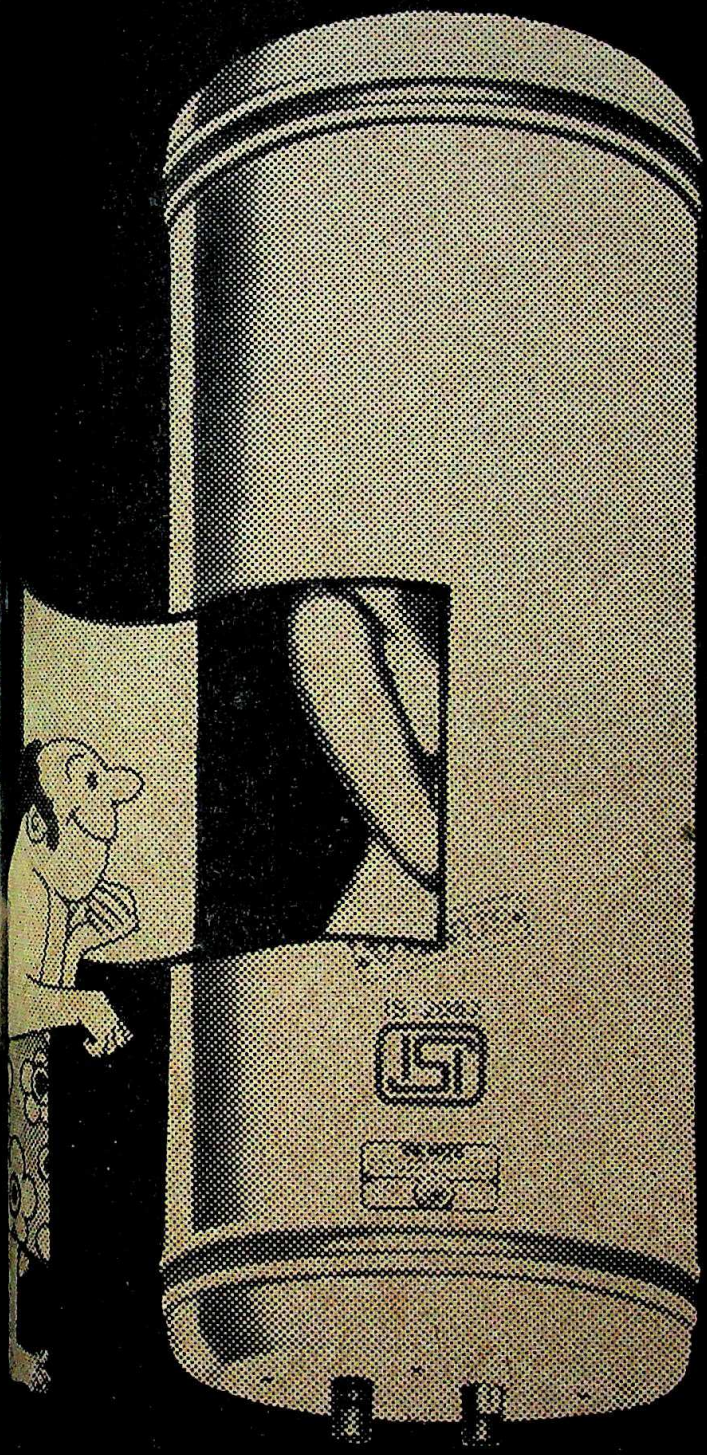

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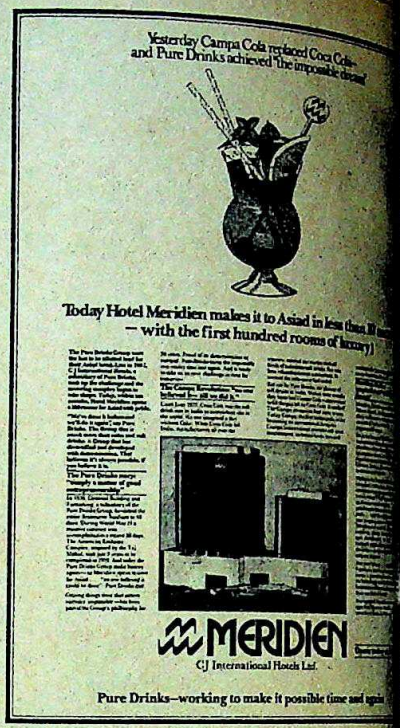
—Inaugural Brochure of Meridien Hotel, November 15, 1982.

PURE Drinks, a company that dreams the impossible dream, has done it again. Less than a year ago, the triangular plot of land at the junction of Janpath and Raisina Road on the edge of the capital's teeming business district was an overgrown, unkempt swathe of ground surrounded by bungalows or fast-rising skyscrapers. Last fortnight, at that very site, State Minister of Tourism Khursheed Alam Khan inaugurated 100 rooms in one of the capital's newest hostelries, the Rs 44 crore Meridien Hotel, a joint venture between one of France's leading hotel groups and C.J. International Hotels (CJI), a subsidiary of Pure Drinks (New Delhi) Ltd.

The inaugural brochure explained that the feat was "simply a matter of good entrepreneurship". Small matter that the hotel is still a rough skeleton of a concrete tower soaring 10 floors above a deep excavation pit in which are rising the foundations of the hotel's second tower. Or that the curving entrance ramp leads incongruously to a largely unwalled structure where the only signs of habitation are several storeys higher, where four floors have been hastily done up to fulfil their undertaking to get 100 rooms ready before the Asian Games. Or that 10 days after the hotel opened for business, the rooms earmarked for the Asian Games Special Organising Committee (AGSOC) had allegedly not put up any of its guests in the hotel. Said K.P. Singh Deo, deputy chairman of AGSOC and chairman of the Accommodation Committee: "There is no demand."

President Giani Zail Singh himself was sufficiently impressed by the feat to write a commendatory message for the inaugural. Said the President: "I am glad to know that C.J. International Hotels Ltd has completed construction of its Meridien Hotel in New Delhi and it will be inaugurated for the Asian Games...." Never mind the obvious exaggeration contained in that message, the feat was quite extraordinary. As Charanjit Singh, the country's soft drinks magnate and chairman of CJI, wrote in the brochure, "the marvel was got ready within ten months."

Ambitious Aims: And, thereby hangs a tale—of a different kind of entrepreneurship and of the ways and means necessary to make the impossible come true. It is a tale which could not have been told except around a man such as Charanjit Singh. At 43, Singh is not yet a Tata, a Birla or even a Modi. But he personifies the ambiance —and the ambition—of the new business class. He is sitting on top of a heap that, apart from the new hotel fast taking shape, encompasses soft drink bottling plants in Delhi, Calcutta, Madras, Chandigarh and Ludhiana; ownership interests in at least 14 other companies manufacturing everything from furniture, glass and bottling machines to the cork-lined soft drink caps; and a string of franchises in towns dotting the countryside for the use of his Campa brand of concentrates, which he introduced after Coca-Cola was obliged to leave India in 1977. Singh, in addition, has for almost three years been a sitting Congress(I) member of the Lok Sabha from the South Delhi constituency. Even though he has make a major speech in Parliament, man with powerful friends in high pl of which helps him to combine politic with the strength of burgeoning crore business empire.



The advertisement for the 100 room ope

The Meridien story starts almo years ago, on February 6, 1981 the Asian Games looming large in too distant future, the NDMC, in sion of a 4.5 -acre plot of land luxury hotel adjoining Windsor Pla out a routine advertisement in newspapers, including the *Indian E The National Herald, The Hi Times, Navbharat Times* and *Milap* English version, the advertisement "The NDMC proposes to construct Star Hotel with all the modern fac Windsor Place, New Delhi. The ho to be commissioned before August for use during Asiad 1982. Reputed who are already running Five-Star in India or abroad are invited to possibilities of collaboration for co tion of the Hotel...."

The response was overwhelmi less than 14 parties sent in appli Among them were such experienced concerns as East India Hotels Ltd, Hotels and ITC's Welcomgroup, were budding hoteliers such as Hotels Ltd; Ram Prashad who ru Ambassador in Delhi; Amb Hotels Ltd, Bombay; Tara Hotels International Hotels Ltd; and S

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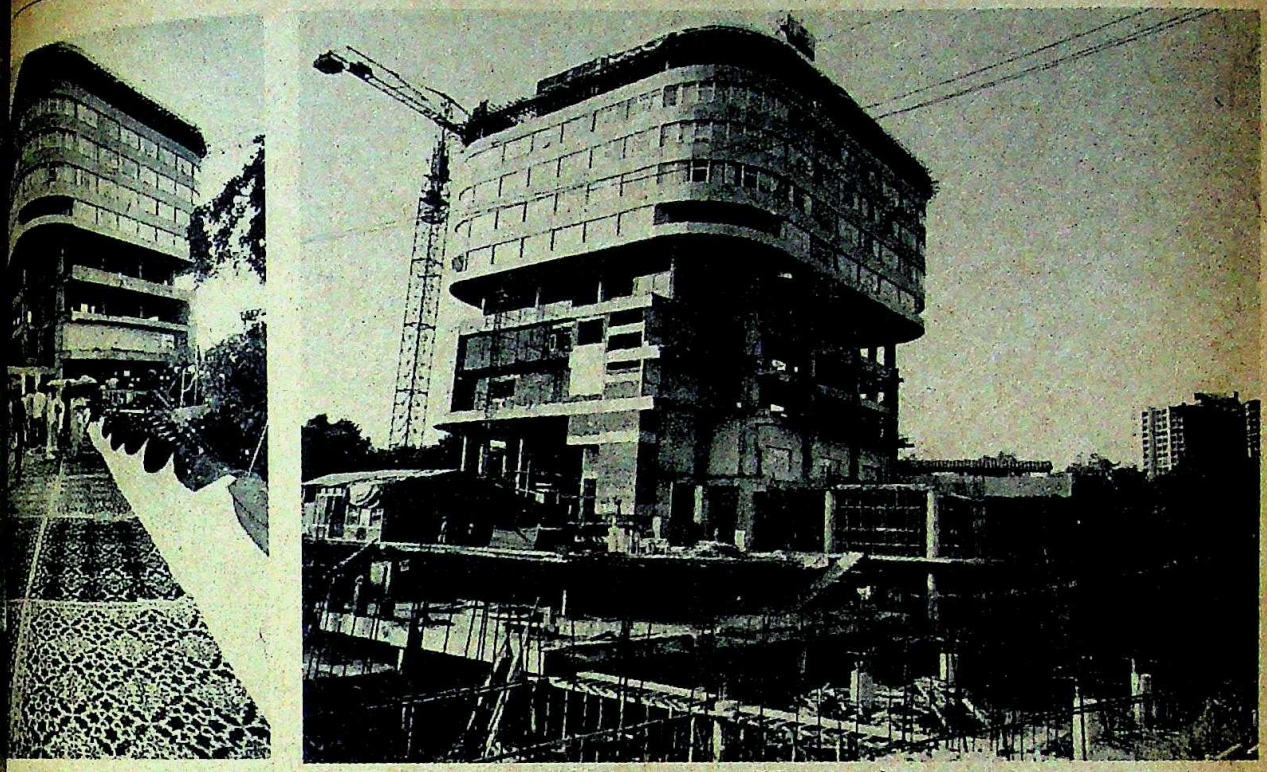


The Meridien hotel on the day of the opening from two different angles

hotels.

Bid: Pure Drinks, which had experience was chosen after negotiations were held with all Singh's company made the annual licence fee of Rs 2.68 per cent of the hotel's gross whichever was higher, and a lic-ment for 99 years was signed on April 16, 1981.

allotment was unsuccessfully in the Delhi High Court and Court by European Research a bidder for the project. The affidavit justified saying: "It may stated that M/s New Delhi had that they collaboration International Waldorf Astoria, USA, who are one well-known hotel world and who, are for the into colla-running a hotel As it turned out Drinks signed an with Hilton but

the agreement the licence fee payable at the time over vacant and unencumbered occupation of the said plot", Pure Drinks at the time paid only Rs 90 lakh on the plea that it was not given possession of the complete plot of 4.5 acres, but had only 4.29 acres. The company paid the money through four separate banks:

► Bank of America: Rs 1 lakh by draft No. 6216/18427 dated April 27, Rs 12 lakh by draft No. 6216/18488 dated April 28, Rs 10 lakh by draft No. 6212/18550 dated April 29, Rs 23 lakh by draft No. 6216/18600 dated April 30;

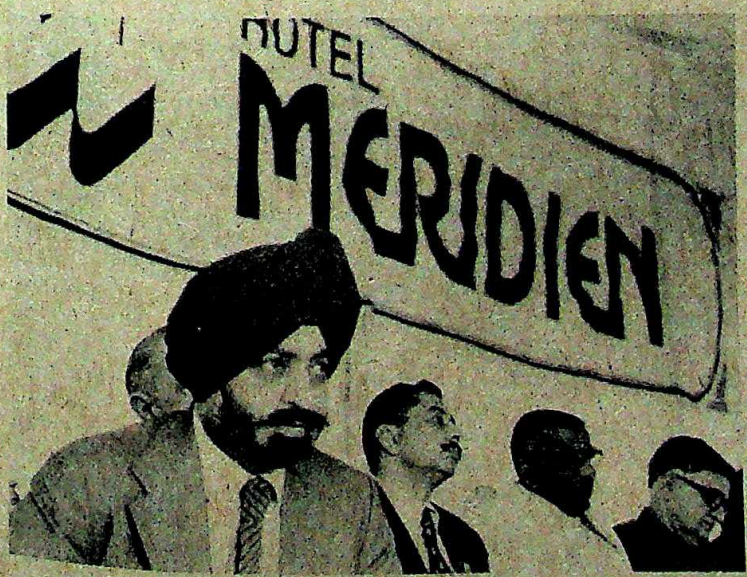
► Punjab and Sind Bank: Rs 2 lakh by draft No. 951408/500/81 dated April 27;

► Citibank: Rs 10 lakh by draft No. 53849 dated April 28; and

► Punjab National Bank: Rs 17 lakh by draft No. 168827 dated April 29, Rs 15 lakh by draft No. 168833 dated April 30.

In spite of taking possession of the plot, for more than one year Pure Drinks did not pay the remaining licence fee—and for all practical purposes NDMC apparently made no serious efforts to claim the remaining licence fee. The issue reared its head in Parliament. As recently as July 30 this year, Works and Housing Minister Bhishma Narain Singh told Rajya Sabha member Ram Lakhan Prashad Gupta that 4.29 acres had been handed over to Pure Drinks and that "NDMC have consequently called upon the licencee to pay the balance amount of Rs 1.78 crore."

Outstanding Payment: This appears to have prodded Pure Drinks to make a further payment of Rs 15 lakh in August. On October 8 this year, the minister told Rajya Sabha members Jagdish Mathur and Jagannathrao Joshi, in written answers, that Rs 1.63 crore was still outstanding. Ten days later the minister told Lok Sabha member Digamber Singh in



Charanjit Singh at the inauguration: ambitious plans

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reply to question No. 2218: "The NDMC has reported that a sum of Rs 1.63 crore is due from the licencees and they have stated that the balance payment will be made shortly. The company is liable to pay 15 per cent interest on the defaulted payment." Although CJI was asked to make the payment immediately, it had not done so till November 6, 1982, according to a note circulated among members of the Consultative Committee attached to the Works and Housing Ministry.

With the plot of land in the bag—and the licence fee still unpaid—Pure Drinks moved to the next stage of its project: getting a building plan approved. Architects Bharadwaj & Bharadwaj Associates made out an elegant twin-tower design boasting of never yet-seen-in-India features, such as capsule elevators and a "renaissance of the French art of living", and forwarded them for approval in July 1981. This being a company which tackles the impossible, sure enough the design had one snag: the hotel as planned would rise 21 storeys, or 212 feet in a zone where the Master Plan for Delhi permitted no more than 120 feet. It seeks to preserve the garden-like character of Lutyens' C[illegible] battle for the increased height of M[illegible] turned out to be a stormy and [illegible] drawn-out one. Unfortunately for [illegible] Drinks, the Meridien site falls in [illegible] sidential area, a mere stone's throw [illegible] from the commercial zone of the [illegible] Place vicinity, which is delinea[illegible] Ashoka Road. Thus, across the [illegible] about from the Meridien, ITDC [illegible] to build two hotels—Ashok Yatri [illegible] and Kanishka—to a height of 2[illegible]

Rejected Request: Seizing on th[illegible] in July 1981, NDMC asked the [illegible]

THE CASE

Clear Verdict

THE INDIAN press has the right to publish and be damned, after all. This was reiterated in no uncertain terms by the Supreme Court last month in the INDIA TODAY versus Charanjit Singh case, when it dismissed the special leave petition filed by Singh against the judgement of Justice Sultan Singh of the Delhi High Court. The historic judgement drove home the crucial point that there could be no pre-publication restraint on the press. Said the chief justice: "Pre-censorship is anathema to our Constitution even if it is sought by the state. Pre-censorship by one private party against another private party is unthinkable." The judgement set at rest doubts about whether or not the press has the right to investigate the affairs of public men, write about them—and face the consequences.

The doubts arose out of attempts made by Charanjit Singh, a Congress(I) member of the Lok Sabha and managing director of Pure Drinks (makers of Campa-Cola), to block an investigative article, INDIA TODAY intended to publish about his business activities. early this year.

Following the controversy surrounding the manner in which Singh managed to get land for his Hotel Meridien project in the heart of Delhi, there was considerable criticism in Parliament and the press in January. It was at this time that INDIA TODAY decided to probe into the business affairs of the businessman-turned-politician. The magazine assigned Correspondent, Chaitanya Kalbag, to work on it.

Questionnaire: In course of the investigation, Kalbag sought to meet Singh. At Singh's secretary's suggestion, a questionnaire was sent to him on January 21. When the letter did not elicit any response for 11 days, one of the magazine's editors wrote to Singh on February 2, suggesting that he either see the correspondent or send replies to the queries. The editor wrote that if Singh did not respond by February 5, it would be assumed that he was not interested in giving his version and the magazine would be obliged to go ahead with its story.

Seizing on this, Singh rushed to the district courts at Tis Hazari in old Delhi. His counsel persuaded subordinate judge Shiv Charan that there existed a prima facie case for an injunction. On February 5, the first court order of its kind in India—described by INDIA TODAY's counsel as "judicial pre-censorship"—came to be issued, prohibiting the magazine from publishing a story which was being worked out but had not been written.

After several contested hearings over five weeks, Judge Shiv Charan confirmed the injunction restraining the magazine from publishing the threatened article based on the questionnaire" its correspondent had sent Singh. INDIA TODAY promptly contested this adverse verdict by filing an appeal in the senior subordinate judge's court. On May 17, Senior Sub-Judge R.C. Chopra delivered a 36-page judgement allowing the appeal and set aside the interim injunction which he described as "erroneous and arbitrary".

In the proceedings before Judge Chopra, Charanjit Singh raised the plea that INDIA TODAY was trying to tarnish and harm his reputation and that the magazine had entertained malice against him ever since he stopped advertisements of his concerns in it in M[illegible] 1979. Judge Chopra rejected his p[illegible] that the magazine bore any ill will [illegible] malice towards him. Judge Chopra h[illegible] that references to Singh in the vario[illegible] issues of the journal were not defa[illegible]matory or slanderous although [illegible] same may be uncharitable words in[illegible]ing feelings or causing annoyance [illegible] Singh. Said Chopra, "In my view, s[illegible] unpleasant references have to be tak[illegible] lightly by public men having regard [illegible] the modern journalistic trends and [illegible] ill will or motives should necessarily [illegible] seen in them."

HARI OM GULATI

Application Dismissed: Singh [illegible] filed a petition in the Delhi High C[illegible] challenging the legality, validity and [illegible] forcibility of Chopra's [illegible] Dismissing the revision applicat[illegible] Justice Sultan Singh wrote in his [illegible]toric judgement of November 5: "[illegible] not know what the article when p[illegible]lished will contain. It is not kn[illegible] what facts will be stated and [illegible] comments will be made. It is therefo[illegible] not possible at this stage to determ[illegible] whether the proposed article would [illegible] defamatory or not but as the defe[illegible]

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Commission (DUAC), a statu- made up of eminent architects, and urban designers char- ment to preserve the capital's balance, to approve its pro- 212-foot high structure. DUAC for a while. In its reply to an application seeking approval for height, DUAC members un- gave a thumbs down for to be valid reasons. They

Delhi has a unique garden city which must be preserved;

► The height restrictions in force are based on recommendations of NDRC (New Delhi Redevelopment Committee) and unless new proposals are worked out, no arbitrary decisions should be taken which would change the urban character;

► The site lies outside the commercial building zone, and permitting a tall building would create an unfortunate precedent.

Said former DUAC Chairman Subodh Gopal Bose Mullick: "Initially we felt that this would create a bad precedent. Two other plots for hotels are earmarked around Windsor Place, and if all of them were to be built so tall, it would cause untold difficulties in parking, traffic and civic facilities." DUAC was joined in its opposition by Delhi's Lt-Governor and the Town and Country Planning Organisation (TCPO). Yet, NDMC was pitching very strongly for the increased height. NDMC administrator Pran Nath Bahl wrote a demi-official letter—No 489-90/PS/PMC dated December 1/2, 1981—to M.K. Mukharji, secretary, Ministry of Works and Housing, recommending a height of 212 feet, giving as justification the ITDC's

that they would plead justifi- and fair comment for publishing article. I am of the opinion that should not be issued."

Justice Sultan Singh reaffirmed Chopra's view and said "...re- to the plaintiff in the said is- of the magazine) cannot be said defamatory, specially for a public like the plaintiff. The words used plaintiff in these issues may not good taste, causing annoyance to right thinking person after re- the said articles...will not find adverse in regard to the s reputation."

"Pre-censorship is anathema to our constitution even if it is sought by the state. Pre-censorship by one private party against another private party is unthinkable."

—Chief Justice Chandrachud

Charanjit Singh then resorted to ultimate by filing a special leave in the Supreme Court on 12. INDIA TODAY's case was by Senior Advocate Soli who was assisted by Sarin, while Charanjit was represented by Senior Krishan Gopal Bhagat. During the 45-minute hearing vainly argued before a division comprising Chief Justice Y.V. Justice E.S. Ven- and Justice A.N. Sen, that the court should decide whether any unbridled, unchecked and arbitrary power could be given to journalists under the garb of fair comment to defame the reputation of Charanjit Singh.

Comments: Remarked Justice Sen: "I cannot believe that a story in a newspaper or magazine can ruin anyone's business. If it can, the man's businessworthiness cannot be much." At another stage, Justice Sen asked Bhagat: "How do we know that the allegations likely to come up in an intended article are untrue?" He also observed: "Newspapers and magazines have their rights and obligations. In many cases, even judges are not spared."

"The real doctrine," said Justice Venkataramiah, "appears to be: say and be damned." He then asked Bhagat: "Why don't you publish your version in another journal?"

Since Singh was a public personality by virtue of his being an MP, the chief justice suggested that he should take a certain amount of press criticism in his stride. When Bhagat averred that there was a limit to how much one could tolerate, Chief Justice Chandrachud quipped: "Be brave, Mr Bhagat. Be brave like us." The packed court room burst into loud laughter.

Charanjit Singh also filed a criminal complaint for defamation against INDIA TODAY and its seven employees in the court of Metropolitan Magistrate Jaswant Singh. He alleged that the questionnaire, which was sent to his secretary, Mrs Mohan, had lowered his moral and intellectual character in the estimation of his secretary and other staff. INDIA TODAY filed a revision petition in the High Court challenging the legality of the summons issued. The High Court has stayed the proceedings.

Views: The press, worried about the consequences of the proposed Bihar Press Bill, greeted the judgements of the Delhi High Court and the Supreme Court with elation. Said the *Indian Express*: "This is a salutary statement of the law. Prior restraint on vague and specious grounds cannot be imposed on the press, especially by subordinate courts through *ex parte* decrees without blanketing the country under censorship."

In his weekly column, S. Sahay, resident editor, *The Statesman*, said: "The INDIA TODAY case only underlines the trend in the legal field. A by and large enlightened view, especially after the Emergency, of the laws of libel, contempt and freedom of speech and expression, is being taken by the superior courts but there is general ignorance or lack of appreciation of them at the subordinate level. Wide coverage in the press of the sound decisions of the courts may be one way of conveying the message to the lower judiciary"

Wrote *The Hindustan Times*: "The implications of the Supreme Court verdict are as crucial as that of the Bihar Press Bill. Whereas Jagannath Mishra wants to put the fear of the policeman in a journalist's heart, Charanjit Singh wanted the judge to snatch away his pen. A free press should be unrestrained to pursue and investigate news stories of public interest. The Supreme Court has endorsed that right and the Indian press has survived one more attack on its freedom."

Even though the highest court in the land categorically rejected the notion of pre-censorship once and for all, the fact remains that it was still possible for Charanjit Singh to block an article on a matter of public interest for as long as 10 months, owing to the time-consuming process which takes in the four tiers of the judicial hierarchy. Ten months is not a long time for a case to get from the lowest rung of the legal process to the highest; but in the case of a news story, 10 months can be fatal.

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new hotels coming up across Windsor Place. It did not, however, mention any of the city's zoning restrictions.

One month later, for reasons that are still not clear, all the concerned authorities changed their minds. Singh told the Parliamentary Consultative Committee on February 6, 1982 that NDMC had "approached the Government for relaxation of this height restriction" and that the NDMC "moved the DDA which has relaxed the height in this case to 212 feet."

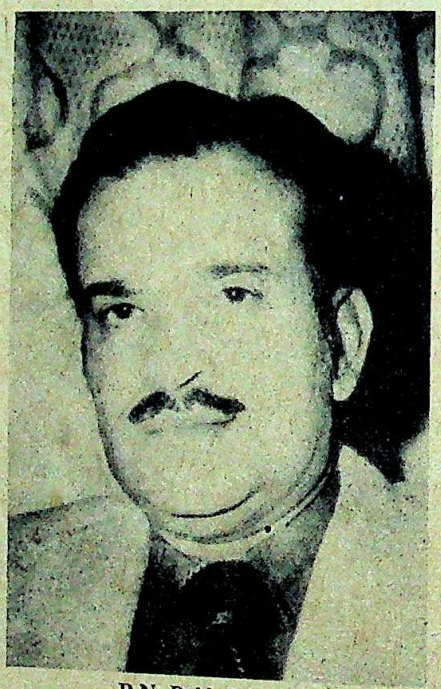
All that the DUAC could do was to recommend that "fresh urban form exercises be undertaken for the entire (Windsor Place) complex immediately" in order to study the effects of having at least five tall hotels in such a small congested area which straddles one of the main arteries leading from southern Delhi to the city centre, Connaught Place.

THE INCREASED height was important for the project because it could open the way to more floor space—and hence profitability—available to the hotel. While these ding-dong battles were in progress, on November 18, 1981 Pure Drinks floated a new company, C.J. International Hotels Ltd, with an authorised capital of Rs 12 crore (later increased to Rs 25 crore). The directors were Charanjit Singh, his brother Daljit Singh, wife Harjeet Kaur and uncle Ajit Singh.

The other three promoter-shareholders with 25 shares of Rs 10 each were K.N. Mehra, Bhagwat Prasad Bansal and P.S. Ramakrishnan whose professions are listed as executives. As of June 30, 1982 according to the statutory report filed with the Registrar of Companies, the paid up capital of CJI is Rs 4.20 crore. However, the return of share allotment which should be filed within 30 days of the shares being allotted with the Registrar of Companies as per Section 75 of the Companies Act, 1956, indicating the particulars of the shareholders, is not on file with the Registrar of Companies.

The new company obviously necessitated a new licence agreement with NDMC. So on May 14, 1982, another agreement was signed with NDMC which, in one vital detail, changed the terms of the original project. The earlier deed provided for a payment of Rs 2.68 crore or 23 per cent of turnover, whichever was higher. The new agreement, on the grounds that a slightly smaller area had been handed over for the hotel project, reduced the turnover figure to 21 per cent. The project report of the hotel anticipates a turnover of more than Rs 15 crore in 1983-84, which means a reduction of Rs 30 lakh in the licence fee payable to NDMC in that year. The lower percentage will mean a loss of Rs 40 lakh in 1986-87, when a turnover of more than Rs 20 crore is anticipated.

Considerable Concession: NDMC chooses to remain silent on why it made these substantial concessions, both in regard to the height of the hotel and the licence fee payable. For, though the ground area in hand with CJI was 4.29 acres and not 4.5 acres, it made no difference to the built up area—and the profitability—of the hotel. Yet, Charanjit Singh and CJI weren't about to leave it at that. Earlier this year, they moved NDMC to allow them a larger floor to area ratio (FAR) in the project, in line with the FAR permitted to



P.N. Bahl: key person

the ITDC hotels.

The argument was a logical extension of the battle fought over the height of the hotel. After all, if a zoning regulation could be ignored in one respect, why not in another? In any case, the added height would mean very little without an increased FAR. The FAR sets out the maximum floor space, excluding certain authorised service areas, that a building can have in relation to the area of the plot that it stands on. The limits are set in the interest of the urban environment, to prevent congestion and over-building. In the capital's commercial zone, designers can build 250 square feet of floor area for every 100 square feet of ground space they are building on. In the residential zone in which the Meridien is coming up, the limit is 150.

Obviously, the higher the FAR, greater the profitability of any project. And, CJI was going for gold when it ved NDMC to allow it to increase it. Once again, NDMC proved to be co rative. The obliging Bahl shot off a letter—No 369/PS/PMC/IMP/D/82 August 10, 1982—to Mukharji Works and Housing Ministry. Bahl commended that "it would be in ac mity with the principles of effective planning as also those of healthy en mental improvement of the area if of 250 is permitted to the hotel pro Windsor Place." Trying to boost his Bahl argued that "Hotel Meridien cause of its accidental location abu on the border (of the commercial ought to be given some special con tion by being permitted to have a FAR as that of other buildings vicinity."

Professional Objections: As ex the idea attracted a good deal o Following the procedure laid do such amendments, the Works Housing Ministry sent Bahl's reco dation to the concerned organisati August 23, 1982, soliciting com Writing for the TCPO, Chief Planner Shafi wrote two days later to say regret that it is not possible for us to with the firm opinion expressed ministrator, NDMC that enhancing th from 150 to 250 would be 'in conf with the principles of town plannin healthy environment improvement area'. In fact in our submission, th would be just the opposite." The Planning Commissioner, E.F.N. R concurred with the TCPO's lengthy ments against an increase in FAR. DUAC declined to comment since the tion related to an individual projec not to a broad policy question.

In spite of the opposition, CJI severed even after Bahl was re from his position on September 6. ter Singh, a stickler for the letter law, recognising that a change in th would require a cumbersome proce sent the file to Lt-Governor Jagmoh ask if a prima facie case existed to the FAR at the Meridien Hotel site, mohan side-stepped the issue by se the file on to Harish Khanna, vice man of DDA, for review. That is wh matter now stands officially.

Even if the Central Government cedes NDMC's request it is likely to other problems. Any one of the l ginal bidders can represent that he have offered better terms for the site if it was known to him th was eligible for 250 FAR. But there

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Hotel's FAR than meets ming that the original build- formed to an FAR of 100:150 of 4.5 acres, the same building smaller plot of 4.29 acres an FAR of 100:157.3.

doubts were already being ex- the TCPO. In its letter no. Tech (D-4) dated September 4, Secretary M. Srinivasan in of Works and Housing, TCPO are given to understand that ming the building plans for the NDMC has, a very large to be more than 50,000 square and above the maximum pre- of 150. Further, we under- this space is over and above vered under the basement (for

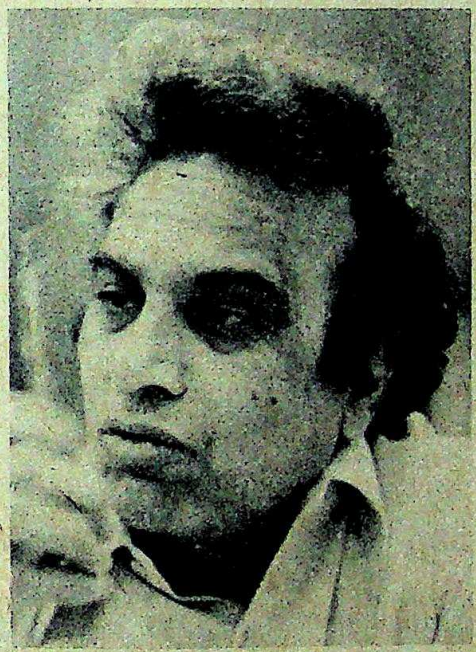
asked by Rajya Sabha member Ashwani Kumar on November 5 this year, Bhishma Narain Singh disclosed that the hotel had been permitted to build 27,308 square metres of floor area qualifying under the FAR criteria—excluding two basements, part of which is described as a semi-basement, and a service floor.

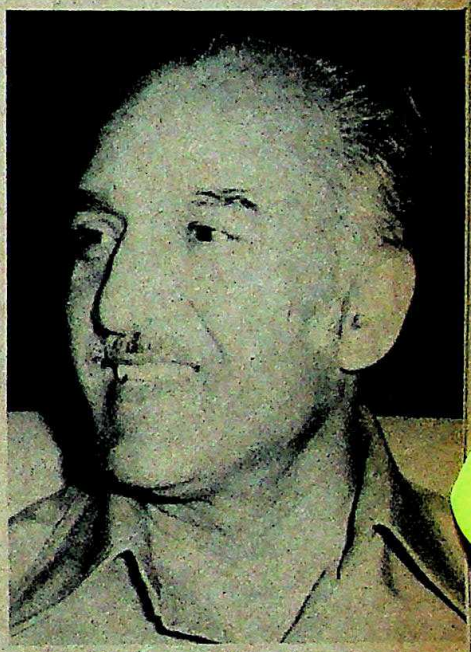
But this was worked out on an FAR of 150 on a ground area of 4.5 acres; with 4.29 acres in hand, the FAR permitted floor area would work out to be 26,045 square metres. It is possible that Charanjit Singh expected a relaxation in the FAR long before the first sod of earth was turned at the building site. In the feasibility report available with the financial institutions for loans, The building plans showed, apart from guest rooms and related facili-

space in the Connaught Place area is around Rs 30 crore—if sub-leased for 99 years.

It has yet to be explained how a project report was finalised and loans sanctioned even as the basic element in the project—the area to be built up—was uncertain and there were obvious discrepancies between the municipal laws and the assumptions in the feasibility report. Officials of two of the leading financial institutions, IDBI and IFCI, refused to comment.

There is also another red herring which has been introduced by a query from the Law Ministry sent to the Ministry of Work and Housing questioning whether the agreement signed between CJI and NDMC in its present form amounts to sub-lease or a licence since NDMC, accord-





Minister Bhishma Narain Singh, Lt-Governor Jagmohan, vice chairman DDA Harish Khanna: playing safe

parking etc) and service floor be permitted on the merit of by the competent authority. we would like to know if in- a fact that large covered areas permitted over and above nor- ted for incidental commercial as in the form of retail shop- et halls, large office rooms for staff, discotheques, restaurants

Controversy: The ministry, up the letter, sought NDMC's ch had not been received till When contacted by INDIA new NDMC administrator was for comment. In the absence confirmation on the FAR ques- figures are being bandied reply to a starred question

ties, other facilities such as banquet halls, a discotheque, offices, a shopping complex and an auditorium, adding up to a total floor space of almost 34,000 sq m—which works out to an FAR of about 200. Whether these habitable areas have been taken into consideration for calculating the FAR is not clear from the financial institutions' records.

Interestingly, if CJI succeeds in getting an FAR of 250 instead of 150, it will be able to build an additional 17,372 sq m of floor area. This can be let out at an annual rent of Rs 3.36 crore calculated at the present market rate of Rs 161.4 per sq m (Rs 15 per sq ft) per month, which is on the lower side. With the present practice of taking two years rent in advance this could give CJI a deposit of around Rs 6.50 crore. The current market value of such

ing to terms and contitions of allotment, is not authorised to sub-lease.

Financial Problems: Even as the battle for more space continues, CJI continues to be bedevilled with problems. In June 1982, CJI sacked the original architects, Bharadwaj and Bharadwaj because of a dispute and have not paid them their fees. The architects claim that CJI owes them more than Rs 40 lakh. Asia Foundations and Construction Ltd (AFCONS), a Bombay-based company which did the piling work for the hotel, has filed a suit in the Punjab and Haryana High Court for the recovery of over Rs 11 lakh which they claim is due to them. In their winding up petition no. 74 dated August 30, 1982, AFCONS asked the court to pass an order to the effect that "Messrs Pure Drinks (New Delhi) Ltd be wound up by the court under the

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provisions of the Companies Act 1956 and such further orders as may be necessary including the appointment of a provisional liquidator may be passed." However CJI has disputed AFCONS's claim. The matter was pending in court.

Whatever may be the outcome of this petition, CJI is obviously faced with soaring project costs. It was initially estimated at Rs 35.65 crore as disclosed in reply to a parliamentary question on August 3, 1982. It is now believed that the revised costs submitted to the financial institutions is estimated to be over Rs 44 crore.

The financial institutions have sanctioned a loan of Rs 12 crore to CJI. Out of a total expenditure of Rs 11.81 crore on the project until October 1982 the financial institutions had disbursed Rs 6 crore. The financial institutions will only release balance loans after full scrutiny of securities offered by CJI and fulfilment of the promoters financial obligations, both of which are incomplete at this stage.

The break-up of the term loans financed by the consortium of financial institutions is as follows:

► Industrial Finance Corporation of India (IFCI): Rs 2.25 crore;

► Industrial Development Bank of India (IDBI): Rs 5 crore;

► Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation of India Ltd (ICICI): Rs 2.25 crore.

► Industrial Reconstruction Corporation of India (IRCI): Rs 1 crore;

► Life Insurance Corporation of India (LIC): Rs 1 crore; and

► General Insurance Corporation of India (GCI): Rs 50 lakh.

It is not the first time that Charanjit Singh has had to deal with some of these government financial institutions. In 1974, he floated a company called Mohan Ortmann and Herbert Limited (now Mohan Machinery) to manufacture bottling machinery with West German collaboration. The collaboration with Ortmann and Herbert Machinen of West Germany covered manufacture of automatic bottling plants and accessories for soft drinks, beer, milk and fruit juices. Set up with an authorised capital of Rs 2 crore and having a paid up capital of Rs 1.2 crore with equity participation of financial institutions like LIC, IFCI, and GIC. Mohan Ortmann borrowed a total of Rs 150.84 lakh from the IFCI, the LIC, IDBI, and ICICI.

In addition, the company owed its bankers a total of Rs 62.63 lakh. On March 23 this year, Deputy Finance Minister Janardhan Poojary told the Rajya Sabha that the repayment schedules with regard to the public financial institutions had been rescheduled twice, in March 1979 and January 1981. "The company also defaulted in the payment of interest," said Poojary. "The institutions are pursuing with the company for early clearance of their dues." But Poojary also admitted that accumulated losses of Mohan Machinery as on March 31, 1981 stood at a figure of Rs 86.57 lakh, after taking into account a profit of Rs 1.17 lakh during the year ending March 31, 1981.

MERIDIEN

Only the future will tell if the Meridien Hotel turns out to be a pot of gold for Charanjit Singh or an embarrassment to his party besides being an exceptionally heavy millstone around his neck.

Again on April 16, 1982, Minister Poojary replying to an unstarred question no. 8323 admitted that the overdue interest owed by Mohan Machinery to the financial institutions added up to Rs 25.92 lakh.

For the balance finance of the Meridien project, CJI has also got a sanction for a Eurocurrency loan of Rs 14.77 crore to be supplied by a syndicate led by France's Credit Lyonnais. Balance of around Rs 18 crore will need to come through his own sources.

Own Sources: This may, however, prove to be a problem, since some of his important companies were making losses or marginal profits. At the time this hotel project was conceived in 1981, even Pure Drinks (New Delhi) Ltd promoters of Meridien which made a profit of Rs 64 lakh in 1979, made a profit of just Rs 2.5 lakh during 1980. This is the company which has given loans of over Rs 3.43 crore as on 31st October, 1980 to other companies under the same m ment. Financial results of some companies as are currently available w Registrar of companies are as follo

► Pure Drinks (Bombay) Ltd: ye ding October 31, 1979, a loss of Rs lakh;

► Pure Drinks (Calcutta) Ltd: ye ding April 30, 1980, a loss of Rs lakh (previous year Rs 16.09 lakh lo

► Punjab Beverages (P) Ltd: ye ding August 31, 1980, a loss of Rs lakh (previous year Rs 22.61 lakh and cumulative losses Rs 76.89 lakh

► Southern Bottlers (P) Ltd: ye ding August 31, 1981, a loss of Rs lakh (previous year Rs 15.22 lakh and cumulative losses of Rs 78.91

► Mohan Bottling (P year ending February 1981, a loss of Rs 7.3 and cumulative losses 24.27 lakh.

The above compan mainly engaged in th drinks and allied bus which have been Ch Singh's prime area of a but there are several companies which fall his management that provide his hotel projec the financial support might be needed. Latest cial figures are not avail

While the questio mobilising finance and remains in the balance, facts assume a menacin vance. After the Asiad will be an addition o other 2,500 5-star rooms in Delhi wh likely to result in fierce cut-throat com tion in the industry. With a per room of over Rs 9 lakh, which is one o highest per room costs among the hotels, CJI faces an even more uphill to fulfil the claims in its feasibility r submitted to the institutions. It also possible that after the dust of the A settles down the financial institu would make a more realistic review their hotel loans in view of the exp room glut and rising project costs.

Finally, there is the question whether a member of Parliament a ruling party MP at that, should his reputation to be tainted by troversy: there have been as man 16 questions asked in Parliament the Meridien project. Only the f will tell if Meridien Hotel turns out to be of gold for Charanjit Singh or an emba sment to his party besides being an e tionally heavy millstone around his

— PRABHU CHA

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...s, no rain, no
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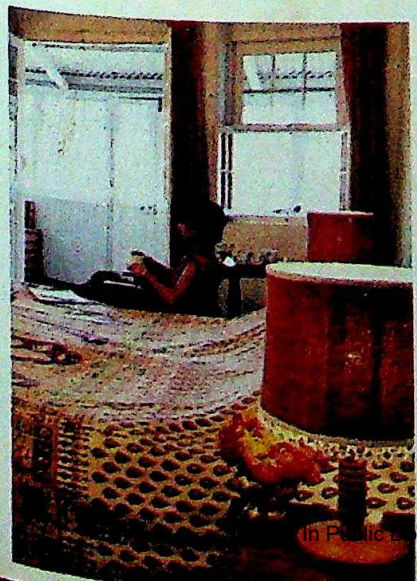

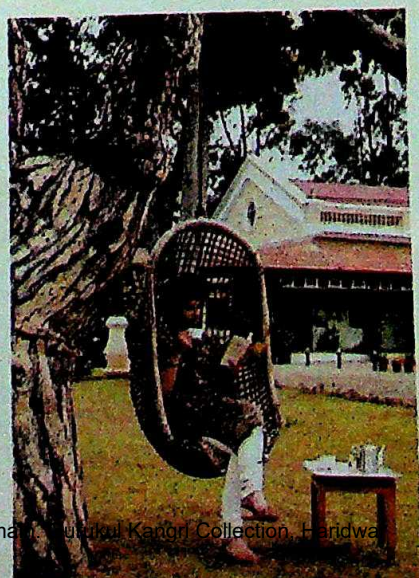

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IX ASIAD

A Moment Of Pride

EVERY once in a while an event occurs that lifts a nation above mediocrity; that captures for a split second in its history, the heights of collective human endeavour; that wipes out in one bold stroke, all the myths and misconceptions. Such a moment comes but rarely and never lingers and few are the nations that are so visited. But last fortnight was undoubtedly India's turn when the curtain went up on the biggest sporting event in Asia. Even before the stunning and brilliantly-orchestrated opening ceremony on November 19 had ended, it was evident that this was destined to be India's finest hour.

Never had a nation stood so proud, never had its been tested so severely and never had its technology and lity reached such dizzying heights. As a birthday gift to Minister Indira Gandhi, there could have been no better. A was unquestionably no less than she deserved, if only for the that it was her gamble to go for the Games in an incredibl capsulated time span of just two years. And yet, the momen giant Asiad flame burst into brilliance exactly on the sche second in the Jawaharlal Nehru Stadium, all doubts and vanished into the winter air. By the time the Games reache half-way mark, it was already obvious that it was to be a s

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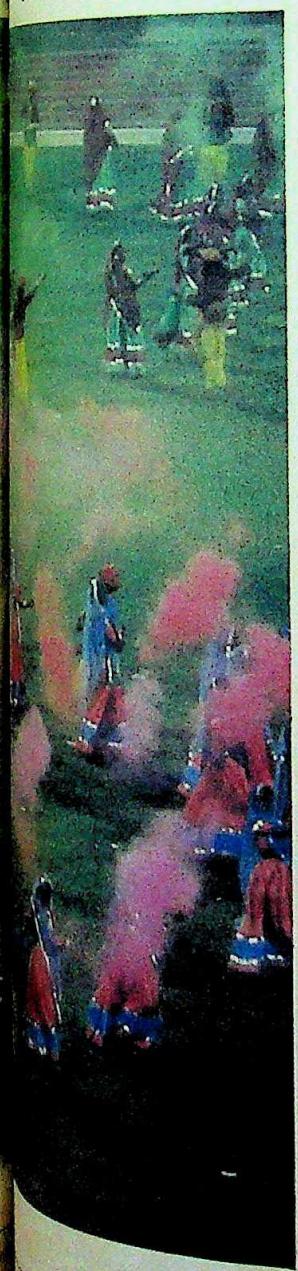
Right from the opening fan-
ng worked with as much pre-
high-tech Seiko timing equip-
to India for the Games. Even
appeared to accede in ack-
The minute the first chords
ng ceremony were struck, the
ough the clouds to bathe the
es and the gaily-caparisoned
in a benevolent glow.
hen on, there was no looking
war cries of the Akalis and
to disrupt the Asiad were
ed out by the spectacle unfol-
tate-of-the-art stadia. It was a
hat could not be denied; a
the organisers that could not
way and a day that will linger



Rajasthani dancers add colour to the opening ceremony while (right) India's track star Gita Zutshi takes the oath

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long in India's memory. For the millions of Indians watching the drama unfold on their hastily-imported colour television sets, the controlled efficiency, the well-oiled security and the perfect meshing of gears in the gigantic Asiad machinery was as pleasantly surprising as it was to the foreign athletes. As one spectator was overheard remarking after watching the proceedings for a week: "If only they could run the country like this, India wouldn't have a care in the world." The truth of that statement could not be denied. As a diplomatic and public relations coup, the Games had no rival since Independence. The paeans of praise poured in from all sides, including, significantly enough, from the members of the various international sports federations who were on hand to make a critical assessment of the conduct of the Games.

Equally unrecognisable was the city where it was all happening. Delhi had been spruced up like it was on its first date. Smoothly metalled roads, freshly-painted road signs, fly-overs bedecked with banners and greenery, music in the parks, traffic jams and hold-ups almost non-existent, flags and fountains fluttering in the crisp November air and ancient, crumbling monuments artfully lit at night. But above all, what most Indians were witnessing was a tantalising glimpse of what the country and its people were capable of achieving.

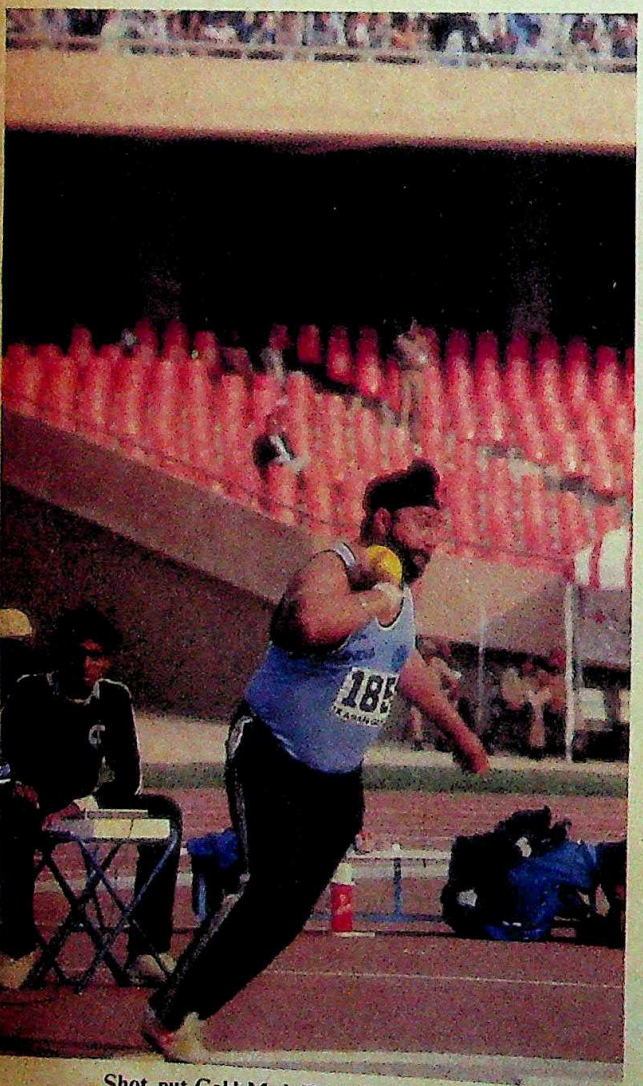
THE GAMES

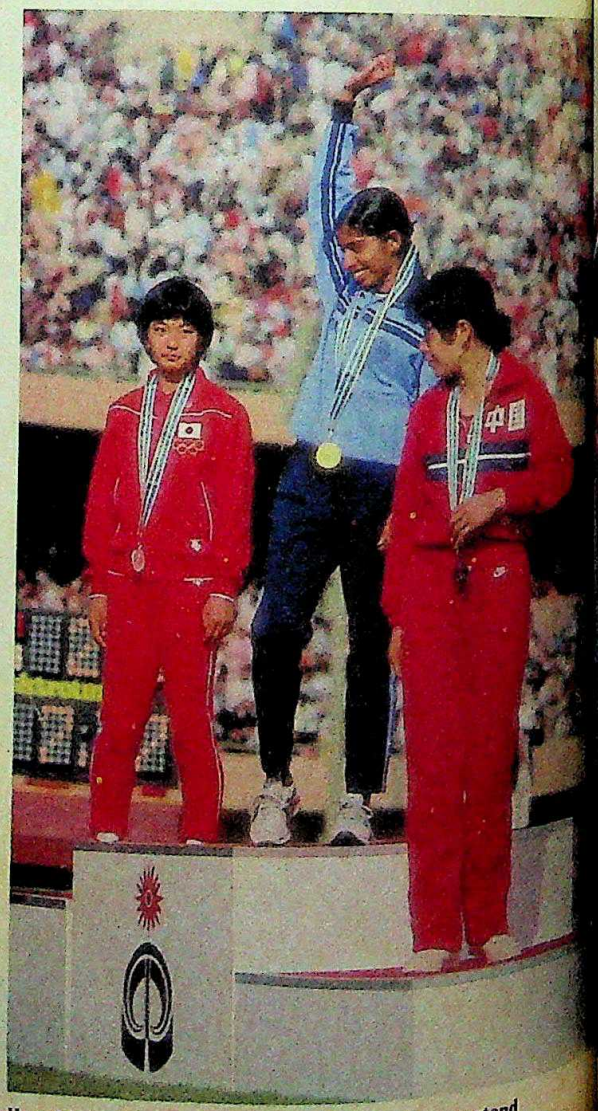
A Moveable Feast

EVENTUALLY, it was the athletes who really matter: all the stadia in the world could not take away from performance. Even before the Games entered its last week, there were moments permanently etched in the mind's

The pixie-like Wu Jiani, the 16-year-old Chinese gymnast ending her first Asiad, stunned the jam-packed stadium into awe-struck silence with her grace and fluidity. On the balance beam, she was a poem in motion, gliding through her exercise with unmatched perfection, and back-flipping with an ease made a mockery of the laid-down laws of gravity. A perfect was the only choice the judges were left with. Her three golds one of them in the team event—and two silvers were greeted with unusual enthusiasm. And finally, when she both her tiny hands above her head before leaving the Indira Gandhi Stadium for the last time, the entire crowd rose as one to give her a standing ovation.

When INDIA TODAY finally managed to track her down





Shot put Gold Medallist Bahadur Singh making his recordbreaking effort and Valsamma on the victory stand

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the airport where the gymnasts were waiting to catch
here on the day after the competition ended, she
and child-like. Wearing a smart off-white suit and
airline bag, she looked anything but a superstar, just
-year-old anxious to be home. But she was deadly
nature about her sporting commitments: "There is a
to be done still. I must train harder and reach world
she said, choosing her words carefully. "We Chinese
tion," she added, as she disappeared into the
ge with that famous two-handed wave that had
hearts of millions who watched her perform.

the Chinese team with its cheerful vitality, wide grins
aplomb stole the show. Their medals tally was
ough: but it was totally overshadowed by the sheer
young and healthy and alive which they displayed. It
its most poignant and best. The tears of victory, the
braces, the graciousness in defeat and the warmth of
ance left behind a brightness that dimmed the glitter
medals. In fact, the Chinese supporters, their red
mentating the red-and-yellow leotards of their
need not have waved their little flags so vigorously, so
the Indian-dominated audience take the Chinese team
to its collective heart, particularly the doll-like girls.

For once, in an international sporting event as big as the Asiad, politics took a seat in the last row. The bearded Iranian gold medal-winning weightlifter Ali Pakizehjam clasped hands with the Iraqi bronze medallist Mohammed Yasin, banishing in that moment of emotion-charged triumph the fact that their countries were locked together in a protracted and self-destructive war. At the Talkatora swimming pool victory stand, South Korean swimmers linked hands with North Korean medallists in a rare moment of fraternity and friendship.

Stiff Competition: Right from the first day of the competition, it was clear that Asiad '82 would boil down to a battle for supremacy between the two giants, Japan and China. By the end of the first week, the two had swapped places at the head of the medals table with tantalising frequency. Japan dominating the swimming and China taking the diving, table tennis and gymnastics honours. The final battle would evidently be fought in the track and field arena; but even before the focus shifted, there were clear indications that China would finally break the Japanese medals stranglehold.

Said Wu Zhonguan, the slim, elderly and earnest-looking deputy leader of the Chinese contingent: "The promotion of

The jubilant Indian womens' hockey team with Rajiv Gandhi

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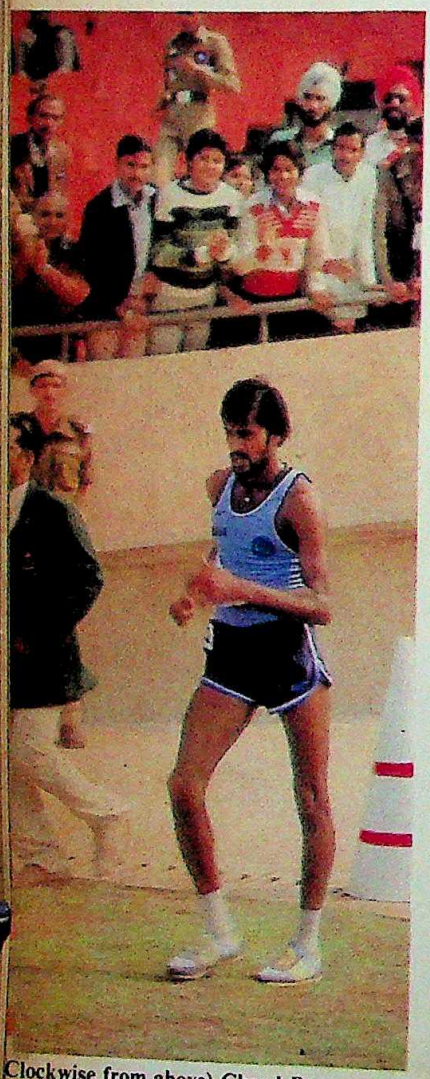
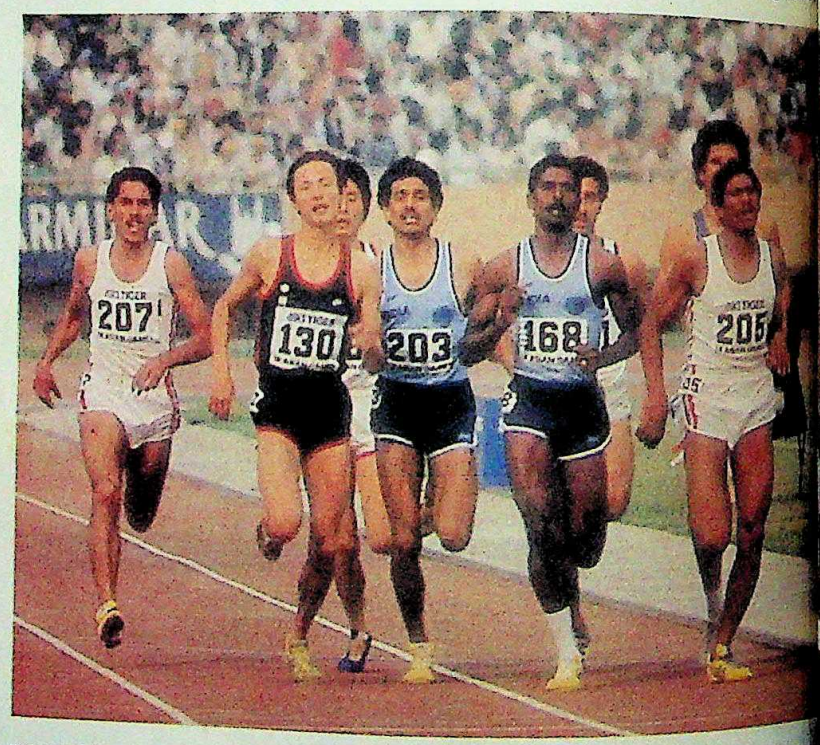
sports fits into our political ideology. Our first priority was to lay down the foundations of a healthy society, and it is paying off now."

BUT THE Chinese were clearly outclassed in swimming, with Japan winning 16 gold, 11 silver and six bronzes in 23 of the 29 events decided in the first week of competition. Said coach-cum-manager Shinji Higashimaja: "Our goal was 25 gold medals, the same as Bangkok, and we gave the swimmers the confidence that they required to win." The only major upset in their calculations was the 200 m free-style where they failed to pick up a medal. The gold was claimed by William Wilson, 18, the freckle-faced student from the Philippines in a time of 1 m 57.41 secs. Said Wilson: "The gold was reward for two years of hard work in America. I was unlucky to miss breaking the record."

The medals battle again turned China's way after the tennis events, which they made virtually a clean sweep of ning six of the seven golds. But the scene-stealer at the tennis event was the hyped-up Yoshido Saito, Japan's n six. Saito caused a sensation when he demolished the numbe seed, Guo Yuehua of China in the quarter-finals, not so mu technique but by psychology. Bouncing up and down like a in-the-box, uttering his famous war cry whenever he won a p Saito pressurised the Chinese superstar into abject submissio

The two Koreas, particularly the Democratic People's R blic (DPR), diligently dogged the footsteps of the two leade tribute to the careful planning and build-up that sport enjo those countries. In fact, one of the few world records better equalled during the Games was by South Korea's Kim Jin H the women's archery event, while weightlifter Yang Eui of N Korea narrowly missed the world record in the 56 kg class.





(Clockwise from above) Chand Ram enters the stadium at the end of his gold medal performance; Borromeo makes his final medal-winning burst in the 800 m; and Brar winning the tent-pegging gold for India

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gold medallist, Wu Shude of China who failed to world mark.

massive injection of money into sports, the Middies were not faring too well in the medal stan- the three Kuwaiti women medallists, the only formances were in football and weightlifting, with light edge over the rest. But as Bahram Afsharza- ision of the Iranian contingent, explains: "Every ller of Islam whether in the playground or the ollah Khomeini has said sports are to be encou- make people think well and be healthy. This is why restling, weightlifting and other Islamic sports. cing and other sports that lead to bleeding and ies are not Islamic sports. Nor is chess, for it nd."

Transformation: But easily the most encouraging performance in the medals race was that of host India. It was as though they had undergone a miraculous transformation. Never had they looked so superbly fit and confident. All the months of expert coaching and rigorous training schedules finally struck pay dirt. Ironically, India's medal rush started with the events that are being held for the first time at the Games. India's medals tally opened with a bang when the all-army equestrian team of Raghubir Singh, Captain G.M. Khan and Prahlad Singh galloped off with the gold, silver and bronze in the three-day event, one of the rare occasions when the Indian flag was to go up on all three poles behind the victory stand.

The Indians picked up another gold in the team standings, catapulting India to fifth place in the medals table and wound up the competition with a third gold in the tent-pegging with Major Brar's flawless performance. Said an exultant team manager "Billy" Sodhi: "I have been telling everybody for the past year that

(Clockwise from top left) Golfer Lakshman Singh on the victory stand; enthusiastic Chinese supporters; the medal carriers in their traditional bridal finery; and Raghubir Singh, India's gold medal winner in the equestrian event

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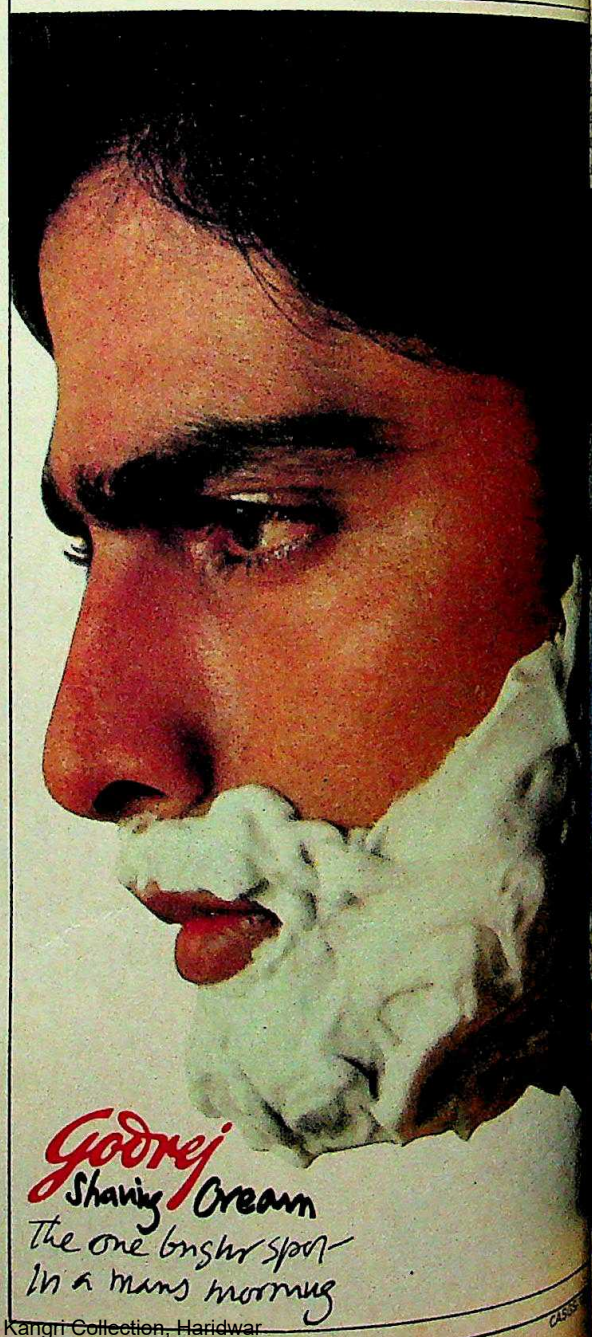

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to do well. It is a credit to that they have done so well, in that the others had better as 20 of their horses and we that we can do."

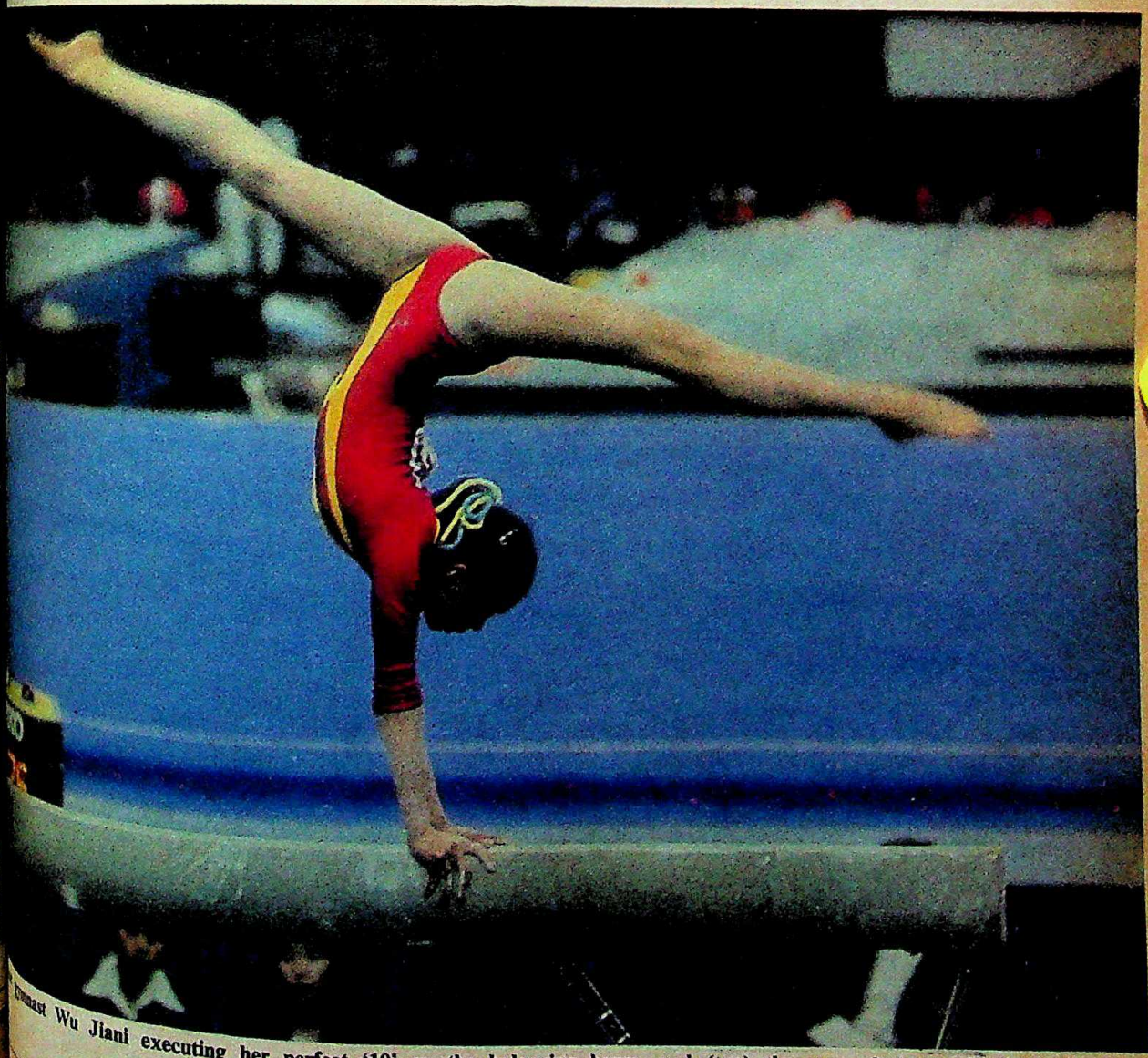
equestrians who finally stole were three pert and pretty Kuwait. Riding their expensive show jumping event, they their male counterparts to trot all three medals in the event. and silver went to two sisters, awa, 19, and her 18-year-old while the bronze was taken Sabah. All three are students and seemed overwhelmed by ted success. "We were hoping but not as well as we did," said rapping herself with the oc-. This is the first time that participated in an internatio- also the first time that three

women have won all the top placings in a mixed international. How did it feel to beat a field of fancied men? "Very good," they giggled in unison.

Another First: The Indian equestrian success was almost matched by another Asiad first—golfing—with India powering its way to three medals—one gold for the team title and Captain Lakshman Singh's and Rajiv Mohta's gold and silver respectively in the individual competition as they pipped the fancied Japanese at the post.

India's golden hour, however, was in the Jawaharlal Nehru Stadium where the track and field events got off the mark. In three incredible days, India's track stars toppled the two Koreas from their golden pedestal, pushing India up to third place behind China and Japan. It was an inspiring effort that took them to heights they had never reached before.

Chand Ram, the 20 km walk national



gymnast Wu Jiani executing her perfect '10' on the balancing beam, and (top) the star of the track, Lydia de Vega, winning the 100 m

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first gold for India, and distinction of winning the to be decided in the track The tall Rajputana Rifles a mile-eating stride and lead right through to finish breaking time of 1 hr 29 m seconds, ahead of second-pla- Wang of China. Said an while busily signing auto- the race: "I was determined first gold for India in athletics. wanted to show that I was Wang who was disqualified at meet last year."

ment of triumph, was, ho- marred by the typically offi- of M.L. Jadam, an official Amateur Athletic Federation. was enjoying a well-earned after his gruelling race, it was atched from his hand by ordered him to go up to

Rajiv Gandhi and "take his blessings". Still elated from his victory, Ram readily agreed and walked up the stairs to where Rajiv was standing and folded his hands. But Jadam, typical of his tribe, felt that was not enough. Grasping Ram roughly by the shoulder, he virtually pushed him down on his knees and whispered "touch his feet". Sycophancy, it appeared, will never take a back seat to sport.

Ram, however, was literally dwarfed by the burly man-mountain, shot putter Bahadur Singh, 36, taking part in his last Asiad. Singh emulated his gold-winning performance at the Bangkok Games with a throw of 18.53 m and in the bargain avenged his defeat at the hands of the favourite, Kuwait's Mohammed Al Zinkawi, at last year's meet in Tokyo. Zinkawi's coach struck one of the few discordant notes in the Games when he accused Bahadur Singh, after the event, of having taken drugs to improve his performance.

with the winning gymnasts after the medal ceremony and, (top) Chinese world record holder Wu Shude winning the weightlifting gold.

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was obviously an emotional reaction to the toppling and nobody took his outburst very seriously. As he was quite content to end his athletics career in a blaze of glory. "I have had enough," said the burly now I am switching to coaching so that the Indians winning shot put medals at every Asiad

challenge accelerated on the next two days, by the wildly-cheering 40–50,000-strong crowd. appointment at long distance medal hope Shivnath himself out too early and finishing fifth was soon Charles Borromeo, 23, lived up to his earlier predic- TODAY that he would finish the 800 m in less than Running a superb tactical race, Borromeo forged last 150 m to give India its ninth gold with almost ease. Said Borromeo after completing his victory ovation: "The race went exactly as planned; but the crowd helped a great deal. Now, my next goal gold in 1984 at Los Angeles."

was even more heartening, in the context of Indian unprecedented sight of India's gold medal winners by autograph hunters, till now the exclusive preser- and film stars. At the Shivaji Stadium, the scenes when the Indian women's hockey team cake-walked gold medal were unprecedented. Their victory lap packed stadium and the medal presentation by Rajiv moments of triumph that transcended the mere win- It was a nation rejoicing in the moveable feast had provided right through the tournament, even Gandhi from her busy schedule to be present at the

humbly-excited captain, Eliza Nelson: "We are proud the gold the very first time the tournament has been Coach Balkishen Singh credits the victory to the practice the team underwent for the past 18 months. Said he: "We were worried about our defence, where we were relatively weak; but it was hardly tested." That is substantiated by the fact that the Indian women slammed in a total of 37 goals in the tournament, conceding just one. Meanwhile, their male counterparts were storming their way into what looked like a predictable clash with traditional rivals Pakistan in the finals, an event for which tickets were sold out well in advance.

Similarly, in weightlifting, Gian Singh Cheema, the powerfully built pub-owner from Birmingham, earned India its first ever medal in the Asian Games weightlifting competition when he took two bronze medals in the 100 kg category. Other Indian weightlifters missed out on the medals but most of them bettered their own national marks which was compensation enough. In fact, this year, Indian lifters have bettered national records an incredible 69 times, a tribute to the planned training programme they have been on for the last 18 months.

Overt Signals: Elsewhere, there were equally overt signals that Indian sport is finally coming of age. In swimming, for the first time in international competition, there were Indian swimmers in almost every final that took place. In fact few people realised that Khazan Singh and Ranajoy Punaja's fourth-placing makes them the fourth-fastest in Asia. Says Singh: "We could have done even better with more training and protein rich diets." Swimming coach Bernad Johnke echoed these views and pointed to the fact that most of the Indian swimmers improved upon their national record-breaking timings during the September Trial Games. Similarly, India's fifth placing in the men's gymnastics team events is far better than any previous performance and clearly promises much for the future.

But with the main focus having shifted to athletics, the real superstars were being feted at the impressive Jawaharlal Nehru Stadium. Pride of place, as far as India was concerned, went to M.D. Valsamma, the 400 m hurdles national champion. A month before the Games, she had confidently told INDIA TODAY that "all that lies between me and the gold are 10 hurdles," and she proved that it was no idle boast. Having posted the best timing in

India beating Japan 7-2 on the way to the finals clash with Pakistan

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the heats, she was clearly the favourite when the race started. But her performance in the finals eclipsed all expectations.

Striding smoothly and clearing the hurdles at just the right height, she hit the electronic beam well ahead of the rest in the fantastic time of 58.47 secs which was not just a new Asian Games record but an Asian record as well, the only athlete at the Games to have achieved that distinction so far. Exulted the 22-year-old railway clerk: "I was certain of winning since my timings were better than that of my competitors." She is now looking forward to flying back to Kerala with her coach with the Rs 1 lakh award promised to her by the Kerala Government if she won the gold.

Disappointment: Another favourite, Geeta Zutshi, missed gold by the proverbial whisker in the 800 m women and had to remain content with the silver. Said a visibly disappointed athletics coach, Joginder Singh Saini: "She kicked off for her final burst too early." But even so, Zutshi's silver did little harm to India's rapidly-swelling medal tally which was soon enhanced by two more silver medals from P.T. Usha in the 100 m and Premchandran in the 400 m on the third day of the athletics programme.

Mrs Gandhi also seemed to revel in the proceedings. She was seen at various stadia, particularly where Indians were participating, lending her presence to the proceedings, clapping as enthusiastically as anybody else. The crowds seem to acknowledge her contribution, and gave her standing ovations. As one wag remarked: "If Mrs Gandhi held an election tomorrow she would win hands down." But the person who stole some of her limelight was superstar Amitabh Bachchan. Looking gaunt and subdued after his brush with death, Bachchan revealed himself as a sports addict. He stayed in Delhi right through the duration of the Games, hopping from one stadium to the next and causing near-riots wherever he went.

Other VIPs were not so favoured. When it was announced that Haryana Chief Minister Bhajan Lal would give out the medals in gymnastics, the crowd booed their disfavour. And when Lal, the former wrestler waddled up to the dias with his paunch leading him by at least a foot, there was an embarrassing silence broken by fits of derisive laughter at the comical sight he made compared to the superbly-conditioned gymnasts.

However, the darling of the crowds at the main athletics stadium clearly was the attractive and charming Filipino sprinter, Lydia de Vega, 18. Her 100 m win earned her the title of the fastest woman in Asia and instant stardom. Said an elated de Vega after the event: "I am proud to have won the first gold medal for my country in 20 years." Lydia's stardom was not restricted to the track. Back home, she is considered a national hero and has just completed her first film. In fact, the film, called 'Gold Medal' based on her life story, was released on the day the Games began. But for all her popularity back home, Lydia is surprisingly modest and unassuming. "Two favourite things are running and movies," she says, "and I am glad I am doing well in both." If she wins the sprint double as expected, Lydia is certain to return home a national treasure.

"My success is all due to him," says Lydia, pointing to her father, a retired policeman, who chaperones the shapely (34-26-36) star to competitions in the Philippines and abroad and officiates as her coach.

But as the Games entered its second and final week, there were certain to be other heroes born each day. Rabuan Pit, the favourite for the men's sprint double, was just one prospect, while the wrestling and boxing, the two events that started the last, are likely to further improve upon India's medal tally, which, at the end of the first week, was already heading for an all-time-record.

—DILIP BOBB with AMARNATH K. MENON and SREEKANT KHANDEKAR

ORGANISATION

Flawless Feat

THOUGH ultimately overshadowed by the athletic display and the records that tumbled like ninep '82 will undoubtedly go down in history as India organisational triumph. Never has an exercise on such scale been attempted and accomplished so flawlessly. T some opening ceremony proved to be just the hors-d'oe was evident from the words of praise that flowed unceasingly.

Juan Samaranch, president of the International Committee, described it as a "fantastic effort", while Wo Lee, the South Korean minister for sports termed it "to Added Lee: "We are hosting the next Asian Games and we can learn a lot from what has been done here. It is as any in the world." Zhong Song, the elderly but voluble general of the Asian Table Tennis Union was more unre in his praise: "Before coming here we had read a lo foreign press saying there was very poor organisation. naturally worried about a lot of things—the water, food, modation, the weather, mosquitoes. But all the repo totally wrong." His view was echoed by the chef-de-m the South Korean contingent, Jong Yul Kim, who obse is obvious that a lot of effort has gone into the succe Games."

But if Asiad '82 was a tribute to India's orga abilities, much of the credit must surely go to the Go for its unflagging zeal and determination to make the success. Inspired by Mrs Gandhi's decision to hold the even though barely two years remained, the Governme out all the stops like never before. Admits K. Shankar who took over as secretary-general of the Special O Committee (SOC) last June: "It was the Government tha the backing and the necessary clout to organise th successfully."

However, it is also equally obvious that the "Go really meant Rajiv Gandhi and his closest aides who a personal interest in making sure that nothing was le no effort spared. Though Rajiv himself refused to com

(Clockwise from top left) Umrao Singh, Jagmohan, Singh D Bedi and Pillai: the success factor

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...cal fashion, SOC members are unanimous in their ...ings really started moving smoothly after he was ... the SOC as a member. Rajiv's tireless tours of the ...ructure, his constant monitoring of the progress ...ovtege, Arun Singh, went a long way in ensuring ...ng was ready on time. Says Shankaran Nair: ...ing with governmental agencies is impossible at the ... unless there is someone with the interest and the ...ority. Rajiv had both."

...ll always has been, a frantic race against time. With ...s remaining and much still to be done, it was ...t up a weekly monitoring system by a high-level ...led the Review Committee, comprising Buta Singh, ...general, the three deputy chairmen of the SOC with ...g and Arun Singh as special invitees. Others were ...y meetings, depending on the areas where major ... remained.

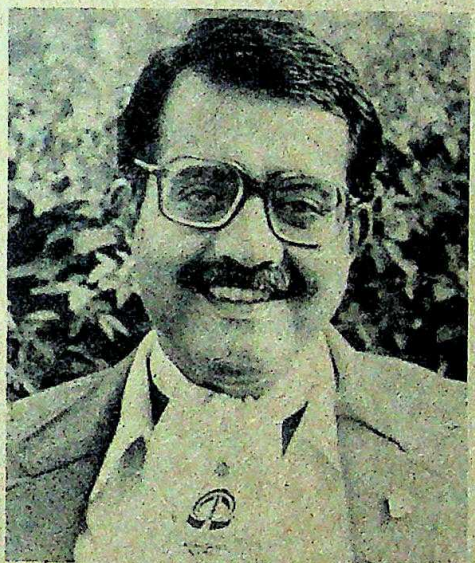
...committees, apart from the Review Committee, were ...ue the problem areas and make recommendations. ...ttees met as often as six times a day, often late at ... first time in a gigantic exercise like the Asiad, the ...ucracy was hardly referred to. Everything that had to ...was sanctioned on the spot. No government official ...k of secretary was inducted so that the decision-...s could be speedy.

...ast six months, most people connected with the ...e Games have worked between 16 and 18 hours a ...ter the Games started, the administration directors ...ical directors of the 17 stadia were meeting every ... p.m. to isolate the day's flaws and take remedial ...

...CTORS of the stadia had been carefully selected ...ar before the Games started and formed into what ... as the "mini-SOC". Obviously, it was a team effort ... contributing their bit, but equally obvious was ... was a handful of people who really deserve special ... the manner in which they coordinated their various ... make Asiad run like a well-oiled machine.

... list is Arun Singh, the bespectacled and dy-...ment of Rajiv who maintained the lowest of pro-files right through but, as everybody agrees, however reluctantly, was the main driving force behind the pre-Asiad preparations. Singh, who was appointed working chairman of the Games Technical Conduct Committee, toured the various stadia and facilities ceaselessly, taking decisions on the spot or referring them personally to Rajiv if they required a major decision. He is, predictably, modest about his role in the affair. "We were very lucky that everything clicked and that is what matters in the end," he says, adding that "a lot of people worked very hard and in total anonymity." He, like everybody else connected with the Asiad, attributes the major success factor to the total commitment to make the Games an outstanding affair.

Others who made equally major contributions were Jagmohan, Delhi's Lt-Governor who was hastily recalled from Goa three months before the Games started; Umrao Singh, deputy chairman of the SOC; K.P. Singh Deo, minister of state for defence and also SOC deputy chairman; Hari Pillai, the police officer who worked out the security aspect along with D. Jugran; K.D. Gupta and R.R. Singh of the Delhi Transport Corporation



(from left) Rajiv Gandhi, Arun Singh and Shankaran Nair: successful major-domos

(DTC) who salvaged the reputation of that much-maligned organisation; A. Basu, the man who orchestrated the computer inputs; Works and Housing Minister H.K.L. Bhagat, mayor of the Asiad Village and Air Vice Marshal Kapur, working chairman of Asian Games Village who have made the village one of the best-run in any international sporting venue.

ACCORDING to Umrao Singh, who oversaw the technical conduct of the Games, a total of 3,000 technical officers had to be inducted and given a crash course in the various aspects of running an international competition. "Many of them did not have the basic qualifications and experience when the Games were allotted to us."

Singh and his army held two special clinics as a sort of dress rehearsal before the Games where all the kinks were ironed out. The senior among them were sent abroad to various international courses and clinics in various disciplines and also to attend international athletic meets. They, in turn, came back and trained the others on the finer points. "Within 18 months, we had managed to get 3,000 people who were in a position to run any international meet."

Another 4,150 personnel at a lower level are also involved in the day-to-day running of the Games, including technical as-

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sistants, liaison officers and the like. Singh admits that much of the infrastructure and conduct of the Games has been based on the Moscow Olympics which has been adapted to Indian conditions.

ONE OF the biggest successes has been in what threatened to be the biggest headache—security. With the threat from the Akalis and oddball opposition groups looming ever-larger as the Games approached, the problem of security was fast turning into a nightmare. Says Jugran: "We had to have foolproof security arrangements that were at the same time not highly visible on the ground. You could not have 5,000 athletes feeling that they were in a concentration camp."

Jugran and Shankaran Nair, the former Research and Analysis Wing (RAW) boss, worked out the detailed plan for security but it was left to Pillai to finally put it into execution. The fact that it worked, and worked well, was evident [illegible] Gandhi was barred from entering the stadium by an [illegible] security guard till he produced his golden card. So, [illegible] enough, was Kiran Bedi, the woman responsible for the [illegible] traffic arrangements and a deputy commissioner of [illegible] finally had to shell out Rs 25 towards a ticket before [illegible] allowed into the stadium.

Pillai, a reticent man with greying hair and an [illegible] efficiency, says that their main priority was to ensure [illegible] men had a proper idea of who had a right to be where [illegible] This meant explaining in detail the significance of all [illegible] coloured cards—18 separate categories, ranging from [illegible] silver for the VVIPs and VIPs, green for the press and [illegible] officials. Each card also had its own code numbers and [illegible] "We had to do all this and yet keep all the armed per[illegible] invisible as possible," says Pillai.

INTERVIEW

'We Did It'

AS CHAIRMAN of the Asian Games Special Organising Committee (AGSOC) Sardar Buta Singh, 48, is the most visible symbol of the success of the Games. In fact, Asiad '82 has catapulted Buta Singh from relative obscurity straight into the national limelight. As Singh himself quips: "I won my last gold medal when I was elected general secretary of the party in 1977." But Mrs Gandhi undoubtedly made a wise choice in putting Singh in the Asiad saddle. He has successfully weathered the storms that buffeted the pre-Asiad build-up and much of the credit must deservedly go his way. The Asiad experience will also stand him in good stead in his new responsibility, that of India's first sports minister.

In an interview to INDIA TODAY *last fortnight at the Jawaharlal Nehru Stadium on the first day of the athletics events, Buta Singh speaks about how Asiad was such a success and what it means for the future of sport in the country. Excerpts:*

Q. *From present indications, it appears that the Games are a huge success. Did you really expect them to be this successful?*

A. Actually, I have always maintained that the Games would be a success but nobody believed me. But I was still confident because I wasn't just making tall claims. My statements were based on the fact that since 1976 I have been closely involved in sports. I have watched the Olympics and the Asian Games and I was fully aware of what had to be done and that we could do it.

Q. *What do you think has been the biggest single factor that contributed to the success?*

A. That is a very simple answer. It is the dedication and commitment of everybody involved with the Asian Games. Right from the lowest sweeper to the highest official, there was a total commitment to ensure that the Games were a success. People have worked day and night without complaint with a sense of pride in what they were doing. As chief coordinator, I was coordinating all the various efforts with the federations and with the [illegible] bodies and the response has [illegible] fantastic.

Singh: "We were inspired"

All our meetings were attended [illegible] nobody below the rank of secretary [illegible] cause we wanted to cut out the bu[illegible] cratic element as much as possible [illegible] was a concentrated effort of a c[illegible] of lakh of people and we were in[illegible] by only one thing, and that was [illegible] we cannot let down the country.

Q. *There are a lot of people [illegible] the Olympic Federation and other [illegible] national sporting bodies [illegible] Games. What has been the [illegible] action to the facilities [illegible] technical running of the Game[illegible]*

A. They are overwh[illegible] with the standards. In fact, [illegible] look around, there are ve[illegible] foreigners manning the tec[illegible] side, most of them are [illegible] and they have been trained [illegible] very short time. But still [illegible] have done as well as [illegible] international competition [illegible] speaks very highly for the [illegible] of sports in this country.

Q. *Talking about that [illegible] is going to happen to all the [illegible] and facilities that have been [illegible] for the Asiad once the Game[illegible] over? Many people are [illegible] optimistic about whether the[illegible] be maintained or not.*

A. They need not wo[illegible] all. All the main stadia [illegible] Jawaharlal Nehru Stadium [illegible] the National Stadium will be [illegible] under the care of the Sports Au[illegible] Once the Games are over, we will [illegible] up a proper agenda about how [illegible] will be maintained. But I can [illegible] now that we are already plan[illegible] hold at least one major sports [illegible] month in Delhi. One month [illegible]

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Planning: Ten days before the Games, the village ...ly combed and strategic locations manned with ...d men visible on the perimeter fencing. "Security is ...ulous planning and implementation. A chain is ...t as its weakest link," he says. In the village, the ...ons was kept down to the barest minimum and ...ing in the complex security-cleared and vehicular ...

...p security officials had visited Moscow and ...t a firsthand view of their security arrangements. It ...e biggest security exercise ever attempted in the ...as far it appears to have worked better than any-... The problems anticipated between Iranian and ...ers or even pro- and anti-Khomeini Iranians hardly ... Even so, the Iranians, and Iraqis were kept at op-... the village, as were the South and North Koreans. "What we wanted to avoid was another Munich," says Pillai.

At the airport, at least 10 people suspected to be Khalistan supporters from Canada had been politely but firmly sent back on the next plane. And, if there were moments when the security arrangements seemed slightly over-zealous, nobody really minded. As Pillai says: "Our job was to prevent problems from happening not to tackle them when they did."

BUT THE *piece de resistance* of India's organisational effort is undoubtedly the Asian Games Village, an elegant and artfully-designed amalgamation of buildings that most visitors have described as one of the best of its kind in the world. The athletes and chefs de mission housed there are unanimous in their praise of the facilities and the accommodation and the manner in which the village is being run. The man responsible for that is Air Vice-Marshal H.L. Kapoor, who was appointed working

...yball, the next basketball and ...hether they are international ...ons or at the national level, ...ake full use of the facilities. ...ll also give our sportsmen ex-... and exposure to international ... As you know, we are mak-... for the Afro-Asian Games ... which we hopefully will get. ...also trying to bring the World ...ball to New Delhi as well as ...d University Games which are ... the Universiad. In all these, ...e agreed to consider our re-... most of the people on the ...making bodies are here now ... seen what we are capable of ... I think the future of ... never been brighter. I ... a great desire to elimi-... label of Delhi being a ...ical city. I want it to be ...ational sporting centre ... willing, I will do.

...What has been Rajiv ... contribution to the ...

He has contributed a ... He is a member of the ... Organising Committee ... of the Coordinating ... He has worked as ...nybody else towards the ... of the Games.

...One of the bigger controversies ... the so-called Appu mess. What ...mory of Appu?

...n afraid the press has blown ... of proportion. The Aruna-...ment had permitted the ...ion to capture and train two ... Then, the Arunachal chief ...ked us if one of the ele-...ld in some way be involved ... We did not say we would. ...bolio Circus people started advertising the elephant as Appu and the press picked it up. At no stage in our planning was there any intention to use a live elephant. In fact, there is nothing wrong with using a live Appu as part of the ceremony but we just felt that it would not fit into the overall programme.

Q. ***There has also been some confusion about the tickets. Most of the stadia seem to have plenty of vacant seats.***

A. I admit that there has been some confusion about the tickets and it could have been organised better. But there is not that big a problem as is being made out to be. Many tickets which were sent to the states and abroad were returned to us fairly late. But they are on sale now at two centres and are being sold every day and they are freely available. It is only the finals and semi-finals of certain events which have been sold out.

I also have a great desire to eliminate this label of Delhi being a purely political city. I want it to be an international sporting centre and God willing, I will do it.

Q. ***How is the day-to-day running of the Games being conducted?***

A. Every night, we have a meeting at 9.30 p.m. after the events are over. The meeting includes all the stadium directors and competition directors and we get together and discuss the lapses or drawbacks that may have taken place, and we decide how to tackle them. The meeting goes on till late at night, sometimes as late as 2 a.m. on most days, and we draw up the next day's programme and everybody gets a copy of the programme at 6 a.m.

Q. ***What have been the major lapses so far?***

A. I'm happy to say that there have been absolutely no major lapses so far; just minor ones which are easily sorted out among ourselves; like yesterday we had some fog from the mosquito control vehicles entering the table tennis stadium which delayed things by about half an hour. But that is all.

Q. ***Now that you have finally got a Sports Ministry in the country, what are you planning to do about Indian sports?***

A. Yes, there is already a draft paper which has been prepared and sent to the various states and once their replies and suggestions come in we will sit down and work out a national policy on sports. In fact, after the Asiad, I propose to sit down and take an overall view of the sports systems, and my main thrust will be to motivate the rural people who comprise the masses to get more involved in sports. We have tribals who will make fantastic sportsmen with the right training. We are going to tackle this on a regional basis and develop areas of promise. There is no reason why we cannot also set up universities for various disciplines.

Q. ***And when exactly will that be?***

A. Actually, the way I feel right now, for the next six months, all I want to do is sleep.

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chairman of the Village Committee in August 1981. Under him are 18 controllers monitoring every aspect of running the village and making sure that the 4,494 athletes currently in residence are comfortable and have a minimum of problems.

Sprawling over an area of 133 well-tended acres, the village has been divided into four areas: the main block including the reception area and the 20-bed hospital equipped with the latest equipment and a physiotherapy section; the Asiad Tower with a water storage capacity of 120,000 gallons apart from another 240,000 gallons in underground tanks; the residential area with 853 residential units in an area of 64 acres; and, finally, the practice area for the athletes.

An army of over 2,000 people have been employed and trained to cater to every possible need of the athletes, except, of course, the few odd athletes who have been politely rebuffed when they made passes at some of the attractive guides. "It seemed like an impossible task and I didn't sleep for nights," says Kapoor "but everything has gone surprisingly well." A highly-popular man with the staff, Kapoor seems to be in about 10 different places at the same time. His only experience was as chef de mission for the Indian contingent at Moscow and Bangkok. "But I was there in another capacity and with no idea that I would be running my own village," he says.

(Left) The Village dining hall and (right) Iranian athletes outside their rooms: hallmark of efficiency

BUT WHAT has been appreciated the most is the feeding of the 5,000, a task entrusted to the India Tourism Development Corporation (ITDC) who have come through with flying colours. ITDC offers three separate cuisines at every meal: Chinese, Indian and Continental, and judging by the remarks in the visitors' book, the food has been highly appreciated.

Even Mrs Gandhi, who paid a surprise visit to the hall for a meal, went back visibly impressed. Pramod Mathur, the ITDC man in charge of the catering, says it is basically a team effort that has produced the appreciative results. But even so, the ITDC army—300 cooks and 550 other staff—have set their own records. The huge main dining hall, which seats 2,000 people at a time, would rival any five-star hotel with its gleaming crockery and flower arrangements.

In the kitchen, Chief Chef, Samuel Fernandes oversees the daily usage of 20,000 eggs, 12,000 kg of chicken, 2,500 kg of mutton, 3,500 kg of fish and 70,000 pieces of fruit, which are the most popular item on the menu.

FOR DELHIITES, however, the most pleasant surprise was the efficient and controlled manner in which the traffic arrangements worked. Apart from the opening ceremony, when residents of adjoining areas found themselves unable to cope, the traffic arrangements were, in comparison to the normally chaotic state, nothing short of fantastic.

An elaborate communication system linking key points with wireless sets had been set up. Over 55,000 people were transported by DTC's buses and cars, including spectators and players to the various venues. The initial planning had been carried out by the National Automation Planning Centre, a public organisation of the Kerala Government.

But on the ground, it was the high-profile Kiran Bedi, Delhi's traffic boss, who finally made the difference. The movement, both pedestrian and vehicular, was worked out in advance. It was like playing chess, shifting buses where they were needed, anticipating pedestrian flows," said Bedi. But everyone connected with security has nothing but praise for DTC's efficiency and cooperation that organisation provided, with the much-vaunted ring railway proving a virtual non-

THE MEN in charge of the various stadia are the more surprised at how everything worked so smoothly. Harbans Singh, administrator of the Velodrome: "We had no problems at all. Till the start of the events, we were on tenterhooks, but now everything is going smoothly. We had trials during September where all the loose ends were tied. Now everything is going like clockwork."

It is, however, not an easy job. As Gautam Kaul, administrative director of the Indraprastha Stadium says: "My job is to provide on demand anything from a pin to an elephant. The people who are running the tournaments. That, however, poses its own unforeseen problems, as happened on November 1 when there were an unusual number of ties, with three winning the gold medal and two winning the silver."

The organisers suddenly found themselves short of medals for the awards ceremony. Kaul then went up to the Chinese and North Korean coaches, the two teams that had won the medals earlier, and told them the problem. The coaches were only too glad to oblige and save what could have

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GAMES PASSES

e Gold Rush

g a Very Important Person y seems no more to be an d position for most Indians. ne apparent when nearly d and 'silver' passes were supposedly Very Very Impor- nts (VVIPs) for the Asian ents. Harnek Singh, a 40- nator mechanic from Patiala, as one of the VVIP's at the r Stadium on November 24. the 7,000 spectators who the stadium for the women's s event, Singh was g a chair right be- Gandhi, MP and ta Singh, chair- he Asian Games Organising Commi- OC), with an 'A' ion pass round his the invitation of

iddle-level official Railway Board, ed by his son, privileged visitor golden pass. A e the golden pass were sitting usinessmen from Delhi's Chowk and a motor parts de- Kashmiri Gate with silver ng round their necks.

ally, while red carpets were ed out by the AGSOC's proto- s for the golden and silver ers, many important digni- ding Cabinet ministers and sportsmen, instrumental in ays in getting together the were not only denied entry but ated by those manning the es. Towards the end of the ere remained little doubt that n pass had become a symbol e for its owner.

Numbers: While AGSOC offi- ained tight-lipped over the n of these passes, according ial guidelines, those marked to be issued to the council of the Asian Games Federa- tive members of the AGSOC, ers of the National Sports the Indian Olympic Asso- the chairmen of all steering of the AGSOC. The number of this category rose from 100, 981, when preparations start-

ed, to over 700 by November this year when Buta Singh added over 50 members, including 20 MP's close to Rajiv Gandhi.

And for the people who were entitled to a golden or a silver pass, there was more in the booty. According to the SOC guidelines, a golden pass holder was entitled to three passes of the same kind for his guests and a silver pass holder one extra. And with directives to hand over these passes liberally coming from within the SOC, few knew how many had trickled out. Said Shankaran

Sathe, Kaul and B.N. Singh: neglected

Nair, the SOC secretary-general: "I don't know the exact number of passes issued, because I am not handling them."

Shankaran was probably right, because the Director Protocol, Group Captain Duranni was issuing over a dozen passes every day to various people, while organisations and individuals entitled were left high and dry. While B.C. Mathur, a secretary in the Sports and Supply Ministry was able to secure a golden pass for himself and his family, Shiela Kaul, the chairman of the Cabinet's steering committee on the Asian Games, was not given the pass at all.

The most glaring example of official neglect was when the Union Works and Housing Minister Bhishma Narain Singh, who is also on the steering committee and whose ministry has done the maximum amount in connection with the Games, was not given a pass till his officials did a fair amount of chasing. Finally he was given a silver pass on November 21. Although Singh was lucky to manage a pass for himself and his wife, Union Minister for Chemicals and Fertilisers, Vasant Sathe was occupying the Rs 10 ticket enclosures in the Indoor Stadium.

Earlier the SOC protocol department could not deliver invitation cards to 14 of the 17 ministers for the inauguration ceremony at the J.L. Nehru Stadium on November 14. The protocol department could only muster silver passes for top officials of the Delhi Development Authority (DDA), Central Public Works Department, New Delhi Municipal Committee and Delhi Police—all of whom were instrumental in the construction of the stadia and arrangements in time for the Asiad. Says a senior official of the Works and Housing Ministry: "Every riff-raff has been given a golden pass by the SOC, and those who sweated it out for making the Asian Games a success are not allowed to take even their car inside the VIP car parking areas."

The SOC protocol department has been issuing golden passes without following any well defined criterion. According to the SOC rules, only foreigners or chief ministers can be given passes for these enclosures after submitting a written request from a sports federation or a state government. And ironically the guests with the golden passes were neither foreigners nor chief ministers, but just the relatives of either SOC officials or leading politicians controlling the Games.

And while the undeserving guests are missing no opportunities to see as many events as possible, the SOC is mum over the chaos. Said Duranni: "I am extremely busy. I will give you the details about the golden passes only after the Games are over." A classic bureaucratic technique to sweep a scandal under the carpet.

—PRABHU CHAWLA

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embarrassing situation. They collected five medals from their medal-winners and handed them over and the moment of tension passed.

Unsold Tickets: But inevitably, there were organisational foul-ups, mainly in the advertising and ticket sales. According to Gupta, the man in charge of ticketing and Shankaran Nair, the problem really was in the tickets meant for sale outside the country, which totalled nearly 18,000.

Since the organisers were wary of finding accommodation for a sudden influx of foreigners, particularly in the middle of the tourist season, the publicity effort was kept deliberately low key. But the eventual result was that a majority of the tickets were unsold and returned too late to be reprinted. Since they were marked in foreign currency, they could not be sold internally. Similarly, the tickets unsold in the various states were also returned far too late for them to be sold in time for the Games and by the time they were put on the market, most prospective buyers were under the impression that none were available.

The other major bungle was the Meetco mess where the in-stadia advertising franchise given to Meetco, a middle eastern company, who finally failed to deliver the goods without having paid the franchise money of $6 million. Eventually, the SOC had to cancel the franchise and handle the advertising themselves. Efforts made in the last 15 days before the Games generated a revenue of Rs 50 lakh, largely due to the work of V.K. Vishwanathan, a private sector official who was hastily made advisor for marketing. But by then it was too late and the huge advertising gaps at the stadia bear mute testimony to that. Ultimately, Asiad may turn out to be a financial loss but the gains in terms of goodwill and the boost to the national image far outweigh the cost.

As Mrs Gandhi remarked: "It has been a triumph for the public sector." But at the same time, they have set standards for themselves that they will find difficult to emulate in the future. If, however, they can, it will be the greatest gift that Asiad can bequeath to the nation.

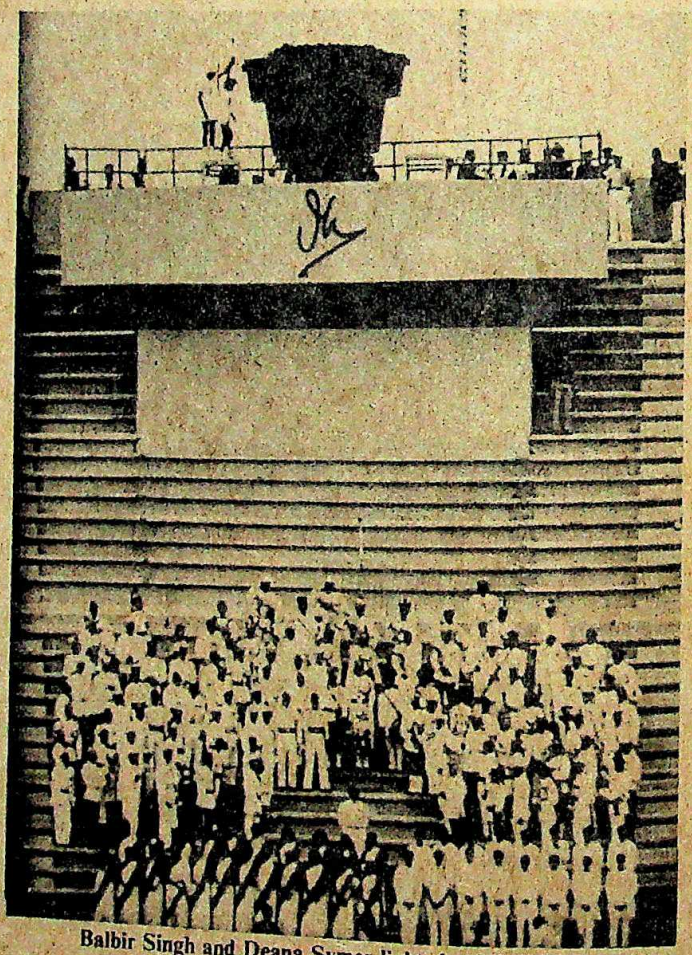
—DILIP BOBB with ASOKA RAINA

CEREMONIAL

A Magnificent Show

IT WAS one of the grandest spectacles seen in India and among the most impressive put up anywhere in the world. The opening day ceremonial of the IX Asiad at the Jawaharlal Nehru Stadium in New Delhi last fortnight left even the most die-hard critic of the Games speechless: the splendour of its pageantry, the near-faultless coordination of the events and the smooth meticulousness of their timing made it one of the greatest shows on earth, a dazzling feat of skilled management and brilliant creative artistry. For the 75,000 spectators at the stadium—and millions of others who watched the nation-wide live telecast—the 178 minute show was in a way the ultimate test of the Asiad success. It set the tenor for the Games themselves, besides being an indicator of the unimpeachable standard of Indian organisation.

The day turned out to be almost perfect too, with the sun occasionally behind clouds, and the stadium lights switched on to make the lush green and brick-red tartan track glow. At exactly 2.58 p.m. the President's limousine drove in, escorted by a corps of the President's Bodyguard lances with red and white pennants ing in the gentle breeze. "It's a concentrated pageantry," said commentator Melville de Mellow. fore the teams troop the march past.



Balbir Singh and Deana Symes light the Asiad flame

Colourful Page ing them, in the phabetical order, w nistan in uniforms pants and red blaz followed clapping th in rhythm to the tu Asiad '82 march, composed by the for of the army mus Harold Joseph. Th nesians immediately cream-coloured trou chocolate blazers, w panamas gaily.

The South Ko spotless white took c ture fans in colours national flag as the the Presidential box, nese in combination and white took off th caps and the Japa smartly turned out, out tiny Indian flags to the crowds. The were easily identifiable black Nepali caps Pakistanis by their caps. Mongolia's tea by a mammoth ba wrestler and the Nor team appeared swa head to toe in whi monial robes, with daggers hanging at the

In fact, it was the host team up the rear with marksman Kar bearing the Indian flag, that seem down the brilliantly-matched schemes and perfection of the teams—their pink saris and flow bans worn with navy blue blazers distinctly odd as sections of th shuffled their way sloppily along Still, as the 400 schoolchildren oval field cheerfully but

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...e, green and violet scar-
...the march caught on. The
...ained in enthusiastically
...occasions was seen clap-
...vigorously in rhythm to

...Gaffe: At exactly 3.52
...tly caparisoned elephants
...form a colourful backdrop
...of athletes, President Zail
...announced the Games
...are of 18 trumpeters. His
...line he had to utter—a
...his cue in the clockwork
...ceremonial—was the only
...an otherwise impeccable
...the President's gaffe, the
...up, three guns boomed a
...far corners of the stadium

...eons and 5,000 orange,
...balloons fluttered into the

...taneously, the grey toy
...the air, while celebrated
...Mukha Singh and Kanwal-
...ed the stadium with a
...earlier that morning by
...through solar energy at
...dium, venue of the first
...Hockey Olympian Balbir

Singh and athlete Deana Symes carried the torch on the final lap, running up the long stairway to the top of the stalls to light the main Asiad flame. The Seiko electronic scoreboard showed the time at exactly 4 p.m.

Simultaneously, the 200-member choir flanking the torch took up the singing of the Asiad Hymn, written by Narendra Sharma and set to music by Pandit Ravi Shankar. Amitabh Bachchan's English translation of the hymn was recited, and within seconds the flagbearer of the Indian team, Karni Singh, moved forward to escort middle distance runner Gita Zutshi for the oath-taking. Flagbearers of 32 teams formed a semi-circle around her, as clutching one end of the Indian tricolour she took the oath on behalf of all teams participating in the Asiad.

Touching Moment: In the simplicity of its symbolism, it was the most moving moment of the opening ceremonial. Said a foreign television correspondent, visibly touched by the proceedings: "It's absolutely perfect—the timing, the balance, even the sounds and colours. It's the best show India could ever put on." Indian viewers, by comparison, were positively staggered by the precision and uninterrupted elegance of the show. "Simply unbelievable," enthused one spectator from south Delhi, "it's the first time Indians have handled such a complicated ceremony with such masterly genius. It's also the first time you can go home proud of being an Indian." Added Chinese springboard diver Li Kongzheng, who has attended Asian Games in both Teheran and Bangkok before arriving at the New Delhi Asiad: "It's one of the best shows I have seen—a truly grand opening." It was a day for superlatives.

But the greatest part of the spectacle—the cultural pageant of the folk dances—was to follow. As the participating teams marched off the field, the white umbrellas atop the elephants were exchanged for coloured ones, and to the beat of the *panchavadyam* (percussion drums) the first of the dancers swarmed into the open, green stage. First, the Karagam dancers from Tamil Nadu balancing pots upon their heads followed by masked dancers representing venerated spirits from Kerala and Karnataka; then, the Kathakali masks, followed by a complete change of scene: the vigorous Dandia Ras of Gujarat—its agile men zigzagging into spectacular formations on the grass.

Delhi schoolchildren in a colourful dance with umbrellas: strong impact

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In perfect timing to the changes of dance, the electronic scoreboard recorded the name, origin and symbol of each presentation.

For the next hour-and-a-half, without a pause and with superbly managed exits and entrances, the rhythms changed constantly as each new set of dancers spread out in a dazzling display of colour and callisthenic style. From Maharashtra, the fabulous Lezium dancers, from Rajasthan the grandiose Ghoomar with its long-skirted men flashing sabres in the air and from Uttar Pradesh the colourful Holi dance specially choreographed by Kathak maestro Birju Maharaj. There were tribal dances from Mizoram, the classical Radha Krishna Raas from Manipur and the energetic Bhangra from Punjab. In between the most traditional items, came interludes of relief such as the Goan carnival dance —almost a folk feast—or the Chhatra Chhaya performed by Delhi school-children with vividly-coloured umbrellas and prepared by choreographer Narendra Sharma and danced to another Ravi Shankar composition.

Precise Planning: As most viewers came away, staggered by the overall splendour and precision, and visibly proud of being Indians, few realised the massive, nearly two-year-long effort that had gone into making the Asiad opening a thundering success. Even fewer realised that it was not the effort of some great cultural impresario or a particularly inspired team of bureaucrats or ministers. Incredibly enough, the show was conceived, planned and put together—down to the last folk dancer's steps—by three army generals.

"They wanted a Cecil B. De Mille and they found instead a vice chief of army staff," says the genial, forever-chuckling Lt-General Adi Sethna, who masterminded the entire show and supervised its proceedings, from the fanfare of silver trumpets to the floating of the Appu balloon. Together with his colleagues, Major-General Narinder Singh, director-general of the National Cadet Corps (NCC) who produced the magnificent cultural fiesta of the folk dances, and Major-General Onkar Bhandari, general officer commanding Delhi area, who took charge of the mandatory items of the Asiad opening such as the flag-hoisting, the march past and oath-taking ceremonies.

To Sethna goes the credit of handling the exercise with the detail of organising a military campaign. At 58, and due to retire from service this December, Sethna can today dwell on the amusing sidelights and a hundred maddening irritants that impeded his progress in pulling off the opening successfully. But till the show did take off, he admits, it was probably the most daunting task of his career. Even today, till the closing ceremony of the Asiad, with its spectacular fireworks display, its mammoth retreat of 38 armed forces bands playing original tunes, and the final farewell to Appu takes place with a specially-designed dance of animals and birds, Sethna barely has a moment to spare.

Reminiscences: Recalls Sethna "There hasn't been a moment without some last-minute hitch or crisis or dispute. Minutes before the march past on the opening day, the Iraqi team decided that they could not walk behind the Iranians. So we shoved Indonesia between the two. Then the two Korean countries had the same problem so we put Kuwait in between them. Then the Iranians refused to march behind a placard-carrying girl, so we agreed to let them have a placard-carrying guy instead. Then, can you imagine my state, when I see the Iranian members opening a big brown parcel just as they are taking the Presidential salute? Of course, I thought the worst, even though it turned out to be a green *kalma* (religious banner). This after we had absolutely forbidden them to bring on their wounded and sick from the Iran-Iraq war who they wanted to parade in the march past as well."

Bhandari, Sethna and Narinder Singh: organisers *par excellence*

Sethna, who is deputy chairman of the Asian Games Special Organising Committee (AGSOC) was asked by Chief of Army Staff General Krishna Rao, with whom he shares the position, two years ago to handle all the areas where the AGSOC wanted the army's cooperation. Originally, the army was requested to handle management of the Asian Games Village, all protocol and ceremonials and functioning of the gates to all the stadia. This the army refused, arguing that it would bring them in too [illegible] tact with the civilian population. [illegible] end, they agreed to organise [illegible] ceremonials of the opening and [illegible] ceremony, the handling of gates [illegible] stadia, the Jawaharlal Nehru [illegible] prastha and National, and complete [illegible] over the organisation of the [illegible] events at the Harbaksh Stadium. [illegible] the most crucial job was the design [illegible] dination and implementation of [illegible] ing and closing ceremonies.

BESIDES the mandatory ce[illegible] on these occasions, such [illegible] arrival of the President, [illegible] past and salute, the arrival of the [illegible] its hoisting, the release of pigeons [illegible] loons, the lighting of the Asiad [illegible] the singing of the hymn, the [illegible] superable problem facing Sethna [illegible] additional pageant required to [illegible] the opening, to transform it [illegible] ordinary into an event of world [illegible] obvious answer was a spectacular [illegible] of callisthenics. But when the [illegible] down to seeing callisthenics perf[illegible] other countries—films of the ope[illegible] play of the Moscow Olym[illegible] example—they realised it simp[illegible] possible for India to compete. [illegible] when Marshal Agarkov, chief [illegible] Soviet general staff, came, he [illegible] teach our boys callisthenics but [illegible] transporting 6,000 Sikhs to th[illegible] Union. Besides, we simply weren[illegible] their quality. Nor [illegible] carry off an effective [illegible] display by children. [illegible] decided we'll only [illegible] what we can do best."

Since Singh, as [illegible] the NCC was to pro[illegible] manpower for the di[illegible] quickly endorsed the [illegible] bility of carrying out [illegible] of callisthenics. "It [illegible] perfectly sane to dra[illegible] our culture so that [illegible] truly project our th[illegible] unity in diversity. But [illegible] ly, being an agricultu[illegible] ginally, that was the only culture [illegible] However, once the idea was a[illegible] Singh, quickly set about educating [illegible]

"My problem basically was," [illegible] deep-voiced white-bearded Sikh [illegible] "how to grip the attention of [illegible] people in a football field 10,000 [illegible] a cultural pageant. Classical da[illegible] obvious reasons, were out. But [illegible] I substitute for a four-sided audito[illegible] where between 250 and 450 ft a[illegible] were there not to see any serious [illegible]

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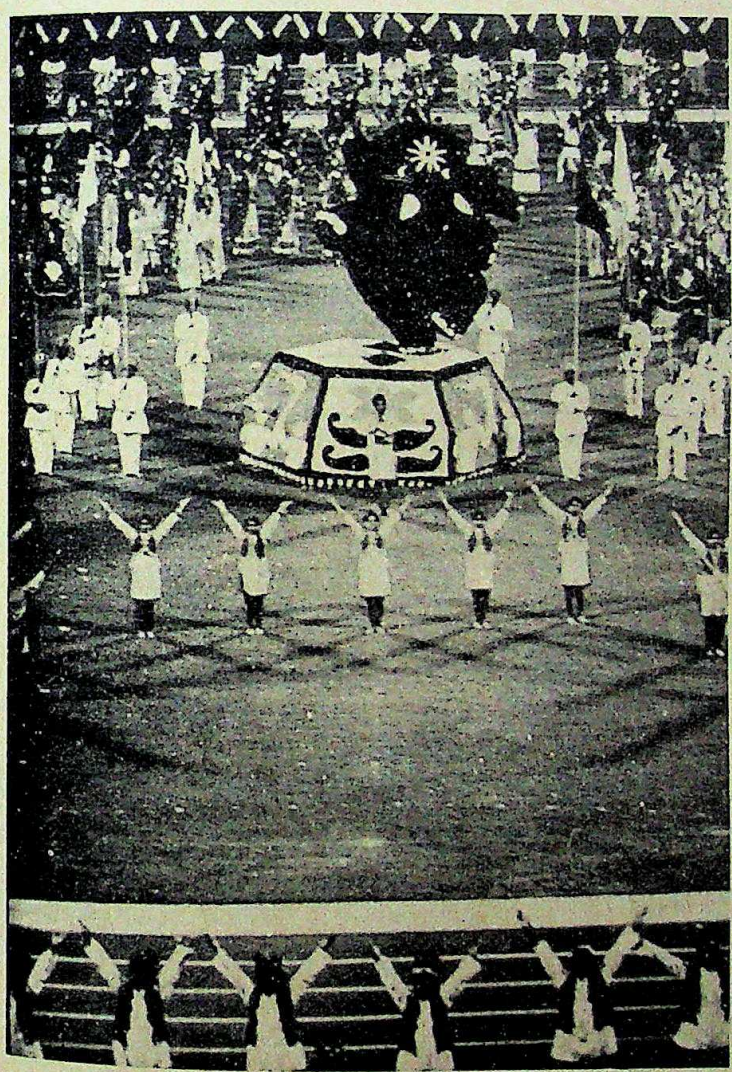
to enjoy themselves, to in fun and games? If I could hope to catch momentarily I would re- 000 dancers to fill the field Where did I hope to get

Opinions: Beginning by personality in the world of could locate, Singh decided one had the perfect so- were all flummoxed by the the extrava- and some, no ded that a ge- ng demands on ing that no than three entries be dra- fast—so that impact more mance managed ding audience ventually, the ed that folk only solution. with letters to ministers from the AGSOC Buta pent over 18 ing to every country. "I have in a month last March," have had to and sometimes ers and state me their best choreographers. to villages to hand-picked self, supervised and brought

ruary, when was complete, day to show it Ravi Shan- before him on board. Shankar mpressed by He made a ations like us- dancers from Kerala as Kathakali dancers and idea of bringing in the Tri- Shankar was the first one admits Singh, "after his became much easier." idea of choreographing folk distinct in its formations, into a complete whole pretty revolutionary idea. **Organisation:** In the end, ged to drum up enough enthusiasm in the states—each chief minister was responsible for financing the troupe, its costumes and their journeys to Delhi and back—the nearly 7,000 dancers arrived to stay in a massive camp set up for them in the Delhi Cantonment. "For nearly six weeks we had to provide them food, security, shelter and host their entire period of intensive rehearsals. We established a special post office, police station, purchase committees and, I am proud to say, that with 2,800 girls and over 2,000 children staying in our camp of army tents we have not had a single disciplinary action taken against anybody. I have never known a better instance of national integration."



An Appu made of flowers: successful extravaganza

There were hundreds of controversies as Singh embarked upon his cultural fiesta. Often he had to induct masses of NCC cadets as dancers—nearly all the dancers from Uttar Pradesh and half from Rajasthan were cadets. Other problems included placating state choreographers who thought chopping their dances to size was sacrilege. But the massive job of choreographing the dances he undertook under the direction of Bombay composers and musicians Vijay Raghav Rao and Ashit Desai, enlisting additional aid from choreographers like Narendra Sharma and Appuni Katha in Delhi and Ananda Shankar and his wife Tanushri from Calcutta.

Still, orchestrating such a massive exercise was a stupendous task. Says composer Raghav Rao: "It could only have been undertaken army style. The dancers were drilled day in and day out, rehearsed to the last second, each formation planned to perfection as in a military campaign. I can assure you that had the job been handed over to a few artistes, it would never have been done. They would be spitting on one another at the end of the first few hours."

Overcoming Emergencies: It could only have been the army that overcame the constant emergencies. When, for example, the rehearsal ground for the dancers in the cantonment proved too thorny for the children to practice on, Rs 1.60 lakh worth of PT shoes between sizes four and six were purchased overnight, emptying every shop in a radius of 200 miles around Delhi. When basic markings were required at the Jawaharlal Nehru Stadium for the dancers to follow the movements, coloured plastic coasters were pinned in the ground to help the dancers remember their steps. When the massive amount of music for the dances, the Games hymn sung by a choir of 200 and additional music was required, both on tape and live, HMV in Bombay was requested to vacate their recording studios in Bombay for immediate use. And when, days before the final performance, the cultural fiesta was cut down from two hours and twenty minutes to one hour and thirty minutes, overnight the music tapes were edited and the dances cut to size.

Given the gigantic proportions of the task, the expenditure was comparatively small. Singh, whose job it also was to provide the 60 maids of honour (who carry the medals in traditional bridal

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costumes) and the 36 flagbearers—all NCC cadets from Delhi or various parts of India—stuck to his budget of about Rs 15 lakh, with the states spending between Rs 3 lakh and Rs 6 lakh each on organising the dancers, their costumes and trip to Delhi. Singh personally supervised even the costumes, making amendments in dresses he found vulgar or in dubious taste. "I didn't bother to arbitrate, I simply dictated," he admits cheerily, dismissing the endless intrigues that erupted among the 27 choreographers from the states, as well as the designers and dancers. In all, the AGSOC's budget to the army was a total of Rs 44.90 lakh, out of which the generals claim they will in fact end up saving some money. Besides organising the dance spectacle, and paying for the music recordings which cost about Rs 1 lakh at a special discount from HMV (and include recordings of the national anthems of 33 countries on tape and disc for the victory ceremonials), the army spent its budget on torches, placards, trays for medals, paying the six choreographers and consulting musicians (only Ravi Shankar worked free of charge) and all the NCC cadets and dancers who received a daily allowance of Rs 15 with all other expenses paid.

Total Involvement: However, it was not just three generals who managed the show on their own. Their collective staff of officers wholly involved in conducting the Asiad ceremonials includes four brigadiers, four colonels, 11 majors and nearly 100 junior officers to command the gates of three stadia with over 1,000 jawans, and conduct the victory ceremonies after each game. "We worked out the needs of each team," explains Lt-Colonel M.S. Bajwa, who has been involved in the coordination of each of the army committees since the job started, "and discovered that we needed three to four officers per team."

Even so, the army tried to cut costs where they could. Not only did they manage to persuade Delhi Cloth Mills to sponsor the expensively-printed brochures for the opening and closing ceremonies—worth about Rs 8 lakh—they even managed to get the manufacturers of the 22 torches to underwrite the cost. The torches, beautifully-designed bronze pieces with gas cartridges providing 25 of burning flame, were used sportsmen and athletes to be c 4.4 km distance from the Stadium to the Jawaharlal Nehru on the opening day.

The closing of the Games promises to be as spectacular a d the opening with Rs 5 lakh of fire bursting from the walls of Siri Games Village, and with near members of the armed force working out special formations Nehru Stadium, will, Sethna be designed to exhibit the very best traditions of music and dance, in into a complete whole. "I must a putting together the ceremonials has been a long haul and a hard the approximately 10,000 people in the effort. But it goes to s thing: people can come together their best if they are motiva managed properly. It's incredib have seen it happen in this pro been a living personification of theme of our project—unity in div —SA

Snow lions from Arunachal Pradesh, peacocks and horses from Tamil Nadu rehearse the "Farewell to Appu" dance for the ceremony of the Asiad

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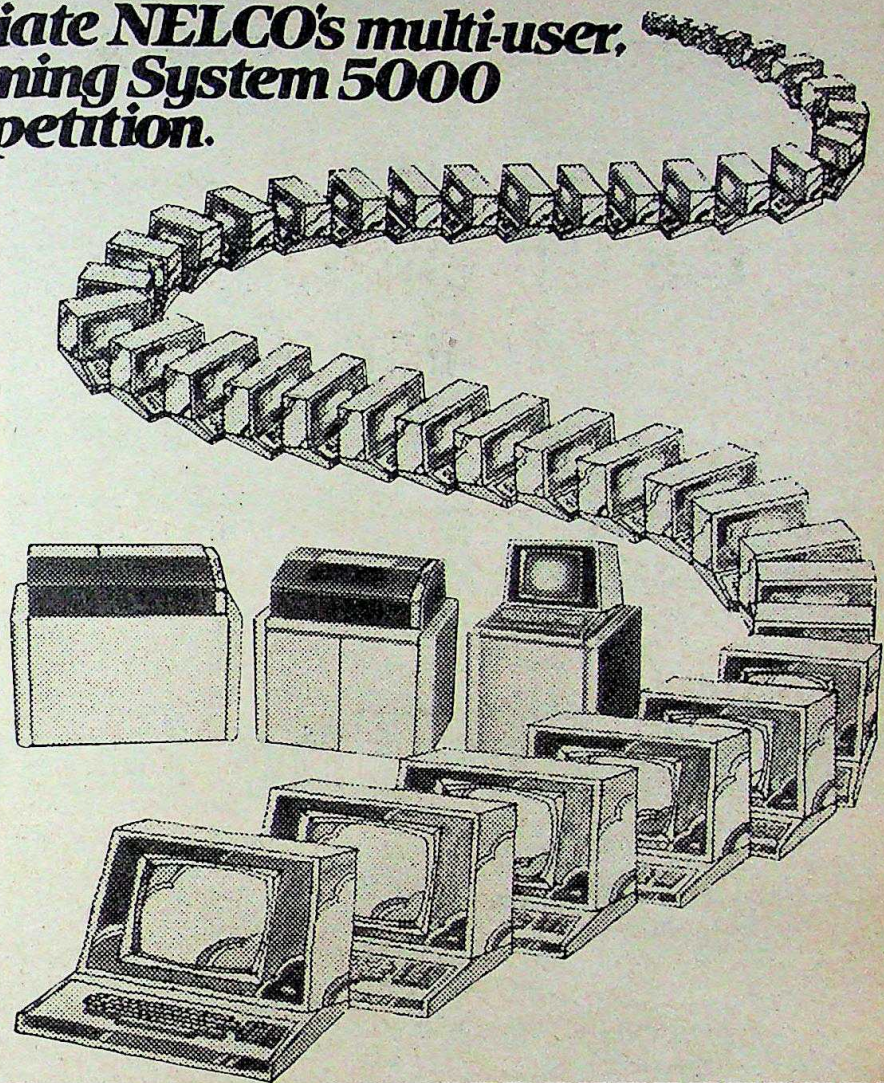

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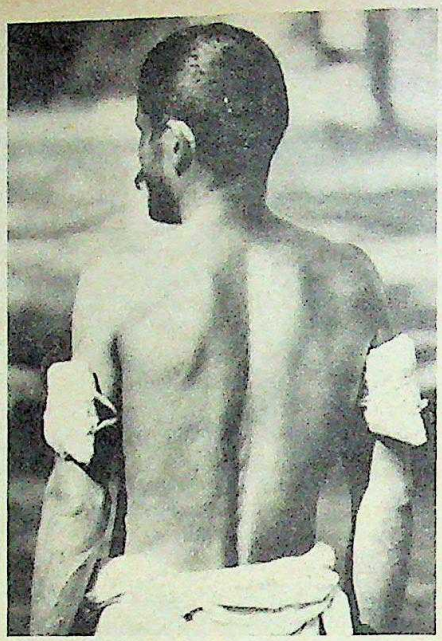

PICTURES BY ASHOK BADNA

The drugs travel (from left) in false-bottomed suitcases, strapped to the arms and wrapped around a thermos flask: thriving

NARCOTICS

Traffic On The Border

IT BEGAN as a small trickle. But in the last few months heroin has been flowing across the Indo-Pakistan border into India in steadily increasing quantities. And with prices in western markets at a round Rs 5 lakh per kg it is a tempting lure for smugglers out for a kill.

Only last fortnight two Afghans, Gul Agha and Ahmed Gul, were caught on the border carrying 4 kg of heroin that could have fetched a fabulous Rs 20 lakh abroad. This was the biggest haul to date but there have been several in the last eight months.

► In November, Mohaman Rafi, a Pakistani was caught with 3.6 kg of heroin at the Attari railway station as he got off the Lahore-Amritsar train;

► Earlier in November, Syed Inliac Ali, a retired Pakistani policeman was caught carrying 1 kg of heroin;

► In October, Kamal Hussein, a Pakistani and an Iranian, Kioo Marayab were caught carrying 900 gm of heroin;

► In September, Farhad Rosrami, an Iranian was caught with 2 kg of heroin worth Rs 8 lakh; and

► Earlier in the year in May, Aloyouses Goch Sepatstian, a Sri Lankan student was caught by the Indian customs at the Attari check-post with 80 gm of heroin valued at Rs 20,000.

Efficient Set-up: All had one thing in common—they were carriers for a drug running syndicate based in Pakistan. Intelligence sources say that the heroin they picked up had been manufactured in laboratories in Pakistan. This is corroborated by Yusuf, a 60-year-old man who was picked up and interrogated by customs recently. Yusuf revealed that opium was being converted into heroin in F
He also revealed that the laborato
controlled by tribals in the No
Frontier Province (NWFP). He ad
laboratories had also been set up
Chitral and Hunza in Gilgit. Yu
that the going price in Pakista
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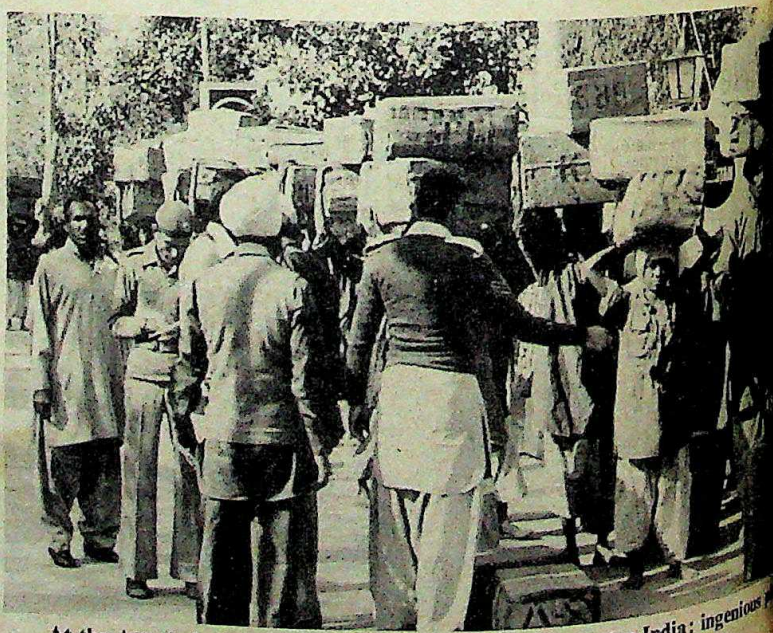

At the Attari check-post, travellers and goods wait to enter India: ingenious

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said that the NWFP has something of a problem pro- Pakistani Government is rel- that a harsh crack-down on the area. This laissez-faire at- have enabled the tribals to activities like opium smuggling fear of ever getting caught. that laws are more lax in helped the growth of heroin Interpol reports have shown drugs consumed by drug processed by traffickers laboratories located where or in countries particu- from the geographical Interpol reports also say experienced specialists to ratories. Officials say that it that there are any narco- with such experience on the of the border.

sources add other details ishing racket. They say that gest dealers in opium and stan is a man named Nek of Barg, a small town five hawar. Khan's role in large- ning came into the open ment of opium worth Rs intercepted by the Pakistan's

that has emerged after hauls has alarmed customs had initially been inclined to lightly. Says Parvinder assistant collector, customs, border post: "They brought it in grams first. Then we made a seizure that was worth more than Rs 8 lakh at the time." Tej Pal Singhal, assistant collector, customs, in Amritsar, confirms Pruthi's statement and adds: "The amounts are slowly increasing. This year nearly Rs 41 lakh worth of heroin has been seized on the border."

Likely Growth: Many officials feel that there is every reason to fear that heroin smuggling will keep rising. The prices, for a start, are more than attractive. And if heroin production does commence on a really large scale in the region, it would only correspond to what took place in north Burma, the heart of the Golden Triangle of South-east Asia where most drugs came from earlier.

There are also other good reasons why heroin smuggling is likely to catch on. Says Singhal: "Amritsar now has an international airport with direct flights to London and Kabul." This, he fears may well lead to its becoming a major staging point in the international drug running network. Besides this, the crack-down in many western countries has made it difficult for narcotics smugglers to set up laboratories there. Here, on the other hand, the authorities are relatively unconcerned about heroin laboratories since little of the heroin is used in this country.

The enforcement agencies are well aware that they are poorly prepared to handle large-scale drug running. Monthly meetings are held between the enforcement agencies concerned, including the Directorate of Revenue Intelligence, the police, customs and excise officers. All the same, there are no trained narcotics personnel. Renuka Mann, assistant collector, customs, at Attari railway station, says that, as it is, enforcement officials have to handle nearly 1,000 passengers who come by train and another 500 who come by road.

The methods used by the smugglers can be fairly ingenious. Pruthi says that the most popular devices are false-bottomed flasks or suitcases. He adds that an Afghan who was caught at the border had 900 gm of heroin tied to his arms.

Opium Influx: The inflow of heroin is not the only matter of concern for officials. The traditional traffic of opium has also been on the upswing if the seizures by the Border Security Force (BSF) are any indication. In 1977, when the opium network was first developing, a mere 11kg was seized. This year till September, nearly 460 kg worth Rs 552 lakh has entered India. Intelligence sources say that among the biggest smugglers on the Indian side of the border are the Shauka brothers. The family is said to have forged strong links with Peshawar traders.

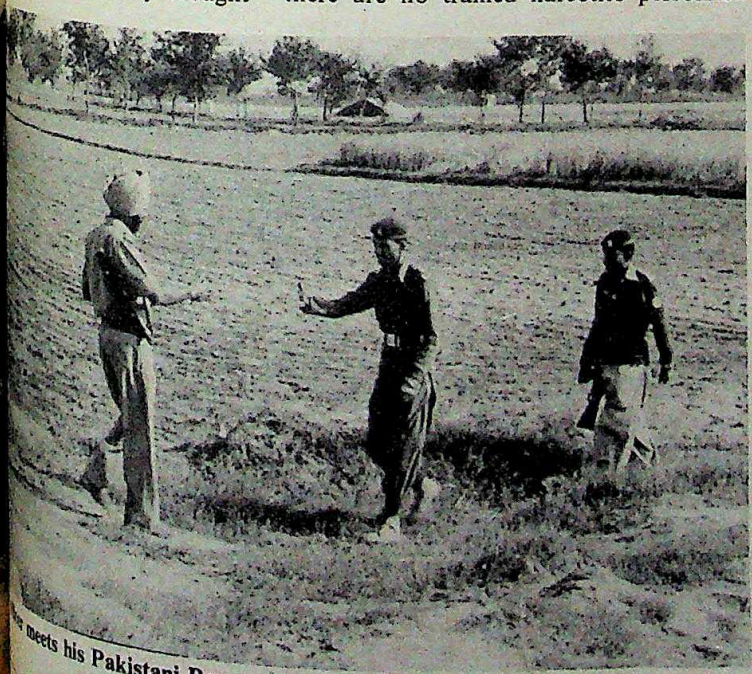
But enforcement is invariably never a simple matter. The border is long and it is difficult to tell exactly where it commences. In many places there are fields on either side and only a small dirt track separates the two countries. Says a BSF official: "The people on either side look the same, speak the same language and wear the same clothes, so it becomes difficult to tell the difference between them and the smugglers."

Besides this the opium networks are well organised. Smugglers usually travel in groups of 10 to 15, and the main party is led by escorts who are armed to the teeth. The consignments are brought over in polythene bags by carriers. Animals are seldom used as they are easier to spot. Most opium caravans head towards Amritsar.

Destination: Till now the authorities have been unable to lay their hands on the big operators, and they only have a vague idea of where the opium goes. They are, however, sure that most of the heroin still goes to Delhi and Bombay where a fraction goes into the local market to satisfy the needs of 5,000 or so estimated narcotics addicts. These are mostly foreigners who have been living in India for a long time. The rest of the heroin is sent abroad to western Europe and north America where eager customers await it.

For all the high profits of the heroin trade, many smugglers still prefer to deal in opium. Producing heroin is costly and it is this which has prevented the trade from growing more quickly—but with prices as they are, it will be a tempting proposition for anybody with this money, unless the authorities move in quickly to staunch the flow.

—ASOKA RAINA in Attari



meets his Pakistani Rangers counterpart on the border: thankless task

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SINO-SOVIET TIES

Straws In The Wind

THE MEETING, long overdue, was slow in the coming, but when it occurred it sent shocks down the tangled nerves of great power alignments. Since 1979, when China took the first major move in 18 years to repair its shattered relations with the Soviet Union, the world has been holding its breath for the final thaw in history's longest cold war. But the event played hide-and-seek with a restless world audience, hiding at times behind the Chinese mask of injured belligerent antagonism, and seeking out the Soviet mind, at other times, with a half smile, in concert with the changing tune of the Chinese leadership.

At the recent 12th congress of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), a balance, stable for the time being, was reached between those who would go ahead to normalise relations with Moscow, and those who still see the USSR largely through Maoist eyes. The two short men, each five feet high, in whose grip China's leadership seems to have passed, party chairman Hu Yaobang, and strong man Deng Xiaoping, are ready to take a short, long leap towards Moscow, provided the Soviets prove "by deed" that they are willing to meet the Chinese a little more than half-way.

This is not a scenario that signals the rapid arrival on-stage of a Sino-Soviet detente. But it was appropriate that the most significant event in the slow build-up occurred at the funeral of Leonid Brezhnev, who, in the weeks before his death, decided to play his China card, much to the consternation of the United States. At Brezhnev's funeral, Brezhnev's successor Yuri V. Andropov created a flutter by spending time chatting with Chinese Foreign Minister Huang Hua, who had flown in at the head of an unexpectedly high-powered delegation to represent his country. More to the point, Huang spent 90 minutes closeted with his Soviet counterpart, Andrei A. Gromyko, in what was the highest level meeting between the two countries since the dramatic Kosygin-Zhou summit at Beijing airport at the height of the border clashes in 1969.

Optimistic Outcome: The Kosygin-Zhou summit marked a speedy end to the armed conflicts that had erupted along the snow-bound frontier that divides the two giants. This time round the message, though not as dramatic, was positively optimistic. The official Chinese news agency Xinhua reported Huang as having "discussed with him (Gromyko) ways of removing obstacles and promoting consultations between the vice ministers of foreign affairs of the two countries so as to achieve progress on substantive matters."

The discussions Xinhua referred to were talks held in October over three weeks between the two countries at vice foreign minister level. The talks are to resume early next year but the Gromyko-Huang discussions could do for them what the Mrs Gandhi-Zia summit seems likely to do for do-Pakistan dialogue. Huang was reported to be "optimis in Beijing a member of the Central Committee of the CCP ted that the talks might eventually lead to a mutual pull the million-odd soldiers each side maintains on their o border.

In singling out Huang for a well advertised chat, A was giving a new impetus to moves launched by Brezh major foreign policy speech as recently as October 27. T Brezhnev, who inherited and consolidated the cold w China, was obviously acting on behalf of the dominant o the Soviet politburo, but Andropov's quick reaffirmation initiative indicates that the Soviets are serious about their options. Brezhnev's speech was a major foreign policy ass delivered to a group of military officers, that is, to what is the strongest and most powerful single pressure grou Soviet Union—the military. In a bullish assessment of gic policies in the third year of the Reagan Admini Brezhnev had frankly told the military that no improve US-Soviet relations could objectively be expected and Soviet Union would have to brace itself for several more costly and burdensome competition with the US.

International Repercussions: Then, in the middle of dent speech, Brezhnev had held out an option: that th could strengthen relations with "other countries" and se the global balance against the US. And among the oth China. Chinese foreign policy did not show any s change from the time of Mao, but certain things had and straws of change were floating in the easterly w Soviet Union must grasp the wind of change and bend powerful instrument to change the balance of power US-Soviet-China triangle. Never before that October 2 had any Soviet leader directly related the "need" to Moscow's relations with China to its seriously deadlock tions with the US.

The Soviets do not normally change foreign policy abruptly; this is one of the great differences between th the Americans. The decision to make a major move to relations with China was arrived at in Moscow after months of intense re of internal changes i Reappraisal began summer of 1981, imm after the sixth plenary of the 11th Central Co of the CCP. The plenu ted Hu Yaobang a chairman, reshuffled th bership of the Centr mittee, and adopted important resolution tain questions in the his our party", which, i was a reassessment Zedong's role in the revolution and natio since October 1949 the composition of Central Committee

Huang (left) and Gromyko: crucial meeting

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ument pleased the Soviets, who still saw China under the spell of Maoism, its new leaders rel- away from the Great Helmsmen beyond denoun- mistakes"—over-emphasis on class struggle and catastrophe called the Cultural Revolution to *China's Economic Yearbook 1981* (the first yearbook to be published in People's China), has 500 billion yuan! (Rs 222,500 crore).

in China between the "pragmatists" of Deng's hists, however, continued. As the "pragmatists" ound, China began to recapture some of its anti- e of the pre-1972 period. China's great economic surprised even its own leaders as it came to be stage. It became clear that the national goal of ions, adopted in 1977 when Zhou En-lai was not be reached wi hout re-establishing mutually mic relations with the USSR and the East Euro- Meanwhile, strains began to appear on Sino-US result of Reagan's move to sell lethal weapons to Sino-US strategic connection reached a certain a 1979 the two ed to jointly ctronic intelli- station in ina, to monitor tests. Then it nt and began e. The Ameri- l military tech- a could not go ised volleys of from liberals es. US-China at a low level, to a mere $ 3 as exactly one- a's trade with , in fact, has from the US in t grain—6–8 million tonnes each year.

In singling out Huang for a well-advertised chat, Andropov was giving a new impetus to moves launched by Brezhnev in a major foreign policy speech as recently as October 27... Andropov's quick reaffirmation of that initiative indicates that the Soviets are serious about their Chinese options.

Views: Early 1982, the Soviet leaders convened a ence of some 400 sinologists of the Institute of Far of the Soviet Academy of Sciences for a compre- appraisal of what had actually happened in kind of changes were a-coming. Soviet sinolo- been rendering valuable help to policy makers in ce the late 1960s, were divided in their evaluation. ified positive changes in China which deserved ement, others took the dark view that the mysti- had so pervaded the Chinese landscape that it des for a leadership to emerge.

ence, in which China experts belonging to Soviet Communist Party of Soviet Union (CPSU) and the ent took part, came to three broad conclusions. e changes in China should be cultivated by the and encouraged, and therefore there should be s to improve relations with China. Two, the and its communist friends and allies all over the y out a relentless struggle against all manifesta- within and outside China. And, three, Moscow ations with China in the context of its plumme- ith the US, and forge linkages between its policy with both powers.

arrived at the conference of sinologists had an on Soviet foreign policy. In March, Brezhnev offered his now-famous four-leaf olive branch to China, reaching out to Beijing more than he had ever done before. He said the Soviets were prepared to discuss all issues with China without precondition, to improve state relations pending the resolution of major disputes and differences, and—most important—ready to consider the adoption of confidence-building measures along the Sino-Soviet frontier. In September, Brezhnev offered the Chinese leaders an opportunity to build normal Sino-Soviet relations.

Follow-up Meeting: The talks which were held in Beijing for 17 days in October between two deputy foreign ministers, Leonid Ilychev of the USSR and Qian Qichen of China covered the entire gamut of the failed relationship. The important thing is not that the talks did not achieve a breakthrough. They were not intended to. The important thing is that the talks lasted 17 days and are to be resumed in Moscow. Several sessions at the level of relatively junior officials slated before the decks have been cleared for a meeting between the top leaders of the two countries.

The Soviet presence in China is not negligible; it is, however, less visible than the smaller presence of the US. The Chinese landscape is still dotted by the designs, methods and ideas of the Soviet state. The Soviet presence used to be turtle-like till 1980—some 500 diplomats and dependants confining themselves within the walls of a huge compound on the outskirts of Beijing, while fewer than 150 Americans were scattered all over the country. Since 1981, Soviet sportsmen, scholars and officials have been travelling in China with increasing freedom of movement.

The Chinese themselves have not been sitting idle. For symptoms of the "spirit of normalisation", one does not have go to Beijing; these are visible even in diplomatic circuits in New Delhi. The sturdy, wise-looking Chinese Ambassador, Shen Jiang, was conspicuously present at the annual day celebration at the Soviet Embassy on Shanti Path on November 5. Shen and the Soviet Ambassador, Yuri Voronetsev, a scholarly member of the CPSU Central Committee, warmly shook hands and exchanged pleasantries.

Chinese diplomats in New Delhi now invite Soviet diplomats to their homes for delicious eats and relaxed chats. At more serious levels, Sino-Soviet trade has passed the $300 million (Rs 285 crore) mark in 1979, declining sharply in 1980, to pick up in 1981 and is expected to touch $300 million again in 1982. Chinese scholars have been travelling to the USSR. China has bought 500,000 Soviet books. The study of Soviet literature, scientific and technological achievements and economic experience has been expanding in China.

Some may see the sudden removal of Huang Hua as China's foreign minister as stealing the lustre of the Sino-Soviet hug in the Kremlin. That would be a mistake. Huang's retirement had been decided much earlier and the Soviets had been notified. After his return from Moscow Huang has taken his place among a galaxy of ageing state councillors, equivalent to Indian Cabinet ministers. The policy decisions that despatched Huang had been taken at the highest level. Yet the Chinese, like the Soviets, do not wish to play up the on-going diplomatic horse-trading until major hurdles are removed. That will probably not be before the middle of 1983.

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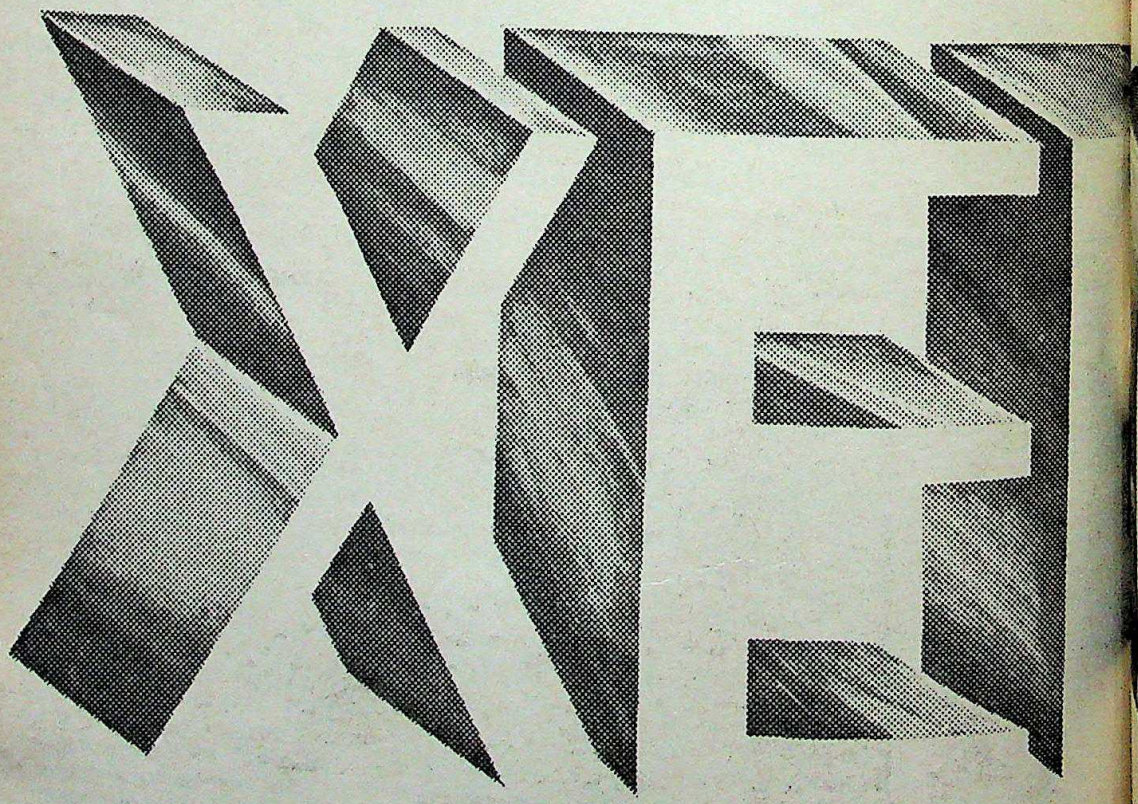

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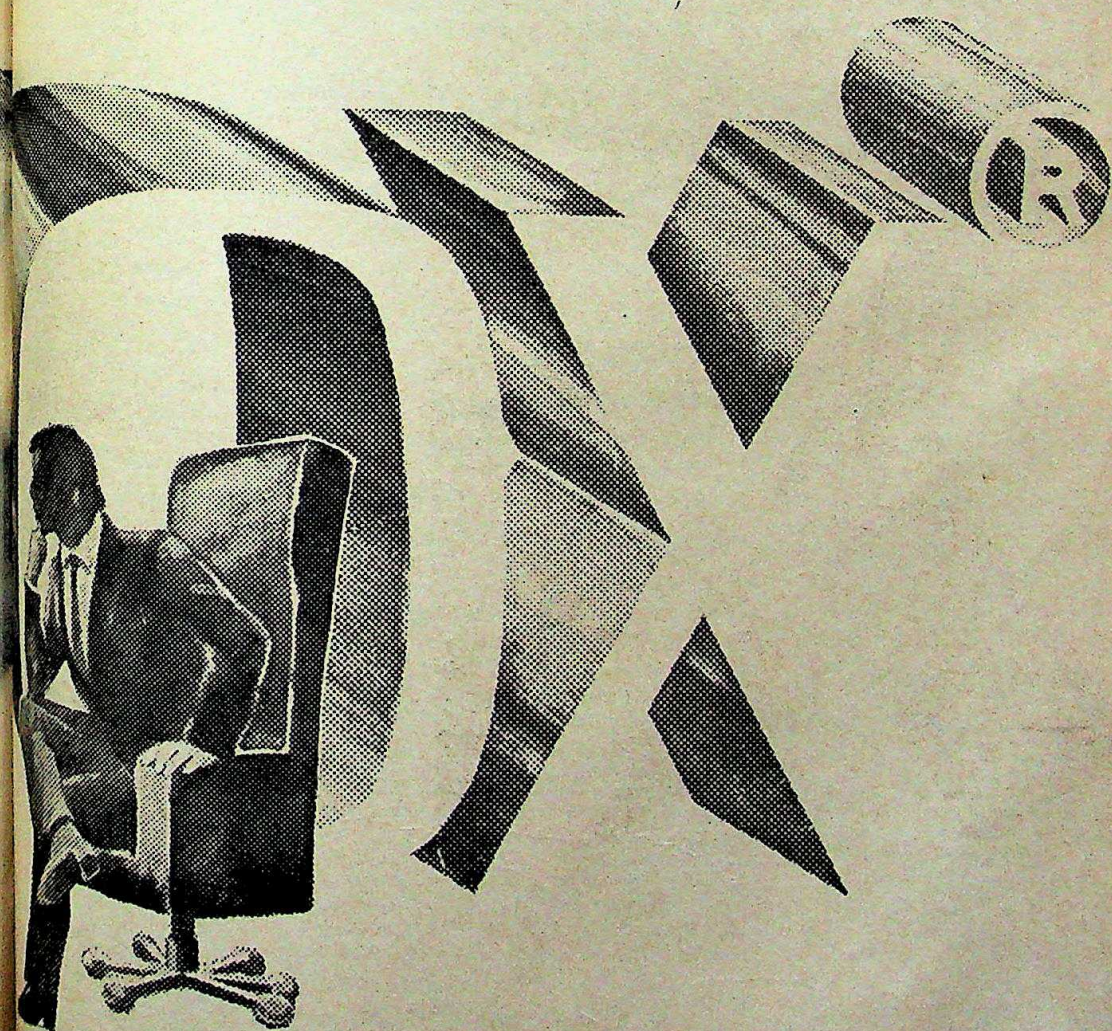

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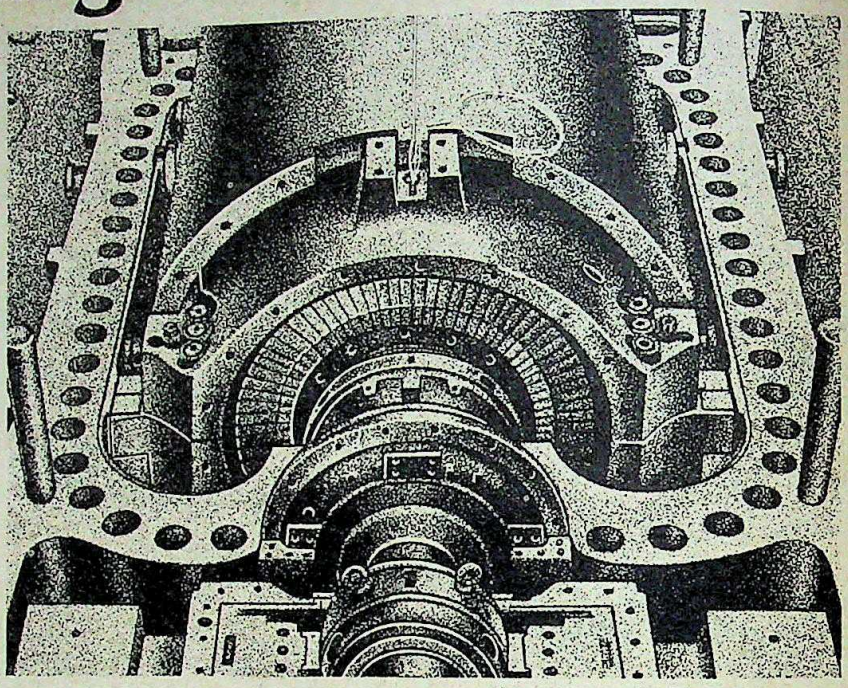
Welding Technology for the 80's



Everything you wanted to know about welding metallurgy ...and the 'futuristic' results possible today!

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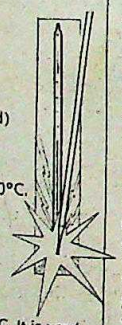
Hot tip for welding at sub-zero temperatures



For matters cryogenic:
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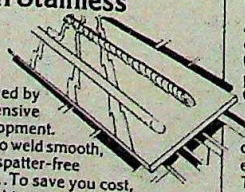
Philips RS 304AB deposits an austenitic stainless steel weld with excellent impact properties at −196°C. It is used widely for applications like liquid oxygen tanks.

The smooth Stainless Steel Weld



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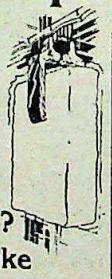

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PH 250	250 – 300
PH 375	425 – 500
PH MN	250 – 550
PH MN(Spl)	250 – 550
PH 375 Ni	250 – 400
PH CSA	180 – 200
PH 600	550 – 650
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PH 450	400 – 450
PH 410	300 – 350
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acon Of Hope

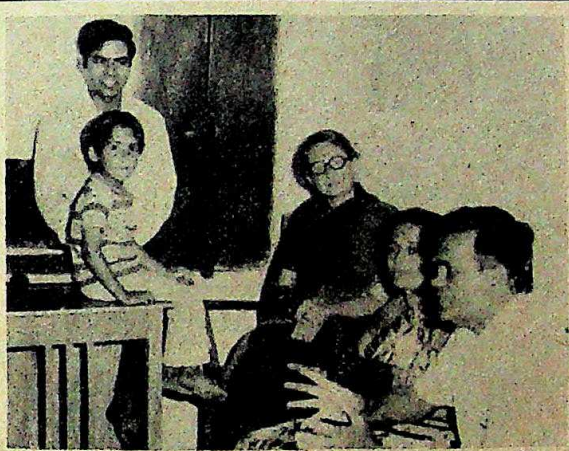
HEN Sangayya Rachayya remath and his American e Shyamala, arrived at lleri, a remote village in Dharwar district, three years e met by scorn and mirth gers. Speaking for the vil- Hallki, a teacher in nearby village said: "We gave them nths to get disgusted and go erica. This would be like a ."

mode was not surpris- year-old Hiremath had up a highly paid job in western city of Chicago, head of the operations ion of a multi-national e the chimera of rural in his homeland. Apart ing to the dramatic his environment—from rbanised atmosphere of the sleepy, shingle-roof- of Medleri—Hiremath the unenviable task of he lot of this drought- e whose people had ing but abject poverty.

Attitudes: Today, after his arrival, Hire- seems to be becoming e changes, however, are ible. The houses that en landscape have not er earlier shingle-roof n water cuts furrows unpaved streets which uddy mess during the The spectre of drought the farmer annually. hanged, and dramati- e attitudes of the villa- this is the result of ork.

nges fit into Hiremath's basic He says: "Development is development of people, not ods, services and things." His ural development comes from l poverty firsthand. Born in about 100 km away from remath was the youngest of e. His father died when he ars old and the family saw penury. After finishing from n Bijapur, Hiremath gradu- hanical engineering with the ngalore. Being at the top of his class, he was offered a scholarship by Kansas State University where he did a master's in operations research, after which he worked with several banks and corporations.

At this time he read a newspaper report that quoted a United Nations survey which had found that the Indian Government spent something in the region of Rs 80,000 on each engineering student. The report had a great impact on Hiremath and he says: "I felt an obligation to contribute back to my country the knowledge and skills I had acquired because of the subsidised education." He became actively involved in the Indian Development Service (IDS), a society formed by India expatriates in Chicago in 1974, to promote rural development activities as well as small industries. Meanwhile, Hiremath had met Mavis (who later changed her name to Shyamala), a Peace Corps volunteer, and married her not only because they shared many ideas but also because of her willingness to settle in India.



Hiremath (on table) with Shyamala and IDS members

The IDS philosophy about development was clearly laid down. It viewed development as basically a partnership between all the members rather than a donor-receiver relationship.

Familiar Place: Initially Hiremath thought of setting up an industry in a rural area but gave up the idea because he felt that it would become just another enterprise without any lasting involvement in rural development. It was then that the couple decided to return to India and initiate development in a small village to begin with. Hiremath started on an extensive tour of India and had lengthy meetings with other organisations involved in development like the Bhagavathula Charitable Trust in Vishakhapatnam, the Social Work and Research Centre in Rajasthan and several Gandhian institutions. He realised that he would have to work in a place where he was familiar with the language and customs and Karnataka became the natural choice. There was a need to form a core of urban volunteers drawn from different professions to initiate development and as a result the India Development Service International, Karnataka, was formed in 1979, funded mainly by the Chicago group.

The IDS philosophy about development was clearly laid down. It viewed development as basically a partnership between all the members rather than a donor-receiver relationship. IDS was to play only a catalytic role in the development process and local leadership was to be built at each step. Charity would never be doled out. Instead the approach would be: "If you give a man a fish to eat he will eat for a day. If you teach him how to fish he will eat it for the rest of his life."

Instead of dumping external capital, local resources would be tapped so that the villagers became self-reliant. Nor would Western technology be imposed to speed the process of development. Instead appropriate technologies to suit the condition in the chosen area would be developed. As Hiremath puts it: "The idea was to build an alternate structure of power as the present socio-economic structure was hardly conducive for developing persons from weaker segments."

The selection of a village to base their project was done systematically. The group felt the focal village should have a cluster of 15 to 20 villages within a 10 km radius because interdependence is the rule in rural areas and no village exists in isolation. Apart from this they felt that not

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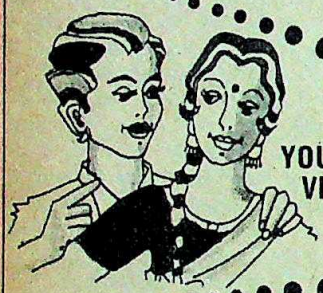
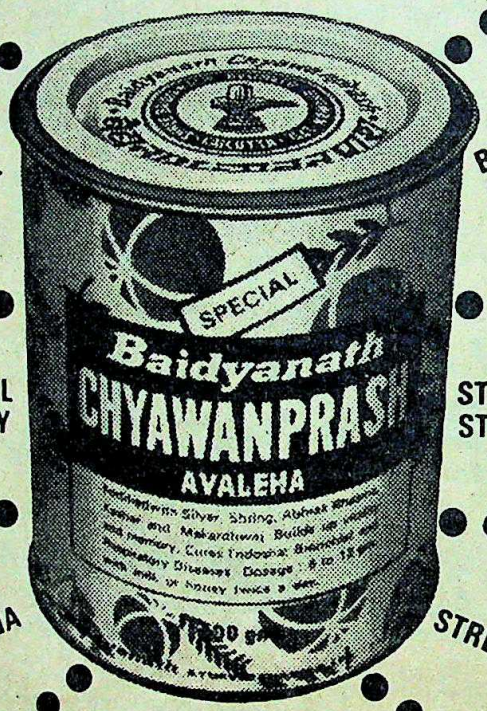


YOUTHFUL VITALITY

STAMINA



BRONCHIAL PROBLEMS

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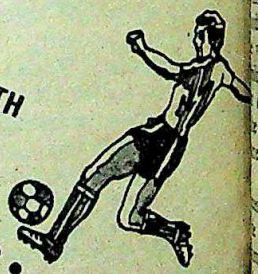

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illage be poor but should number of socially and erved people. More im- lagers should feel the need After a careful survey, ion: 5,071) in Ranibennur as the project centre and villages around it as the

Independence: The IDS did any blueprint for develop- they wanted the villagers to eds and work out them. At the first by them, a group had assembled in their main question ch money are you us? What are your programmes for us?" them that it had none, taken aback.

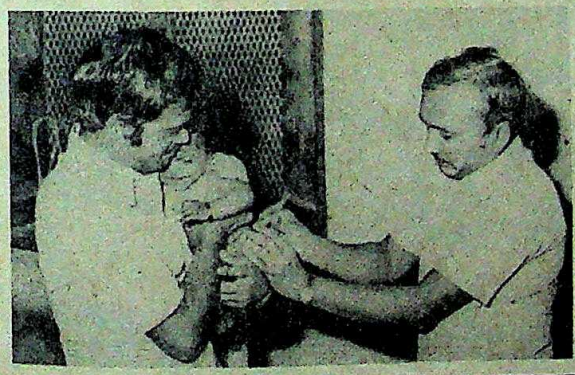
en they realised that about its objectives ers said that health ority as the nearest Ranibennur about Medleri. So IDS ap- ctor and started a in a small hut in villagers expected the free but were sur- said they would be ing to their capacity villagers soon under- sophy and when an camp was organised straggly crowd that the whole village

has led to the for- villagers' own health the Voluntary (VHW) scheme and age contributes to- The VHW's are ap- village health com- of six men and six their primary duty is people about family ne, nutrition, ante-natal ate all this through audio- of the main diseases of the gastro-enteritis, whoop- scabies. As a result of these health of the villagers has derably and last year no g cough was reported.

Initiative: A typical example ness that has transformed evident last fortnight when gathered under the tiled perative shed to discuss how development officer could extend loans to them to purchase milch cows. A year and a half ago there was neither a cooperative nor had the villagers ever had the courage to demand loans from the Government. But because of the persistent nudgings of the Hiremaths the villagers not only set up a dairy cooperative, but they are now demanding government schemes to improve their milk schemes.

Development was initiated only when the villagers identified the area they would like improved and used their initiative to get started with the help of the IDS. When Lambani women said it was difficult to take their buffaloes to Ranibennur to treat them, the dairy development project was launched. Apart from prodding the Government to start a veterinary health unit at Medleri, short courses were introduced for women at the nearby Krishi Vigyan Kendra where they were taught about animal health care, artificial insemination and fodder development. The women decided to set up a cooperative so that they could market the excess milk. Said 55-year-old Basamma Nanjappa: "Before the cooperative was established no one used to supply good milk nor was anyone willing to pay a high price." Everyone in Medleri seems to have got into the self-help spirit. When the women wanted to start a milk testing and collection centre they threw out an obstinate tea shop owner who refused to move out from the shed although they had started paying rent for it. Today the Medleri women market milk for prices varying between Rs 2.40 and 2.80 a litre. Most of them are demanding artificial insemination so that better breeds can be developed.

Development was initiated only when the villagers identified the area they would like improved and used their own initiative to get started with the help of the IDS.



Similarly the village sheep-rearing project was started in response to a need. As about 60 per cent of Medleri's population are shepherds and weavers, these two areas were given specific priority. Like the health worker, sheep assistants were trained by the Government's sheep and wool development officer to go to the shepherds and advise them about how to maintain a good flock. Because of a massive sheep immunisation camp organised last year, Medleri's flocks survived even though the ones in the neighbouring taluk were killed by an attack of rinderpest.

The IDS has helped in other areas too:

- a rural artisan improvement programme was started with the help of the Nettur Technical Training Foundation and a training-cum-production centre was established which trains four apprentices every year on lathes;
- in Aremallapur, unemployed Harijans have got together and persuaded the Leather Development Corporation to start a unit in their village and now 10 of them are being trained as cobblers;
- in most of these villages the dormant mahila mandals have been reactivated and the women now teach themselves tailoring; and
- perhaps the most significant result is that the villagers have started demanding schemes the Government had promised. With prodding from the IDS they persuaded the Government to clear the long pending water supply scheme and now the villages drink piped water.

IDS is careful that the village folk do not become too dependent on them and have been repeating that they may soon leave and initiate development elsewhere. As a 48-year-old teacher, G.G. Shetter, put it: "IDS has taught us how to wash our face. If we continue ourselves, it will become a habit and then we don't need IDS."

—RAJ CHENGAPPA in Medleri

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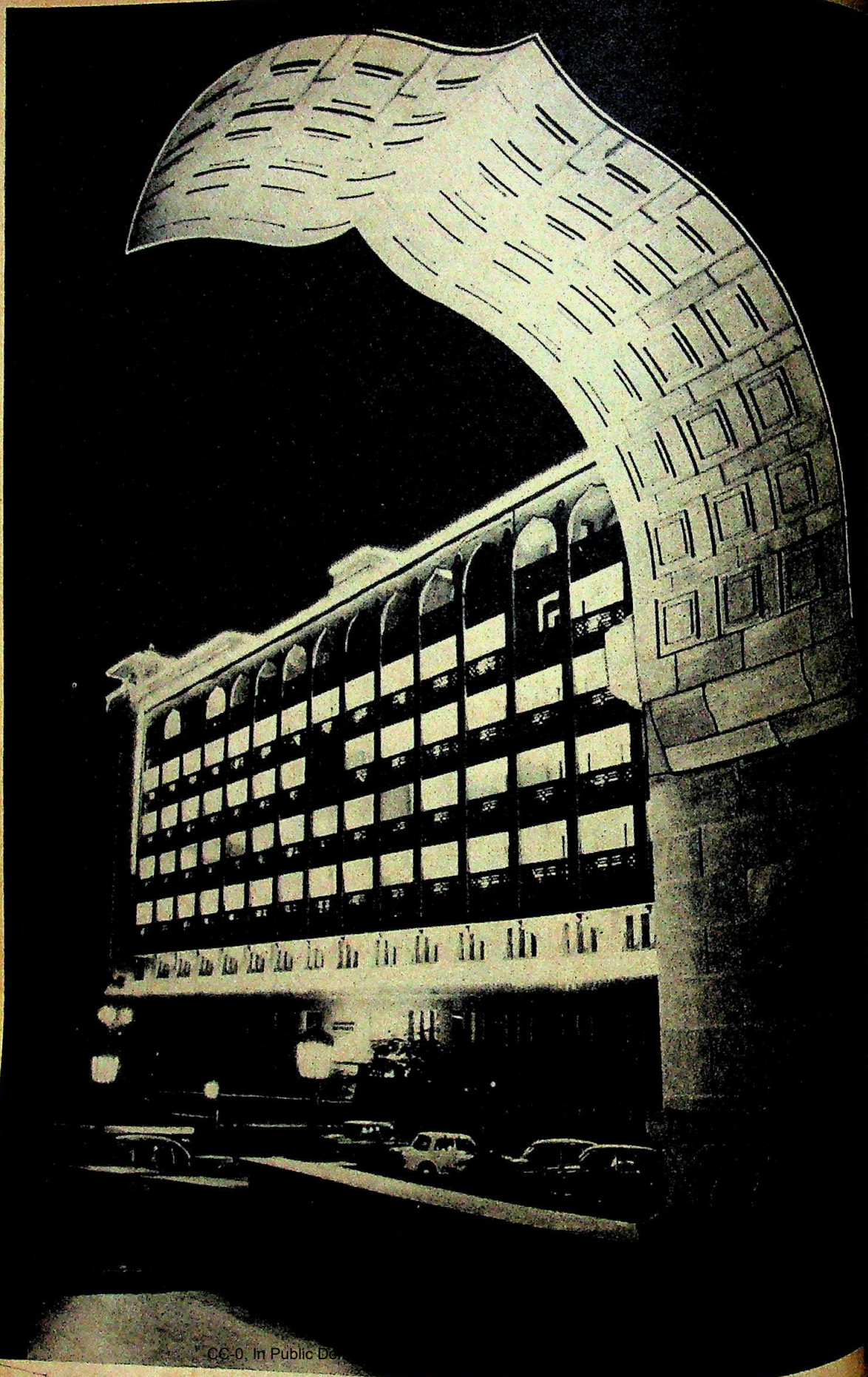

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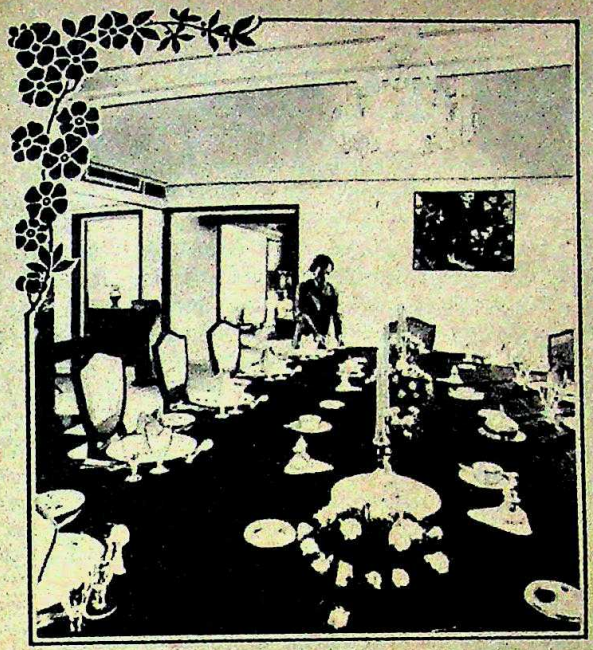

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JUDICIARY

A Battle Supreme

TITLED *Judiciary: Attacks and Survival*, the speech had been long in coming, the speaker delayed, first by an attack of diabetes in March and then by the postponement of the Dussehra break. On October 29, as Justice Vidyaranya Dattatreya Tulzapurkar of the Supreme Court finally faced an invited audience at the Symbiosis Law College in Pune, very few people had an inkling of what he would say.

The speech turned out to be a blistering exposition of petulance and pique, a speech in the greater part of which a sitting judge of the nation's highest court lashed out in a very personal manner at a brother on the Bench. By fortnight's end, poorly reported though it was in the daily press, the speech had set off shock waves in the Supreme Court, and the ripples began to spread through the legal profession.

Acrimony: Twenty-seven foolscap sheets in length, Tulzapurkar's speech was at once a combination of rage and eloquence, and an open declaration of internecine war. Tulzapurkar's primary target was Justice Prafullachandra Natwarlal Bhagwati, himself the controversial head priest of a new and vigorous school of 'activist' law-giving. Over the last few years, Bhagwati has led a movement that has opened up a vast field of public interest litigation, dramatically expanded the definition of *locus standi* of petitioners in such litigation, brought a new meaning to the concept of legal aid for indigent litigants, and transformed the Supreme Court from "an arena of legal quibbling for men with long purses" into a dynamic champion of India's underprivileged poor.

Tulzapurkar, on the other hand, stands at the opposite end of the court's ideological spectrum. A conservative judge, who believes fiercely in the court's need for adherence to decorum and rectitude, and in preserving its independence from the executive's encroachments, Tulzapurkar is only slightly junior to Bhagwati on the Bench, third in line behind Chief Justice Yeshwant Vishnu Chandrachud.

Both Tulzapurkar and Bhagwati lead loose 'camps' among the court's 14 judges, and the court has witnessed a fast-deteriorating rift between the diametrically opposed schools of thought. Nowhere was this more evident than in the Judges' Transfer Case, where a majority of seven judges headed by Bhagwati ruled that the executive held primacy in judicial appointments and transfers, and that the President could even overrule the chief justice in his choice. In the course of his judgment, Bhagwati made what were certainly intemperate remarks about Chandrachud. Worse, both Chandrachud and Chief Justice of the Delhi High Court Prakash Narain were made litigants in the case, and Bhagwati attacked Chandrachud's affidavit, saying it contained "constitutional incantation" and was "delightfully vague".

Tulzapurkar

Tulzapurkar told his audience that the greatest danger to the judiciary was posed by the 'sycophantic element' within it, by judges "whose predispositions and value systems are attuned to those in power".

In his speech at Pune, Tulzapurkar attacked this "discourteous language" and, ironically enough, quoted former Advocate-General C.K. Daphtary as saying that "...when judges call their colleagues 'my learned brother' they do not mean it". He also took a heavy swipe at the questionnaire circulated by the Tenth Law Commission, of which Justice K.K. Mathew is the chairman, saying that the questions on whether the Supreme Court should be replaced by a constitutional court, and whether Supreme Court and high court judges should have a political background, were directly antagonistic towards judicial independence.

In the major portion of his speech, however, Tulzapurkar tore ferociously at Bhagwati—without once mentio by name—on the following speci

► Attacking Bhagwati's pen long and erudite judgments, T said: "I have always felt that w ing judicial pronouncements should not indulge in prefaces dial exercises, perorations and and theses and philosophies, judgment of a court of law an for a doctorate in law are tw exercises...for the litigant, half of relief is more satisfying th pages of learning and precept— often indulged in, to project one's

► Obviously refe Bhagwati's eulogistic Indira Gandhi on t tion in January 19 he said "today th glow of the rising su ing out the prom bright sunrise"—T told his audience greatest danger to ciary was posed b cophant element' w judges "whose predi and value systems a to those in power" ly stressing that a j decide "without fe vour", he also refer judge" who "send and flattering comp to political leaders on assum office", "goes to the airport station with a garland or a welcome or see off (the) prime "or seeks favours for himself children or relatives from any official, business or otherwise".

► On public interest litigatio purkar began by saying it was augury" that the Supreme Cou tertaining complaints in the form cards or letters addressed to judges and treating them as p order to help the poor. But he c on "unseemly trends" emerging kind of litigation, saying it e complainant to "have a judge o his own choice, which is clearly of the judicial process".

Tulzapurkar argued that munications should be forward addressee (who happens to be H most cases) to the court regis would then, through the chief

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before "any bench". He Bhagwati's decisions to day-to-day working of the Protective Home for Women ensure a speedy trial and the prosecution in the blings case, and to ask the police to file an affidavit progress had been made in an alleged case of bride- Should the Supreme Court of the role of a supervising in all such cases?" asked rhetorically.

to the Capital Sentence ment delivered by Bhagwati Tulzapurkar referred to ming of five Supreme Court and present, "whose presence could be regarded as unfor- condemned prisoners". First the *Indian Ex-* controversial ex- the judgment elici- clarification from which was pub- side with the tions of the ver- ting that such could only "tar- name and bright court", Tulza- sarcastically understand that errata the judge the reference to dual judges by from his judg-

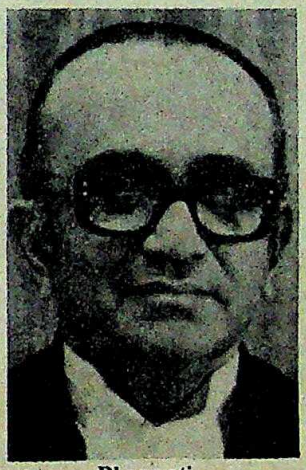
to Bhagwati D.A. Desai being in Patna by the Bihar while the Patna Urban Bank Case was being heard Court, Tulzapurkar said: realise that if they enjoy of a minister (Jagannath personal case is before disqualify themselves from more."

also attacked Desai without naming him. A Bhag- Desai in a recent judgment the judicial system in India, "utterly alien to the genius ... a smuggled system from shores". "All I ask is," thun- pur kar at his audience, quit the system if he holds sincerely and honestly?"

pur kar attacked Bhagwati been discussed in public. It more mystifying, therefore, choose the Pune forum to pour venom on his colleague, particularly at a juncture when the judiciary is under siege from an executive that has smelt blood after the Judges' Transfer Case verdict. Observers do not deny that Bhagwati has laid himself open to unnecessary controversy and criticism in his zeal and occasional indiscretion. But Tulzapurkar himself drew criticism for his speech, the more so because he had chosen to comment on two *sub judice* cases that are very controversial—the Bhagalpur blindings case and ex-chief minister of Maharashtra, A.R. Antulay's appeal pending in the Supreme Court ("You all know how poetic justice was done to ... your previous chief minister," the Pune audience was told).

Tulzapurkar defends his speech as an exercise in introspection. Talking to INDIA TODAY, he said: "Public and professional opinion should exert (themselves). Otherwise, how do you control judges? If you arouse public opinion, it will go a long way." Reiterating his criticism of Bhagwati's "supervisory tendencies" in public interest litigation, he said: "We are not legislators. There are common law restrictions on us. How long can supervision go on? Should the Supreme Court run every institution in the country?"

"Every judge, whether he believes it or not has a social philosophy. We acquire certain slants, attitudes, prejudices, frames of mind ... I have never found difficulty in moulding the law to suit the needs of the people."



Bhagwati

IT WAS evident that Tulzapurkar's animus against Bhagwati was deep-rooted. Even in the famous *Habeas Corpus* judgment (*ADM Jabalpur vs. Shiv Kant Shukla*) of April 1976, where Bhagwati and Chandrachud had concurred with a majority judgment holding that detention under MISA could not be challenged in court, he felt, Bhagwati had tended towards the Government a little too much. "Now he has to retrieve ground," he said.

Recriminations: The major portion of blame for this sad state of affairs, however, is laid at the chief justice's door. "Chandrachud is not trying to assert his authority," says one lawyer. "He should have called all his brother judges together and sorted out their differences internally. Tension has to be released, after all."

Advocate Gobinda Mukhoty says: "The judges are to blame for the crumbling system. While sitting, they must not make controversial statements in legal and constitutional matters or *sub judice* matters. That will only confuse the litigant public. And Article 141 of the Constitution says that the Supreme Court's pronouncements are the law of the land."

Mukhoty, a leading civil-rights activist himself, feels public interest litigation is doing a lot of good. "At the moment to be able to live, to exist—forget with dignity—is itself immensely difficult," he says. "Why should stifling procedures be stuck to always? Procedure is the handmaiden of justice and not the other way around."

"The war between the judges in the Judges' Transfer Case raised strong apprehensions that the Supreme Court is gripped by an instinct for suicide," says senior lawyer R.K. Garg, "and everything that has happened thereafter justifies these apprehensions. There is competition amongst the judges for a larger voice in executive decisions. The judges of the Supreme Court should prove themselves worthy of the trust reposed in them by 700 million people."

When asked to answer Tulzapurkar's charges, Bhagwati said: "I would not be provoked into committing the same impropriety, because I firmly believe that any unseemly controversy between judges affects the prestige and credibility of the judicial institution. This institution must be placed above the men who comprise it."

Acknowledged to be in possession of a keen intellect, and an incisive vision, Bhagwati is nevertheless thought by many lawyers to be gripped by high ambition, which makes him keenly aware of the prevailing political currents nor averse to swimming with such currents. One senior lawyer sums it up when he says: "Bhagwati does not have much jurisprudential sincerity. His is overt populism."

Social Conscience: But Bhagwati is extremely loquacious when it comes to public interest litigation and the rights of the poor. He says his eyes were opened to

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the grinding poverty in India's countryside when he became chief justice of the Gujarat High Court and toured villages in his state. This concern impelled him to set up, with the Gujarat government's aid, a legal aid scheme—a philosophy he has expanded since he entered the Supreme Court in 1973, and now as chairman of the National Committee for the Implementation of Legal Aid.

"Every judgment is a work of art, an act of creation," he says, "and a judge ought to have an architectural view of the entire Constitution, treating every case as a brick to add to the edifice. Only now, after 32 years of the Republic, is the Supreme Court of India becoming the Supreme Court for Indians. It is being identified as the 'last resort for the oppressed and the bewildered', the only bulwark against executive excesses, legislative invasions, and governmental or managerial lawlessness."

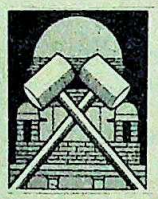
Bhagwati admits that in his zeal to transform the Supreme Court into an ombudsman, he may sometimes have pushed the limits of judicial freedom too far. In much of his work, his inspiration has been Justice V.R. Krishna Iyer, who entered the Supreme Court on the same day with him nine years ago but retired in 1980.

He says that he has never taken on an executive role, pointing out that in the Bhagalpur blindings case he turned down the blinded undertrials' counsel's plea that the CBI report should be made public and that the Supreme Court ought to decide whether or not the police were responsible for the blindings so that compensation could be demanded. "My only desire," he says, "has been to ensure that the Government does not sleep over the disposal of the Bhagalpur prosecutions. Nor have I, in the Hyderabad bride-burning case, taken on the task of establishing guilt, but only tried to galvanise the police there into prompt investigation."

Justice Krishna Iyer also cannot see what the fuss is all about. Says he: "I'm shocked that even after Article 39 (A) any judge should oppose or belittle public interest litigation and people-oriented simplification of procedure. Access to justice is the first among human rights especially when it affects the weakest sector of society. Therefore, the niceties and formalities and the sophisticated technicalities which themselves operate to deny access to justice vis á vis the poor, the illiterate and the backward must be relaxed. No iron curtain of rigid procedure can stand between public justice and the court."

Predilections: To the controversy over whether judges should be overtly politicised, Bhagwati says: "Every judge, whether he admits it or not, has a social philosophy. We acquire certain slants, attitudes, prejudices, frames of mind." Himself clearly left-of-centre in his ideology, Bhagwati participated in the 1942 Quit India movement with Achyut Patwardhan and Aruna Asaf Ali, and says: "I have never found difficulty in moulding the law to suit the needs of the people. In that respect I am an idealist."

Ultimately, however, Bhagwati admits: "We men of law cannot remove the people's poverty or give them food, shelter, clothing, education and health. Yet we can expose the fallacy of a conflict between liberty and justice."



The battle lines have been drawn firmly now, and the legal profession fears that there will be more such hostile and public confrontations between the Supreme Court's bickering judges in the future.

Many jurists and legal pundits privately feel, however, that Bhagwati's acceleration of public interest litigation and the other activist trends in the court may have been too fast, and could possibly prove counter-productive in the long run.

So sharp have divisions within the Bench become that certain judges refuse to even refer back to other judges' previous verdicts. The camps among the judges are highly discernible, with Desai, O. Chinnappa Reddy and E.S. Venkatramiah firmly behind Bhagwati, and Baharul Islam, Mishra, Balakrishna Eradi and A.N. Sen also in his ideological camp. Tulzapurkar, on the other hand, is supported by A.P. Sen, Murtaza Fazal Ali, and Chief Justice Chandrachud to some extent, with Varadarajan sometimes coming on his side.

The only judge consistently held up as an example of a committed centrist in this often acrimonious division is [illegible] Nevertheless, such schisms ha[illegible] to "Bench fixations", with Bh[illegible] often sitting along with Pathak [illegible] Sen, and Tulzapurkar with A.P. [illegible] Fazal Ali. Certain lawyers are [illegible] ledged to try to get their cases [illegible] certain judges they find sympa[illegible] so an element of predictability [illegible] invaded the court.

Battle Lines: The Tu[illegible] Bhagwati feud did have one [illegible] outcome. INDIA TODAY has [illegible] around the time of Tulzapurk[illegible] speech, Chief Justice Chandrach[illegible] issued an order that was de[illegible] defuse the tension. All lette[illegible] addressed to "any judge" are p[illegible] ed to be sent on to the regist[illegible] court, with Chandrachud [illegible] deciding on whether to take the [illegible] to which Bench to se[illegible] letter.

This is a majo[illegible] ment, and may [illegible] down the pace of p[illegible] est litigation. It c[illegible] wati's wings to som[illegible] and represents a w[illegible] Tulzapurkar, who [illegible] hinted at the step in[illegible] speech.

But the battle [illegible] been drawn firmly [illegible] the legal profession [illegible] there will be more su[illegible] and public confr[illegible] between the Suprem[illegible] bickering judges in th[illegible] Such divisions are bu[illegible] at a time when every [illegible] ed citizen needs a strong an[illegible] Supreme Court, and when the [illegible] ween the executive and the legi[illegible] the one hand, and the judicia[illegible] other, is growing to critical prop[illegible]

If the recent schisms in the [illegible] pede, or even discourage, publ[illegible] litigation, it will be a great loss [illegible] repressed people. And yet, Tu[illegible] has a point when he attacks sy[illegible] the yearning for public adulatio[illegible] melight, and the tendency to ove[illegible] rictly judicial functioning.

The tragedy is that the [illegible] Court is flying in the face o[illegible] principles of judicial conduct. A[illegible] to accept certain restrictions on [illegible] duct. He must not enter into a p[illegible] troversy. The judiciary is expected [illegible] lofty, dignified and learned bod[illegible] allurements and prejudices. By [illegible] in such mudslinging, the Supreme [illegible] only opening its flanks to att[illegible] without.

—CHAITANYA [illegible]

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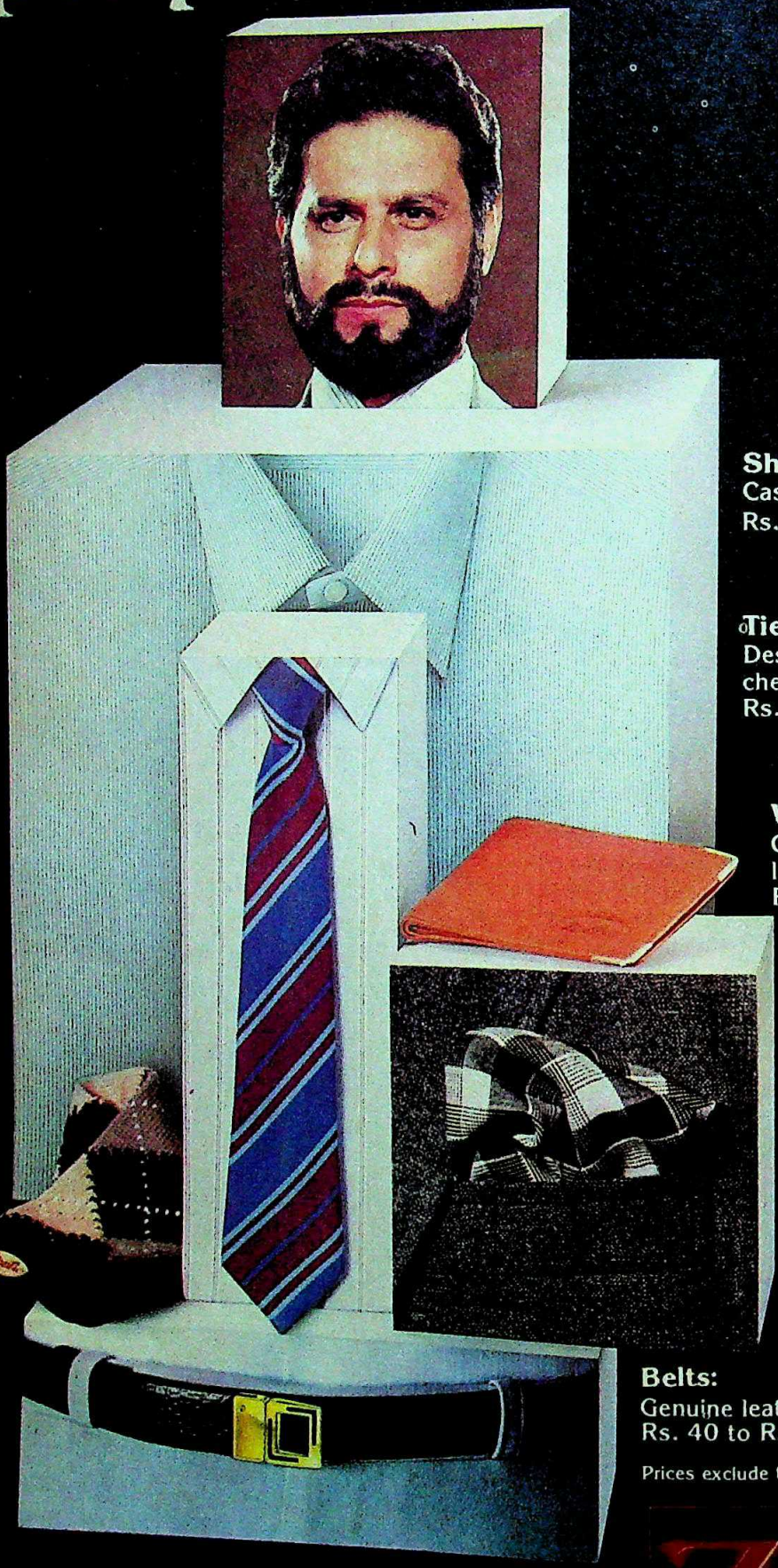

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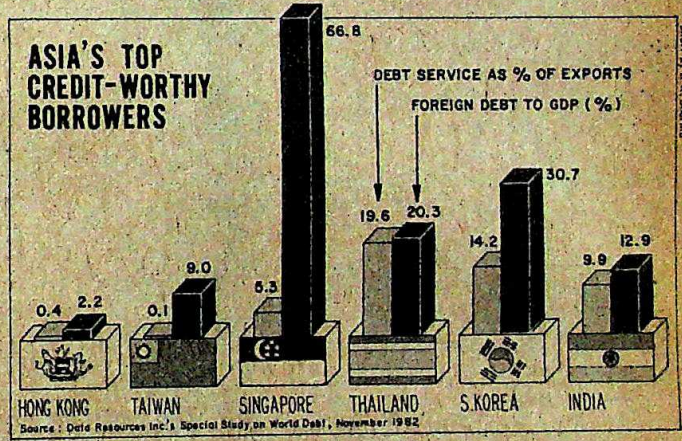
THE GOLD IN GANGTOK

SIKKIM is fast becoming businessmen's most favourite state. Twelve cigarette companies have received industrial licences for setting up factories in the state, out of which three, namely, ITC, Golden Tobacco and National Tobacco, have already started production. The two cosmetics firms with factories of their own in the state—Lakme and Ponds—will soon be joined by Godrej and four others. Sikkim has been offering the usual tax and duty exemptions given by most other states to attract industries, but the concession in respect of central excise duty seems to be the main attraction: goods sold within the state are exempt from central excise, which partly explains the rush of cigarette companies to the state. Over 50 industrial licences, covering mostly medium sized units, are currently at different stages of implementation and more offers are pouring in.

CREDIT WORTHY

INDIA is rated number six among Asia's most credit-worthy borrowers, according to Data Resources Inc, a US research firm. Hong Kong tops the list as the best credit risk, followed by Taiwan, Singapore, Thailand and South Korea. In compiling the score, the firm has given the most weight to two factors: one is the country's debt servicing as a ratio of exports (9.9 per cent



in the case of India against only 0.4 per cent for Hong Kong) and the other is foreign debt as a proportion of gross national product (GNP) (12.9 per cent for India against 2.2 per cent in the case of Hong Kong). Surprisingly, Philippines has received the poorest rating.

POLYESTER WAR

A BATTLE is on between the "polyester lobby" led by textile baron Dhirubhai Ambani of Reliance Textiles and polyester yarn users, the texturising and crimping industries. For more than three years the high-priced yarn was listed on the open general licence import list, and importers have been having a field day. But recently Reliance set up a yarn manufacturing unit, and Ambani has turned the pressure on policy makers to either curb imports or hike import duties. Last fortnight the all-India Crimpers' Association launched an attack on domestic manufacturers through advertisements headlined: "Should the country's texturising industry be allowed to die?" And "Please don't dump us". They argued that domestic manufacturers harm users with high prices. Last week, Ambani and his lobby appeared to have won. The Government has reportedly raised the basic duty on polyester yarn by Rs 15 per kg, which is expected to curb dumping substantially.

INK

STEEL Ministry is in two minds—whether to go with the controversial Daitari steel project in Orissa should have been in full swing by now, or call it a it. It continues to receive offers of collaboration parties, the latest being from British Steel the state-owned body that is having troubles of its and to be losing over Rs 10 crore a week. After hitches in the deal with Davy United, the Steel and to have decided not to take any further steps tion of a detailed project which Metallurgical and Consultants (Mecon), a government consulting firm, and to prepare. There are strong rumours that the be shelved for the time being on the grounds of ance, though Minister for Steel Narain Dutt Tiwari will go through.

D DEAL

AMOND export industry, which may soon over-engineering as the country's largest exporter, has as-Government for assistance in setting up a diamond ck on the lines of those existing in Belgium and main competitors in the international diamond ve is to be located in Bombay where the diamond port-export turnover of Rs 1,300 crore a year is the meantime, the Centre has agreed in principle ond exporters to maintain dollar accounts. The is now receiving finishing touches at the Reserve heavy arbitrage charges and will also reduce risk fluctuations in exchange rates.

PROCESS

hich has recently spread its wings from cigarettes to take in cement and paper seems to be on a pace, having apparently decided that it is more profitable—to take over old companies and run starting from scratch with brand new units. After acquisition of India Cements and Ashok Paper to be showing interest in Binny, the 100-year-textile company that has been virtually defunct years. Company sources say that although it has new lines including engineering, chemicals and part of its massive Rs 300-crore investment pro-next 10 years, it will not take the next step until it new acquisitions.

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DEVELOPMENT

The Pangs Of Growth

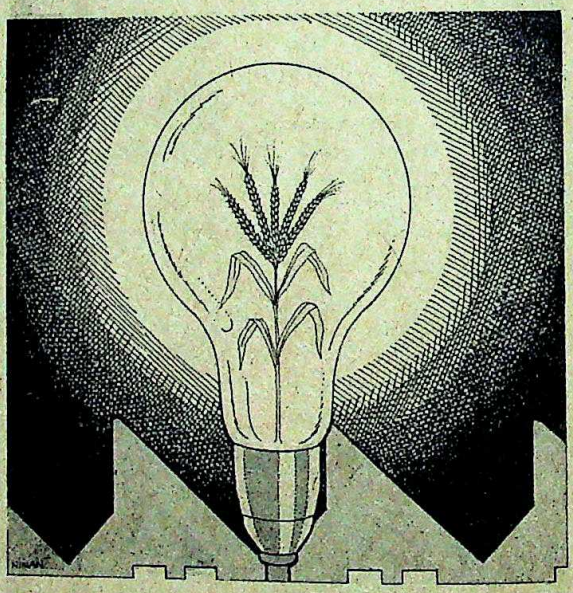
NEW DELHI—On the same day that the world's most sophisticated domestic satellite, India's INSAT-*1A reached an unexpected and irrevocable end, a European visitor to Bombay refused a request for further financial aid from a 10-year-old beggar girl. Meanwhile, domestic newspapers were reporting a widened trade deficit, a decline in foreign exchange reserves and a fall in the utilisation of industrial capacity.*

These events illustrated the continuing, and perhaps widening, split between the different worlds that compose this country of 700 million people, which is divided into the rich and educated, the educated but miserably paid, and the totally illiterate living below the poverty line. Those below the poverty line account for half the population although the literacy rate has been improved and now only 36 per cent of the population is unable to read and write.

This is a fair sample of economic reporting from India (*International Herald Tribune*, Banking and Finance Supplement, October 1982). Every statement in that report is true, yet somehow not quite true. It is true that the satellite conked out but that does not mean that it was just a show-piece. It is true that the bulk of the population is illiterate but not all of them live below the poverty line. And although India does have a widened trade deficit, a decline in foreign exchange reserves and a fall in the utilisation of industrial capacity, so have the US and most European countries going through the recession, though they may not have 10-year-old beggar girls hanging around five-star hotels.

Is the reporter perhaps saying that if we did not have five-star hotels, all 10-year-old girls would be at home baking cakes for their mothers instead of begging from tourists? Does he mean to say that if we had spent money on teaching everyone to read and write instead of wasting it on industrial show-pieces like space satellites, we would be better off? One is not sure; but that is the impression the report leaves on the unwary reader.

The same kind of impression—that industrialisation is the root of all problems in poor countries—emerges from weightier 'research' studies that flow from a large number of universities and learned bodies in the West. The most important class conflict in the poor countries of the world today, says Michael Lipton of Sussex University in his new book, *Why Poor People Stay Poor* (Heritage Publications, Rs 150) is not between labour and capital, nor is it between foreign and national interests, but between the rural classes and the urban classes. The rural sector, he says, contains most of the poverty, and most of the low-cost sources of potential advance; but the urban sector contains most of the articulateness, organisation and power. So the urban classes have been able to win most of the rounds of the struggle with the countryside, but in so doing they have made the development process needlessly slow and unfair.



Agricultural Development: Substitute agriculture for rural classes and industry for urban classes, and you have the gist of the argument against industry. In fact, at one stage, Lipton admits: "I do not believe that poor countries should stay agricultural in order to develop, let alone instead of developing. I do not say 'don't industrialise,' but only that a developed mass agriculture is needed before you can have widespread successful developments in other sectors." And who decides that the stage of 'developed mass agriculture' has been reached? Lipton is mum on this.

There is a simple answer to books like *Why Poor People Stay Poor*. They don't: at least, not for ever. When the engine was invented in England said: "Wait. We have not yet re stage of developed mass agricultu are too many poor people a people who cannot read or wr who cannot manage even a sin meal a day. The steam engine ca we use steam power, the rich richer and the poor poorer." W dred years after the steam engine in Britain did get richer but the not get poorer, though there we people even then dying in the London and Manchester. Dicke about them and so did ot this did not prevent Eng becoming one of the ric tries of the world and power in its own right.

What would have had the steam engine been the bud, as indeed there w including Luddites and o demanded it should, w countries, say, France and big powers at the time. ahead and used the inv their own development. le land to the fury of the Britain would have bee and turned into a colo would have sunk without history as a green and pl of well-fed people who wrong turn and vanished

For a country as larg there is no such thing as nomic' development. Economi ment is an aspect—but only co of national development, the o on development, that is, structural change, rather than It is inconceivable that a cou dia's size and potential can mo thout using modern technology how 'uneconomic' it may appear mists and others. And what bet to keep up with modern techno manufacturing industry? Indus lopment in India should be vie of the process of modernizatio as an accounting exercise. We first industrial revolution and those who didn't. There could ly no excuse for missing out on too and again going under.

However, let us take at their face value and

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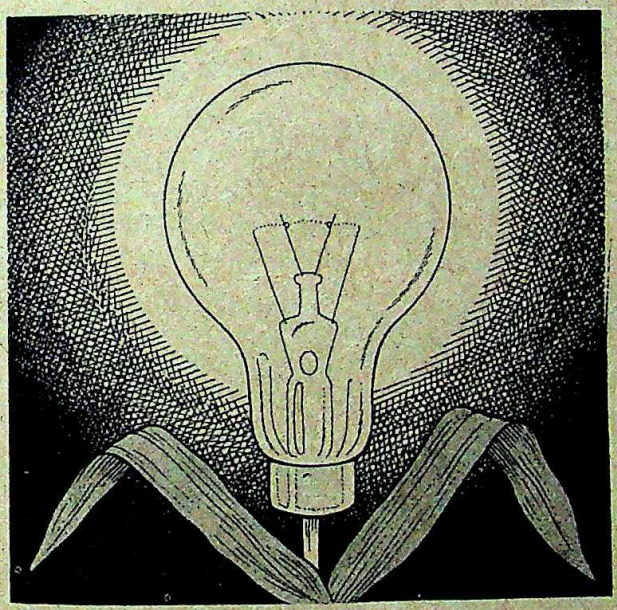
for agriculture in a big industry. What exactly is agriculture? It means more more electricity for pumps, and pesticides, more road new seeds, more warehouse places, more credit and new agro-based indu- mechanisation. More and canals and more power stations and large projects. Eventually it means as there cannot be dams power without steel, ferti- transportation without mechanisation without farm machinery. All technology and men who logy. It is much more con- long run to make cement import cement, make tur- rather than import power. All you technical manpo- have created—and which can always be start and then deve- even if agriculture highest priority, all that direction would halt without adequa- development on point. In an increasin- modern economy, it is where one sector ends starts, though econo- and make neat the purpose of their

Up: India has in- productive capacity both physical ca- and 'human' capital skills faster than the growth rates. How this capacity is used—whether into genuinely rising stand- well-being, or in the assets elite—is a problem not of of welfare. It is of course that development and go hand in hand. It is that a child should start and helping the family as it starts going to school. the acquisition of produc- a nation what school-going particularly when that nation from centuries of bon-

is always a messy affair, a day or so before the visiting South Korea for about 15 years ago when had the look of a down-at-heel provincial town. My hotel, right in the business centre of the town, was ringed by a cluster of hovels and there were beggars all round, able-bodied men and women in thin peasant clothing, who crowded nearly everything in sight, including post offices, railway stations and temples. It could be Bombay, or worse, Calcutta. Small children sold matchboxes and combs and women hawked candles in the streets. I visited Seoul a couple of years ago when it seemed to have undergone a sea change. There were no beggars and no hovels. The Koreans were better dressed, almost as well dressed as the Japanese, worked in modern offices equipped with computers and other electronic gadgets, and moved about with an air of self-confidence that would have been unthinkable a decade earlier. Western observers may say that the South Korean miracle is unreal



and the whole thing will collapse any day. They have been saying it about India for years, but we are still here and not doing too badly.

False Conflict: Even the urban-rural conflict which is being made much of, is largely unreal. If there was such resentment against the towns and their growing power, Charan Singh and Sharad Joshi would have been the most popular individuals in the country. The fact is that most urban Indians are only one or maybe two generations removed from the village and nearly all of us have some relation or the other living in the so-called rural areas. The ties between the town and the village continue to be strong, much stronger than in the West. The average villager is not the bumpkin he used to be. He is much better off than he used to be, say, 10 or 20 years ago, and even the advertisers have suddenly discovered that he has money to spare. The vast rural market, a largely unexplored world, is slowly coming into its own. In Pune last month, a new stock exchange was opened and it was discovered to everyone's surprise that more money was coming in from the surrounding country than the city itself, the second largest in Maharashtra. Between a fifth and a quarter of applications for new company issues and fixed deposits are said to be coming from rural areas, and there could be more if companies' agents could reach them. The critics of the Indian development model will say that these are largely from rich farmers. So they may be, but could there be rich farmers in such large numbers without expanding agriculture?

I was talking the other day with Hideaki Moriya, a Japanese businessman on a visit to New Delhi in connection with the Asian Games. Moriya is executive director of K. Hattori & Co which markets Seiko watches throughout the world. They have only two manufacturing plants outside Japan, one in Hong Kong and another in Brazil, both owned and operated by Seiko. In India, they have entered into technical collaboration with Allwyn of Hyderabad which has never made watches before. I asked him why he chose India and not one of the countries in Europe where the demand for watches must be much more than in India.

Moriya is one of those soft-spoken men who make you feel that they have all the time in the world for you. He went over recent industrial history in Japan and explained why a country that could not make anything worthwhile before the war and whose economy was shattered by it is now competing with the Americans and the Europeans on their own home grounds.

Precedent: "We learnt from them but we learnt so well that we make better cars and better watches than they do," Moriya said. "You are no different from us—we are after all old countries with long histories—and I see no reason why you cannot do what we did and do it better than we do. If we can make better cars than the Americans, you may one day produce better watches than the Japanese."

Hideaki Moriya did not smile when he said this; he was not just being polite. India can make better watches, and possibly better cars, than anybody else, but not if we continue to lag a hundred years behind the world, as we once did.

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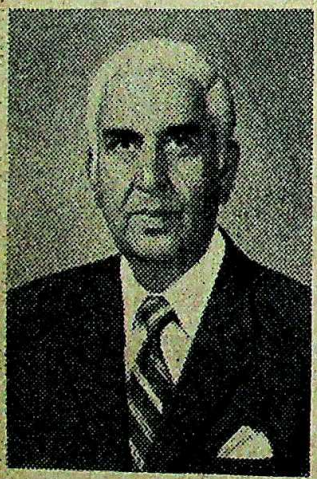
Company Meeting: Britannia Industries Limited

Highlights from Chairman's Speech

The results for the year ended June 1982 have shown an impre improvement.

Growth is vital for all units, big or small, as only through grow can the units remain viable. Surely, it is not the intention of the Government that small should always remain small to retain Government protection and large units in areas reserved for t small scale sector should become sick on account of deliberate restraint on their growth.

Britannia is now poised for rapid growth, particularly in areas which are complementary to the existing business.



Speech delivered by Mr. M.M. Sabharwal, Chairman, Britannia Industries Limited, at the Annual General Meeting at Calcutta on 10th November, 1982.

The results for the year ended June 1982 have shown an impressive improvement. The turnover at Rs. 93.68 crores increased by 26% and profit before tax at Rs. 5.20 crores increased by over 50% on monthly average basis compared with the results of the previous year which comprised a 15-month period. Profit before depreciation and tax at Rs. 6,11,72,000 is the highest on record. Exports exceeded the Rs. 10-crore mark, again the highest on record and an improvement of 100% over the previous year. This all-round improvement was achieved by the Company as a result of a favourable economic environment and the various measures adopted by the Company to achieve higher productivity. The directors are confident that the improvement will be maintained. Therefore, they have recommended for your approval the same dividend this year as was approved last year (for the 15-month period) and a bonus issue of 2 for 5 shares held.

Even though the bakery products are reserved for the small scale sector, I firmly believe that the integrated development of the large, medium and small scale sectors is vital for balanced industrial growth in the country. In the last Industrial Policy Statement, the Government declared that it would reverse the trends of earlier years, towards creating artificial divisions between small and large scale industries, under the misconception that these interests were essentially conflicting. As I said last year, indeed they are not, but such a misconception arises from the assumption that one sector can grow only at the e the other. Growth is vital for big or small, as only through can the units remain viable. S not the intention of the Gove that small should always rem to retain Government protec large units in areas reserved small scale sector should be on account of deliberate re their growth.

In keeping with Governmen the Company continued to units in the small scale secto providing financial, technic marketing assistance. Over tonnes of biscuits manufac small scale sector, represe our sales, were marketed b Company during the year u review as compared with le that quantity in the previou

In June 1981, the Governm announced revised guidelin endorsement of productive on registration certificates t industries to fully utilise the capacities. Our application submitted to the Governme now awaiting approval. Th continues to maximise pro through greater efficiency

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ich our Research & Centre makes a ribution. Increasing an unending process ny continues to strive ctivity so that it may previous production ly during this ar of Productivity". I Government will h additional production mote greater viability in

is accelerating its plan ough diversification. Project has been MRTP Commission and f Industry has advised obligation will be s project. We are now al Letter of Intent from ent. In the meantime, the concluded arrangements 30 acres of land in Bhopal for setting up the ject. As this will be a with a long gestation mpany is also looking at a few other opportunities for immediate growth.

In April 1982, on the appointment of Mr. N.C. Chaudhuri as Vice-Chariman of the Company, Mr. R.K. Lal was appointed Managing Director and Chief Executive of the Company. Mr. Lal has displayed outstanding ability and qualities of leadership and the Board is confident that as the Company is now poised for rapid growth through diversification, Mr. Lal will be able to steer the Company with distinction.

Mr. A.J. Sait and Mr. D.K. Bose resigned from the Board and I would like to record the Board's appreciation of their contribution over the years to the growth of the Company.

The good results achieved during the year under review would not have been possible without the dedication and hard work of the employees at all levels. I am sure the shareholders would join me in expressing our appreciation and thanks to all of them.

Recently there has been some speculation as to whether Huntley & Palmer Foods, p.l.c. (UK) will disinvest their shareholding in Britannia Industries Ltd. Huntley & Palmers have a 38% holding in Britannia, and even though the merger between Nabisco Brands Inc. (USA) and Huntley & Palmer Foods, p.l.c. (UK) is imminent, having been approved by the Monopolies & Mergers Commission (UK), I have an assurance that Nabisco Brands and Huntley & Palmer Foods, p.l.c. have no intention whatsoever of disposing of their holding. They believe Britannia to be an important element of the Group's worldwide business.

With this assurance and available resources, both financial and managerial, Britannia is now poised for rapid growth, particularly in areas which are complementary to the existing business. Therefore, the future holds great promise.

Note:
This does not purport to be a report of the proceedings of the Annual General Meeting.

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PREMIER AUTOMOBILES

A Takeover Drive

THE AIR of panic and gloom is almost palpable. With the company's Annual General Meeting (AGM) scheduled for December 20, the management of Bombay-based auto-maker Premier Automobiles Limited (PAL) has grown increasingly nervous about the possibility of a proxy battle for control of the company. Only a month ago veteran acquisition king, R.P. Goenka, lodged a large number of shares for inclusion in the Premier shareholders list, but the nervous reaction within the company was immediate. Seeing Goenka's large-scale purchases of PAL stocks as the thinly-disguised beginnings of a take-over bid, Premier's Chairman Vinod Doshi last fortnight began rallying his defences. By end-November, Doshi and his team of professional managers had launched a strong retaliatory attack on three levels:

► Releases given to dailies and financial newspapers listed the achievements of the current management, focussing on PAL's massively improved profitability (1981–82 sales: Rs 165 crore, pre-tax receipts: Rs 18.47 crore), the company's modernization programmes, and a generally bright future;

► individual shareholders were approached and their help in the eventuality of a proxy war sought; and

► hectic lobbying was begun in the ministerial corridors of New Delhi to make sure that the financial institutions which own large chunks of Premier stock back Doshi's team.

Acquisition King: Goenka's first forays into Premier probably began last September, when CEAT Finance and Investments, a subsidiary of CEAT tyres, which the industrialist took over last year, began quietly to mop up the auto company's shares on Bombay's Dalal Street. In the next month, pushed upwards by the sustained buying, the stocks' price shot up by almost 28 per cent, and by early October speculators in the towering new stock exchange building got wind of the take-over attempt. As a result, on October 5, buying pressure by bulls was so strong that Premier prices zoomed from Rs 395 to Rs 429 in the space of a day. By mid-October, however, content with a haul of over 30,000 shares valued on the market at roughly Rs 1.2 crore, Goenka took delivery of his shares, and allowed the share value to drop closer to earlier levels.

Thirty thousand shares form less than 4 per cent of Premier equity and, normally, the purchase would not have been particularly remarkable. But Ramakant P. Goenka, who till the recent family split virtually headed the Duncan group of industries, has a long and enviably successful history in corporate acquisitions. He was instrumental, before the split, in acquiring prize corporate catches like Duncan Brothers, National Tobacco Company (NTC) and a string of chemical companies, and today controls a large group (combined turnover: Rs 358 crore) built up almost entirely through stock exchange purchases.

Vulnerable: Not unjustifiably, even such a tentative move by Goenka towards Premier came as a rude shock to Doshi. Only recently elevated to chairman by his father Lalchand Hirachand, the podgy, pipe-smoking, actor-industrialist has still to prove himself as corporate head. Moreover, historically, the Walchand Hirachand group which heads Premier has held a very low financial stake in the company. Jointly promoted by Walchand and the Bombay-based Khatau and Kilachand groups, the company was controlled by Lalchand with a bare 11 per cent of the share capital, and even this holding was reduced to 7 per cent when the group was hard-pressed for additional funds some years ago.

Said Doshi: "Today the Khataus have sold their holdings and the Kilachands have an insubstantial share, so we really have nothing to fall back upon except our standing with the shareholders and ... The irony is that in the old da... centage of your holding did not ... and it was the institutions which ... us to come down from 11 to 7 ...

With holdings already so ... low, Goenka's purchases are a ... threat to the Walchand group. ... spurt of buying brought in 27,0... shares, and the industrialist co... ther 3,300 shares bought by ... which adds up to 3.8 per cent o... equity. In addition, the brilliant ... mechanic controls an indeterminate ... of purchase options through the ... tem of forward trading: sto... rumours place his total holding ... options, at over 70,000 shares: b... most conservative estimates ... enough to be worrying for D... controls less than 56,000 shares.

The eventual fate of Prem... mobiles will depend almost entirely ... way the financial institutions ... Premier has for long been an ... company with large debts, state-... tutions like the Life Insurance C... and Unit Trust today hold 31 ... the company's stocks. Possibly ... by the deal between institutional ... ITC in the India Cements acqu... INDIA TODAY, November 30). Go... ed buying into the ... company soon after ... unlikely that the inst... treat Premier as the ... Cements.

Prize Catch: ... reason for disinv... India Cements was ... agreed as part of a p... to take over the ... Ashok Paper Mills ... its accumulated los... for the cement com... fer. Premier has no ... ed liabilities. Having turned the ... 1980 after three decades of slow ... flickering profitability—in the ... the company racked up losses ... broke marginally into the black ... showed respectable profits in oth... auto manufacturer has in the pas... zoomed forward in no uncer... Accounts for the past year sh... crore net profit, and future pro... optimistic.

Acquisition attempts at a ... company is doing spectacular ... unusual, but Premier is clearly ... plucking. Retained earnings, a... crore, are at an all-time high, a... to-earnings ratio of its shares ... company a steal at the pre... range. Walchand group holdings ...

Goenka and Doshi: power play

Goenka's purchases are a very real threat to the Walchand group ... stock market rumours place his total holding, including options, at over 70,000 shares; but even the most conservative estimates are large enough to be worrying for Doshi, who controls less than 56,000 shares.

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...ever, that Goenka will need ...per cent of the company's ...ve up enough support from ...other shareholders or institu... ...ent holding is worth Rs 3.2 ...ent prices. Premier would

...recently the Goenkas insisted ...not trying to take over ...that the CEAT purchases were ...ern routine investments. "As ...we have no interest in the ...a take-over point of view." ...Goenka, managing director of ...the son of R.P. Goenka. "I ...Joshi was a little shaken up ...the shares for registration. ...ured him that at present we ...at the company from that ...all. We even told him that he ...ories if he is still worried."

...Clearly not reassured by the ...Joshi last fortnight kept up a ...for strengthening his ...company. Premier insiders ...may have earned a reprieve ...at the December AGM, but ...actual confrontation. One ...vent this will probably be ...family friends and relatives ...will be asked to buy Premier ...the management if a proxy ...place.

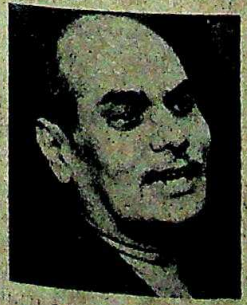
...the Premier board will rule ...weeks on the registration of ...holding. While a positive ...the possibility of a battle ...the AGM, a refusal to register ...delay the inevitable and ...parties in a long-drawn-out

—CHANDER UDAY SINGH

...ng Red

...ORM clouds that gathered ...Rs 600 crore Kudremukh ...Company Ltd (KIOCL), ...mining project, after Iran ...deal to purchase 150 million ...ore concentrate two years ago, ...been dispelled. ...darkened with ...de by the com... ...self out, efforts ...with little success ...the world steel ...

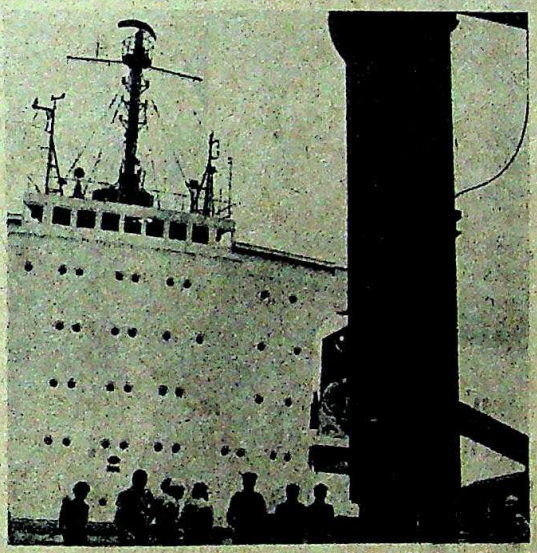
...night, when the ...board chaired by B. ...meets in Banga... ...ber 7 to review ...there will be ...with its milling



Mirchandani: optimistic

lines operating at only one-fifth of its capacity since production started in October 1981, the company has already incurred a loss of Rs 36.34 crore and will sink deeper in the red by the end of this year. The only firm commitment has been signed with Romania to supply 3.5 million tonnes of ore concentrate, that too only as a condition for awarding the contract for the Rs 100 crore pelletisation plant coming up in Mangalore to Uzin Export and Import, a Romanian mining company.

Crippling Loans: With KIOCL expecting to incur what it described in its annual report as "heavy losses" within the next five years it has already warned the Indian Government that it would not be in a position to repay its loans. When the contract between the two countries was signed in 1976, Iran had agreed to extend a credit of $630 million



Ore concentrate being loaded for Romania

(Rs 600 crore) but finally chipped in with only $255 million (Rs 245 crore) forcing the Central Government to cough up the rest.

Government loans amount to a total of Rs 232.36 crore, the annual interest on loans itself amounts to Rs 31.57 crore and repayment to Rs 7.97 crore. The KIOCL board has now asked the Government for a five-year moratorium on loans and an interest holiday to combat the crisis. The Government is still considering the proposal but as things now stand it has little option but to grant it.

Senior executives in the company are now brushing up their new corporate plan which is to come up for discussion in the board meeting. Said an optimistic Hiranand Mirchandani, KIOCL managing director: "If our plan is approved by the board it will put the company back on its feet." The proposed plan could do little else but reiterate that the company should "continue the efforts to find more export markets for concentrate and pellets".

Low Demand: As the European and American markets for more concentrate are out because of the prohibitive freight charges, the Middle East and South-east Asian companies are the only viable alternatives. For concentrates the only hope so far has been a letter of intent from the Arab Iron and Steel Company of Bahrain to supply 1.5 million tonnes of concentrate a year from mid-1984 and another from the National Steel Corporation of the Philippines, for the supply of 0.5 million tonnes a year from 1985.

Equally sluggish has been the demand from the pellet market. With the Mangalore plant going on stream by August 1984, it will have the capacity to produce 3.5 million tonnes of pellets that have to be marketed. The most encouraging offers have come from Malaysia, Indonesia, Libya, Qatar, Saudi Arabia and Bulgaria and if these come through it would take care of the production of the Mangalore plant.

But all these measures are unlikely to pull Kudremukh into the black as it has a capacity to mine 7.5 million tonnes of ore concentrate annually. The company is still pinning its hopes on Iran, which has indicated that it may be able to lift 4.5 million to 5 million tonnes a year when its pellets plant in Ahwaz is ready by 1985.

Looking Homewards: Bitten by their experience with Iran, company executives are now shy of depending solely on the export market. They have now turned their eyes to domestic possibilities and the proposed plan has decided to "shift the emphasis from full export orientation to economic utilisation of products internally". That is easier said than done as most of the steel plants in India have their own captive mines which supply a higher grade of ore than Kudremukh. The chances lie in the new steel plants coming up at Vishakhapatnam in Andhra Pradesh and Daitari in Orissa. KIOCL has proposed to the Government that its ore concentrate be used for the two steel plants.

Another option is KIOCL itself setting up a steel plant using arc furnace technology to convert the concentrate into pellets and then into steel. But again this needs government clearance. KIOCL executives are hopeful of pushing through their proposals; as Mirchandani puts it: "When Iran backed out we could not see the light of day. But now we have much more than a glimmer of hope."

—RAJ CHENGAPPA

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The TTK stamp of quality

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helps you plan your family...

With Kohinoor and Durex contraceptives.

The TTK Group was the first to introduce condoms in India. London Rubber Company, promoted by the Group, is the largest manufacturer of high-quality condoms and is now offering turnkey technology, in this area, to the Government of Maharashtra for a joint sector project.

The TTK Group not only gives you contraceptives but a wide range of other household products as well. Prestige pressure cookers. Woodward's gripe water. Preett mixies and kitchenware. Westclox timepieces. Tantex hosiery. Williams shaving cream. Kiwi shoe polish. Maps and atlases. All the things that go towards making your house your home, come to you from the TTK Group.

The TTK Tradition

Dynamism and diversification have been the TTK tradition right from the start. From a small beginning in 1928 as a distribution agency for Lever Brothers, U.K., to the multi-product manufacturing conglomerate it is today.

The TTK Group

The TTK Group manufactures a wide range of consumer soft and durable products.

The Group's pharmaceutical division manufactures and continuously develops a number of vital drugs. On the industrial front, the Group manufactures products like ring spinning tubes, ammunition containers for defence, speciality papers and packaging materials.

The TTK Group serves the domestic market and also meets overseas demands through exports.

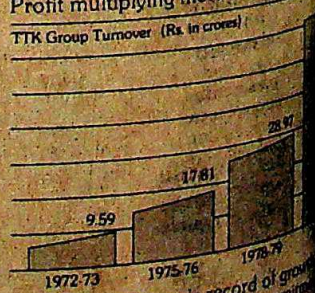
The TTK Guarantee

All the Group's products are stamped with the TTK guarantee of quality.

Strict quality controls at every stag in end-products of the highest stand

The TTK Goodwill

The high esteem enjoyed by TTK in the market-place is reflected in th financial strength of the Group. In th decade, Group Turnover has increase Rs. 9.59 crores to Rs. 65 crores, wh Profit multiplying more than fivefold.



The TTK Group's record of growt emanates directly from its commitm excellence. A commitment that will p the impetus for future growth.

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TAMIL NADU

Unprecedented Ban

THE TAMIL Nadu Government opened a new chapter in the field of management of industrial relations last month. In a strikingly unprecedented move, it invoked Section 10(b) of the Industrial Disputes Act, for the first time in the country, on November 9, to ban strikes or lock-outs in the textile industry in the state pending adjudication of the bonus dispute referred by the Government to the Industrial Tribunal, Madras.

The Government possibly developed cold feet, apprehending that the 4 lakh textile workers in Tamil Nadu may follow in the footsteps of their counterparts in Maharashtra. The unions had given notice of an indefinite strike from November 11, demanding payment of bonus at rates varying from 12 to 32 per cent, according to a formula jointly evolved by them with the South Indian Mill Owners' Association (SIMA), representing the mill managements, in 1979. The formula has popularly come to be known as the SIMA formula in textile industry circles. The contention of the managements was that the formula had been agreed to only for three years, the accounting years 1978–79, 1979–80 and 1980–81. The managements were only prepared to pay 8.33 per cent bonus, the statutory minimum prescribed under the Payment of Bonus Act, 1965, in respect of 1981–82, citing the not-so-satisfactory financial position of the industry, compared to the previous three years during which they paid more than the statutory minimum bonus. The unions recall that SIMA had been prepared to specify the agreement as binding for five years when the formula was arrived at in October 1979. It was the workers who wanted to limit the agreement to three years.

"In any case, according to the existing laws, an agreed formula of bonus payment should be deemed to continue till it is substituted by another employer-employee agreement," reasons the suave and soft-spoken veteran trade unionist, G.Ramanujam who is the general secretary of the Indian National Trade Union Congress (INTUC), one of the major unions in the Tamil Nadu textile industry.

Recession: "But the industry no longer enjoys the prosperity of the last three years," counters the tough and no-nonsense Chairman of SIMA, S. Devraj. He argues that the graph of the textile industry in Tamil Nadu, comprising 200 mills, started dipping after the upswing in cotton prices in December 1980. Recession slowly set in, and the mills in the state accumulated nearly 65,000 bales of unsold cotton worth Rs 33 crore. The annual textile production in the state is 75,000 bales of yarn and 204 million metres of cloth.

With both sides refusing to budge, the Tamil Nadu Government convened conciliation talks. Indefatigable and pleasant mannered S. Rajasubramaniam, the joint commissioner for labour, pleaded with the

Ramanujam (left) and Raghavanandam

unions to accept 8.33 per cent bonus, citing the Centre's recent directive to state governments to ensure that industries stick to the Bonus Act. But the unions were unrelenting. Militant unionists, taking part in the conciliation proceedings, accused the state Government of invoking Central directives when these suited it. On other occasions the state was only too happy to fly in the face of the Centre.

D-day drew near, but no semblance of a solution was in sight. With the shadow of Bombay looming large, the Falstaffian Labour Minister of Tamil Nadu, S. Raghavanandam, hit upon a ruse. The minister suddenly remembered the clause 'b' which the AIADMK Government had, in the teeth of stiff opposition, incorporated into Section 10 of the Industrial Disputes Act, 1947, enabling the state Government to assume power to issue orders regarding terms and conditions of service in an industry pending settlement of disputes. The thorny bonus issue was quietly and conveniently swept under the mat of the Industrial Tribunal, and strikes and lock-outs in the industry banned pending adjudication.

Token Resistance: Raghavanandam has strongly defended the step, stressing the need to prevent "work stoppage in a vital sector like the textile industry". The final arbiter on the issue should be a judicial forum, the bald and burly minister argues, and that is why the matter has been referred to the Tribunal. The AIADMK Government was all for negotiations tion and adjudication.

Raghavanandam may have congratulate himself for the The textile industry had to face one-day token strike, organised against the Government's invo Section 10(b). The Government successfully negotiated a settlem bonus dispute in the Neyvelie Li poration that was threatening serious dimensions, and also staved off a strike in the transp stry by initiating conciliation pro again over the issue of bonus.

But war clouds are on the horizon. It seems only of time before a volcano erupts. MGR Government makes a serio to tackle the underlying malaise industrial peace, and cries a halt wholesome practice of treating e as a law and order problem. K MLA and president of the Ta Centre of Indian Trade Unions already characterised the stat ment's action in assuming po Section 10(b) as the "blackest against the working class."

With a steady twofold man-days lost due to bonus dis state between 1975 and 1981, Nadu Government will do wel decide whether bonus dispute settled through arbitration an tion or through negotiations, cess of settlement shall cont complicated by simultaneous a both methods. —S.H. VEN

THE MARKETS

Staying Afl

THE STOCKBROKING must have an impish sen mour. Just when everybo dicting a poor, if not a bad yea the share market, with some sto ing record or near-record levels. are now very close to those and only a few percentage points the current year's high but the uneven and some shares seem done remarkably well. The shares—and every other comp to have gone in for cement— fettle and the paper shares are well. There are rumours of price white printing paper which about 30 per cent of the total duction in the country and this up paper company shares.

The dumping phase seems and chemical companies like

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DAY, DECEMBER

"e gave Nirmala's
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you say about being a
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the other day, she's a
. I told her, keeping
M.D.'s appointments

mpare with looking after
and two children—
office problems, tastes in
n clothes, housekeeping,
everything. The job
at 5.00 p.m. and
e weekends off.

Just housekeeping, it's
thing, I've discovered that
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e to hear each one's
about the other. What
hen Nirmala comes to
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ut? That Nikhil! I was
down to complete my
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ope. I saw Nikhil flying
d I knew. Last night, his
down with his book
urite pipe, when he
plain about the foul
ould I tell him that
been blowing soap
ough that pipe!

His father says he's got surplus energy. Says it's a compliment to my cooking. Of course I take a lot of trouble over the cooking... times are difficult, but we never take short cuts with the food. I think a child's mealtime is most important. I'm very careful to give them only the best. Their appreciation is the greatest reward I could ever ask... and I get it all the time. Now that I think of it, I wonder what 'challenges & rewards of a career' Leela was talking of. I know there's nothing more challenging than being wife and mother. Or more rewarding.

Rath Vanaspati.
Because the language of a woman is love.

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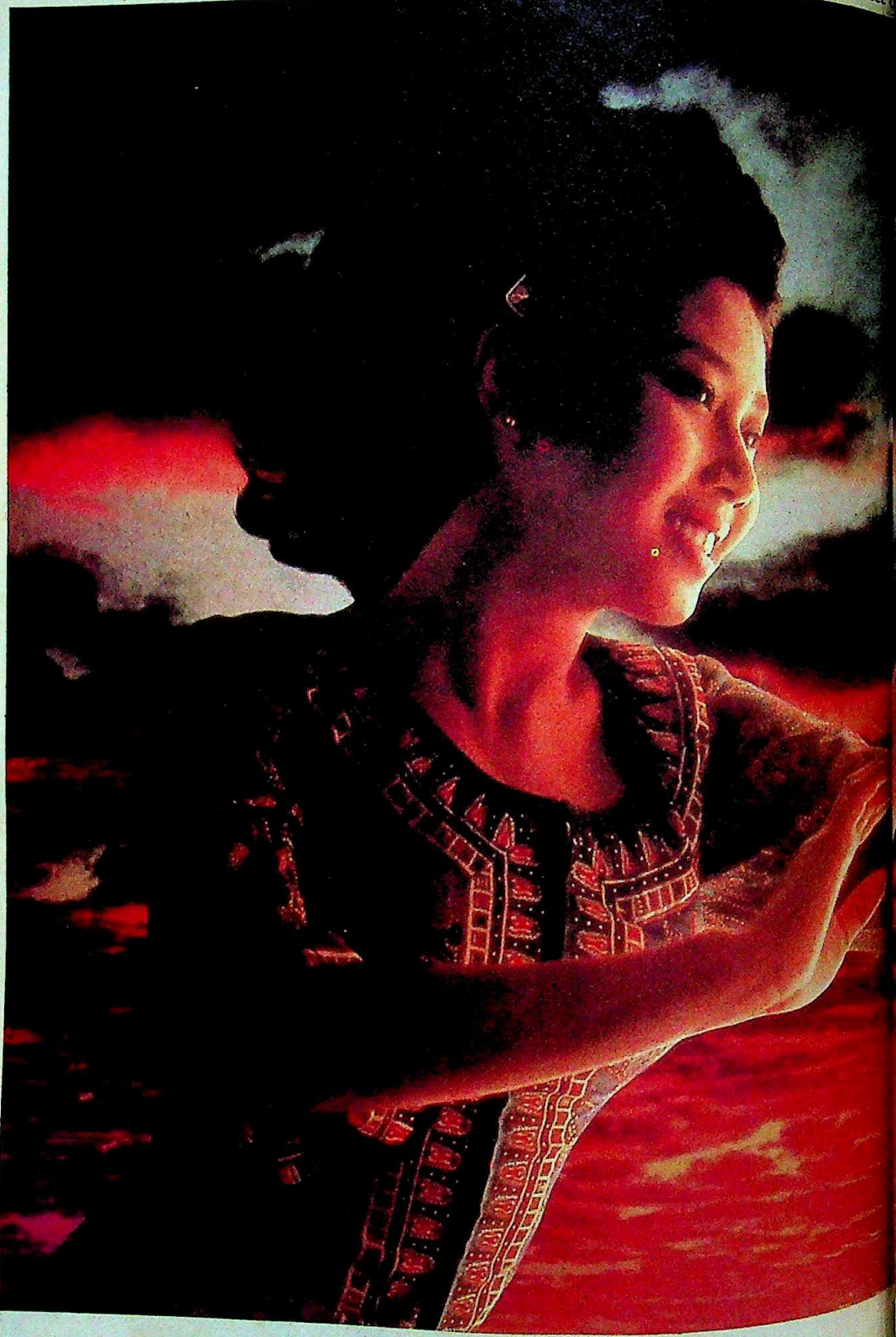
The airline with the most modern fleet in the world, still believes in the romance



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TIVE STOCKS

High 1982	Low	Close 18.11.82	Change on Fortnight
59.00	32.00	33.00	(0.10)
409.00	212.50	398.00	(3.50)
1,650.00	960.00	1,020.00	35.00
49.60	36.00	40.50	2.20
42.00	26.50	29.50	(1.00)
49.50	26.80	49.50	3.50
70.00	53.00	69.00	0.50
44.00	30.00	40.50	(1.00)
80.50	62.00	74.00	(1.50)
18.69	15.44	17.56	1.31
26.50	20.20	24.70	(1.60)
18.60	11.30	11.70	0.40
346.00	201.00	231.00	(1.00)
228.00	177.50	207.50	5.00
1,020.00	675.00	760.00	7.50
25.00	15.00	17.00	1.40
58.00	41.50	56.25	(0.75)
168.00	78.00	85.00	3.00
16.20	11.65	13.50	1.20
44.50	31.31	36.56	0.25
24.30	18.30	21.10	(0.65)
21.50	16.50	19.00	0.25
41.00	26.00	30.00	(2.50)
49.87	34.25	39.12	0.68
61.25	35.75	58.00	(3.00)
48.75	25.00	25.50	0.50
30.50	25.00	30.50	2.30
37.20	28.00	28.60	nil
506.00	368.00	424.00	(4.00)
56.00	47.25	53.25	2.00
32.14	21.82	30.30	2.80
30.00	23.00	29.00	(0.50)
23.60	17.00	19.10	0.90
25.00	18.00	23.70	(0.10)
247.50	172.50	208.00	(1.50)
26.00	18.50	22.50	2.32
107.00	50.00	55.00	(1.00)
35.00	26.00	28.50	nil
36.10	26.20	35.10	(0.50)
165.00	87.00	87.00	(2.00)
45.00	29.00	35.00	nil
39.90	21.00	39.90	3.20
36.00	22.70	24.00	1.30
73.20	55.60	59.50	1.00
70.20	45.10	70.20	7.00
150.00	94.00	132.00	2.00
35.75	20.00	26.50	0.50
86.00	45.50	57.25	(0.75)
21.65	14.50	19.25	(2.15)
61.00	38.00	43.50	nil
272.50	220.00	232.50	(2.50)
36.50	22.50	22.50	(1.25)
29.00	16.50	21.62	0.37
210.00	168.00	172.00	(1.00)
63.00	36.00	37.00	nil
48.50	34.50	46.20	7.20
30.30	26.00	30.10	2.10
97.00	58.75	70.00	(0.50)
407.00	303.00	365.00	(11.50)
31.00	21.00	31.00	3.50
58.25	32.50	35.50	(0.50)
182.50	118.00	163.50	(9.50)
35.65	27.30	33.30	(0.10)
52.12	41.37	47.06	0.56
66.00	34.00	42.25	(0.75)
16.80	12.60	15.50	(0.50)
31.50	19.00	20.25	0.25
61.50	45.50	61.50	1.50
429.00	272.50	276.00	3.00
737.00	367.00	410.00	14.00
70.75	35.75	38.20	0.30
28.10	23.90	25.50	0.30
33.50	23.50	26.10	0.10
291.00	228.00	277.00	1.00
26.50	18.35	23.50	3:00

Organic have started raising their prices. Engineering shares are also looking up—the recession is apparently over —and so are many drug company scrips. Share prices of companies offering convertible debentures generally slump after the offer but this is not happening any more. Guest Keen Williams and Ranbaxy, which came out with their debenture issues about the same time are both doing well with scrips quoting well above their pre-issue levels. If this is the general pattern, the ITC and Dunlop debenture issues should do remarkably well indeed.

If the economy is not doing so well, why are the share markets buoyant? Firstly, some sectors do well, no matter how the economy as a whole is doing. During the so-called recession, for instance, some shares, like ITC, Indian Oxygen, Chloride and so on, were not affected at all. Nor were those of Bombay Dyeing and, to some extent, Reliance, despite the textile strike and the general downturn in personal expenditure. Secondly, some companies do well precisely when there are kinks elsewhere. Companies supplying diesel generating sets prospered through the power crisis which affected most other companies.

New Heights: The share markets manage to keep themselves afloat in the worst of storms. Shares in America and Britain, two of the worst affected countries in the current economic crisis, have pushed past previous records to new heights. India need not necessarily follow them—we have not gone through the kind of recession they have—but unless there is a sharp shift in industrial policy, which seems unlikely in the immediate future, there is no reason why our share markets should not do the same.

For the present, however, things seem to be more or less quiet and may continue to be so for the next few weeks. Nearly all good scrips are rather high priced but may come down a bit as the budget approaches. Quite a few are underpriced—Ashok Leyland, Telco and Escorts among them—and should recover soon. Among the more attractive groups are fertiliser shares: Indian Explosives, which will now be the flag-carrier of the ICI group, and Zuari Agro, have done well and seem to be favoured by the bulls. Bombay Tyres, now a Modi company, and Wiltech, the blade makers, should be watched as both are relatively underpriced with a great deal of potential for growth. It's only the engineering shares, with the exception of one or two, which seem to be marking time, but their turn will also come, though not before the budget, which is now only three months away.

WORLD VALUE OF RUPEE

Country	Unit & Currency		TT Selling Rates(Rs)	TT Buying Rates(Rs)
Australia	1	As $	9.7811	9.6765
Austria	100	As Sch	57.9418	57.3736
Bahrain	1	Dinar	26.0090	25.7573
Bangladesh	100	Taka	42.6723	41.7024
Canada	1	Can $	7.9455	7.8608
Egypt	1	Egp £	11.8303	11.7034
France	1	Fr Frc	1.3507	1.3366
Hong Kong	1	HK $	1.4714	1.4524
Indonesia	100	Rupiah	1.4402	1.4297
Iran	100	Rial	11.0869	11.0049
Italy	100	Lt Lira	0.6681	0.6619
Japan	100	Jap Yen	3.7682	3.7291
Kenya	1	K Shilling	0.8879	0.8813
Kuwait	1	Dinar	33.3939	33.0841
Malaysia	1	ML $	4.1181	4.0722
Mauritius	1	Rupee	0.8659	0.8595
Nepal	1	Rupee	0.7444	0.7390
Netherlands	1	D Glds	3.4906	3.4604
Pakistan	1	Rupee	0.7933	0.7491
Singapore	1	Sing $	4.4105	4.3589
Spain	100	Sp Pt	8.2388	8.1600
Sri Lanka	1	Rupee	0.4736	0.4565
Sweden	1	Sw Kr	1.2924	1.2793
Switzerland	1	Sw Frc	4.5581	4.4093
Tanzania	1	T Sh	1.0262	1.0187
Thailand	100	Baht	42.0000	41.0000
UK	1	Pound	15.7394	15.5827
USA	1	US $	9.9550	9.8175
UAE	1	Dihram	2.6769	2.6573
USSR	1	Rouble	12.9759	12.8806
W. Germany	1	DM	3.8225	3.7813

These rates were supplied by The Bank of Tokyo, Ltd., New Delhi and quoted between the Banks on November 22, 1982.

ECONOMIC TRENDS

PRICES	Latest	Change on month
ET Commodity Price Index November 19, 1982*	252.5	2.6
Cereals	250.9	6.7
Chemicals	332.8	9.7
Industrial Fibres	176.3	(0.4)
Metals	347.2	2.3
Sugar	186.1	3.0
Textile Yarn	221.6	(0.6)
Vegetable Oils	300.2	8.6
Gold, standard, November 19, 1982 (Rs per 10 gm)	1,745.00	(35.00)
Silver, .999, November 19, 1982 (Rs per kg)	2,685.00	30.00
SHARES		
ET Share Price Index November 19, 1982*	240.5	5.3
Cement	249.4	(11.4)
Chemicals	205.0	4.0
Engineering	394.2	7.0
Fertilisers	193.2	4.8
Man-made fibres	418.1	8.5
Paper	459.5	32.6
Rubber Goods	154.1	(3.5)
MONEY		per cent
Money Supply, October 8, 1982		0.1
Bank Deposits		0.7
Foreign Exchange Assets		(13.5)

* 1969–70 = 100

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How? A bargain battery is a reconditioned battery. And in a petrol engine, a weak reconditioned battery will soon be unable to take the simultaneous load of cranking the engine and ignition. Result: slow cranking without the fuel igniting, and thus, wasting valuable fuel. And even when the engine does start with a push or by hand-cranking, the unburnt fuel in the cylinder will result in a rich fuel mixture which, over time, can damage the engine.

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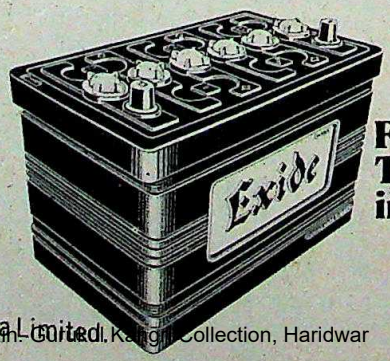

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Village Of Thieves

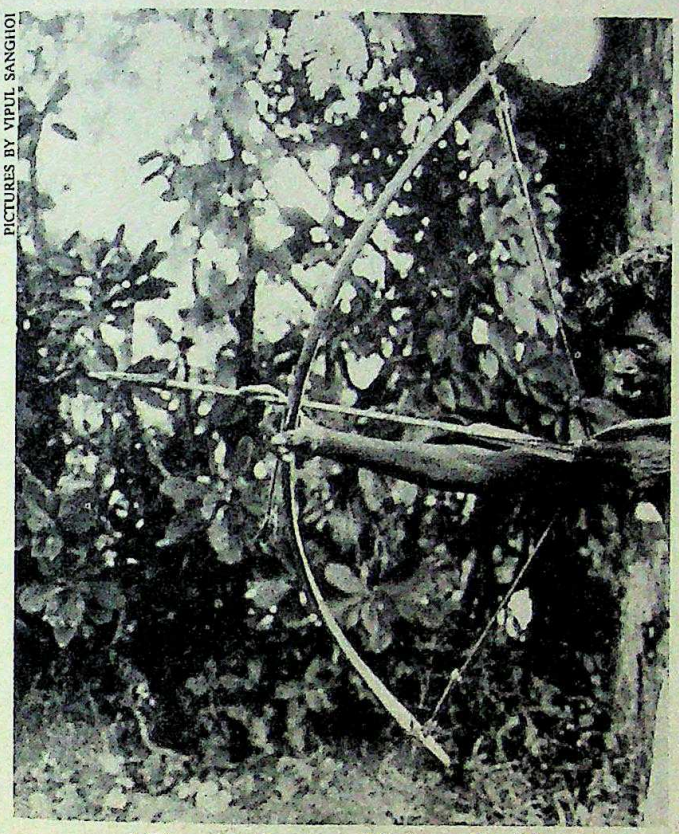
PHYSICAL appear- e deceptive. Desar, ated poverty-stric- village in Panch- is a scruffy hud- rounded by shrub hilly outcrop that barren, barely It is much like ds of other villag- ry. Except in one More than 90 per 's 865 inhabitants criminals who con- upation to be an ling.

hammad Miabhai, mal, white-haired ch of the village: here have been of crime for near- What do you expect We do not have iculture, there are round, no jobs." If pushed Desar's in- a life of crime, it some pretty hard- ers.

Rathwa, 35, who ctions behind him cases pending in the roost in Desar. A lean, ted man, who has twice es- ice custody, Rathwa wears I am a terror when I set out go wherever I want." Last habitants of Rawalia village Rathwa's terror. In his last

villagers here been following life of crime early a century."
HAMMAD MIABHAI

PICTURES BY VIPUL SANGHOI



A Desar marksman: a life-time of training

recorded offence, he and his men decamped with goods worth Rs 10,000. The police admits that most of Rathwa's crimes go unreported as he is feared throughout the surrounding countryside.

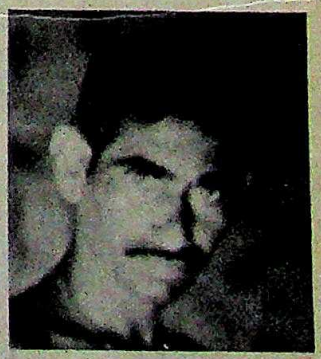
Typical Residents: If Rathwa is an extreme case, there are many others in Desar who typify the community. Varsan Kanti Nayak, 21, is wanted in several cases of dacoity, robbery and rape. Yet he is undeterred. Two months ago Varsan walked into Garial village five km from his home, kidnapped a girl and fled. The villagers gave chase, overpowered Varsan and recovered the girl. Two days later, Varsan sought revenge: he raided the village with a gang of his friends and tried to round up 14 buffaloes. The villagers again put up a fight and managed to recover their cattle.

Most villagers are not so lucky. Nor are they usually as aggressive in dealing with the marauders of Desar who belong to the Nayak tribe. The petrified villagers seldom resist for they know that the Nayaks are excellent marksmen, even though they resort to their bows and arrows—their favoured weapons—only if their lives are threatened. The Nayaks of Desar loot whatever they can, taking food grain, cattle, household articles and ornaments. The stolen goods are usually sold in the markets of nearby Halol town. If any cattle form part of the booty, Desar celebrates with a community feast the next day. Says Raojibhai Patel, Home Guards officer at nearby Badalpura: "They will continue to rob as there is a ready market at Halol and surrounding villages where small shops lap up the stolen goods."

The authorities have an ambivalent attitude towards Desar. Till recently, the police fought shy of entering the village. Now they claim to have started a multi-pronged effort to win the villagers back into the mainstream of society and slough off their criminal ways. Panchmahals district Superintendent of Police, Jaywant Vyas even claims that the police have been able to persuade the dacoits to give up crime.

Understandably, the claim is greeted with cynicism in the state's capital, Gandhinagar. Earlier this year, state Home Minister Prabodh Raval had told reporters that the police had at last managed to win over the tribals of Desar and that a surrender ceremony had been arranged. The surprising part was that the

"I am a terror when I set out to rob. I will go wherever I want."
—MANSUKH RATHWA



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ceremony entailed the surrender of five country-made rifles—and it is well-known that the Nayaks do not use rifles. Said Abdulkarim Miyabhai, a Desar villager: "When police and politicians started talking about reforming us, we thought they were being sympathetic. We now realise it was only for publicity. You see it is all a political drama."

High Hopes: The police also announced that they were starting several relief projects in the area. A scheme to train the villagers into *gram rakshak dals* (GRD) was also started. About 20 youngsters were picked up by the Panchmahals police for training. The villagers initially thought that the GRD training would give them permanent jobs. They also hoped that the whole surrender drama would yield them a rich harvest and that the face of the village would change. Desar did in fact become the centre of attention for a short space of time as the story was played up by the media. Then the officials came, made several promises and have not been seen since.

Vyas and other police officers in Panchmahals were eloquent about how they are inculcating discipline into the younger elements of Desar with their training programme. On the other hand, Baroda police officers sarcastically ask how four months' training can convert hardened criminals. Says one: "They are being trained to be guards assisting the police in villages. In fact, they might use the training to intensify their criminal activities."

The apprehensions of the Baroda police appear to be well-founded. The villagers show no sign of changing their ways. In the last three months they have instead stepped up their activities. Says Kuldip Sharma, the district superintendent of police, Baroda: "I have been restraining myself as plans to reform them were being made. But as they are continuing, I will have to tackle them."

Police officers in Panchmahals also readily admit that raids on Desar village seldom yield dividends. The villagers have a strategic advantage as Desar is situated on top of a hillock and anyone approaching the village can easily be spotted. There have been several occasions when armed police contingents have been beaten back repeatedly by a shower of arrows descending on them from the village. Last year, 50 armed policemen who tried to enter Desar to investigate a dacoity in Palaj in Broach district were forced to return without entering the village. The villagers also vary their tactics from time to time. Early this year, a police party entered the village after a dacoity but found that all the menfolk in the village had vanished.

Desar children: destined to follow a life of crime

Police Involvement: Even when they are caught, the villagers of Desar seldom divulge their secrets during interrogation and are said to have withstood severe beatings. It is also rumoured that there have been several instances when Desar villagers have been shot dead during encounters. But the villagers have never uttered a word about this and instead quietly bury their dead.

In the majority of cases it is alleged that the police get their share of the booty. Official protection is not lacking from other quarters. Sarpanches and other local village officials are also said to be hand in glove with the criminals, helping them both with information and to sell stolen goods.

Many of the criminals who have surrendered to the police have been let off lightly. They were released on bail and tried simultaneously for several cases. As the sentences ran concurrently, most were let off lightly. Sharma justifies the light sentences, quoting the recommendations of the National Police Commission that criminals who surrender should be treated leniently. Sharma has taken his own steps to prevent the Desar ra posted an armed policema the 22 villages which are o ed by the Desar criminals.

The villagers of De certain rituals and obse taboos. For one thing, th tremely careful not to lay on women. However, in years numerous cases of are reported to have been by the younger members o Besides this, the tribe obser other rules. Before Indepe always took scrupulous ca rob any village in the Baroda state. This was th showing their respect for wads who ruled the state. have amended their princip the altered times and they d any village in Panchmahals

Rigid Rituals: They al certain rituals religiously. A before they raid a village down for several hours a potent local brew made in Their method of attack is ably the same. Before looti they make discreet inquiri The attack itself is alway after dark. The raiding usually about 50-strong a out on foot, armed with bows a On reaching the village to be r take up positions and start scre howling. They follow this u shower of stones.

For all their efforts there i about the extreme poverty of th Crime, in this case, does not se The villagers wear tattered c their modest homes show no s loot from their crimes. Says Nayak, the local schoolteache were robbers, we would be palatial mansions not mud h police however, say that th are extremely cautious not to with the loot on them, and di quickly.

The villagers of Desar ask should do if they stop thievin an extremely underdevelope Much of the agricultural land the villagers lies fallow for wan Miabhai, the deputy sarpanch, that the villagers will never giv ing until they have a viable And a really satisfactory alter like the half-hearted ineffecti schemes that the Government pted so far, does not seem to h in the offing.

—RAMESH M

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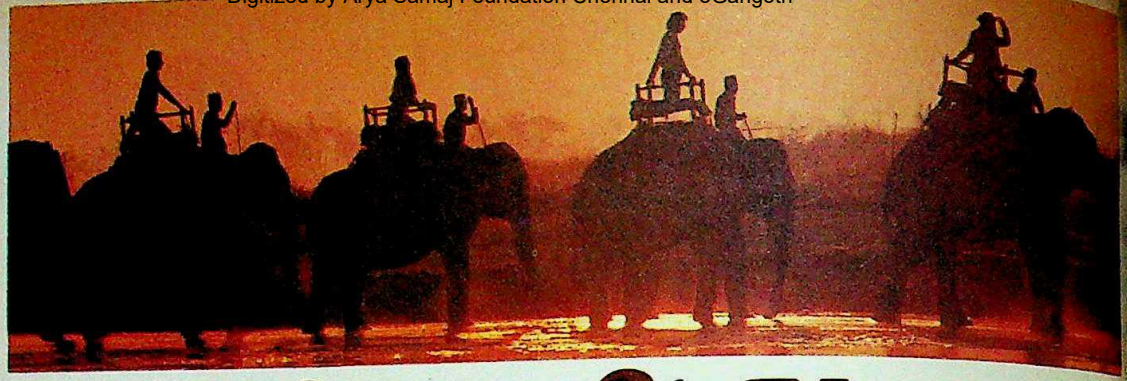

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iving The Legend

ector: Sir Richard

Kingsley, Rohini Hattan- Fox, Roshan Seth, John ells and others

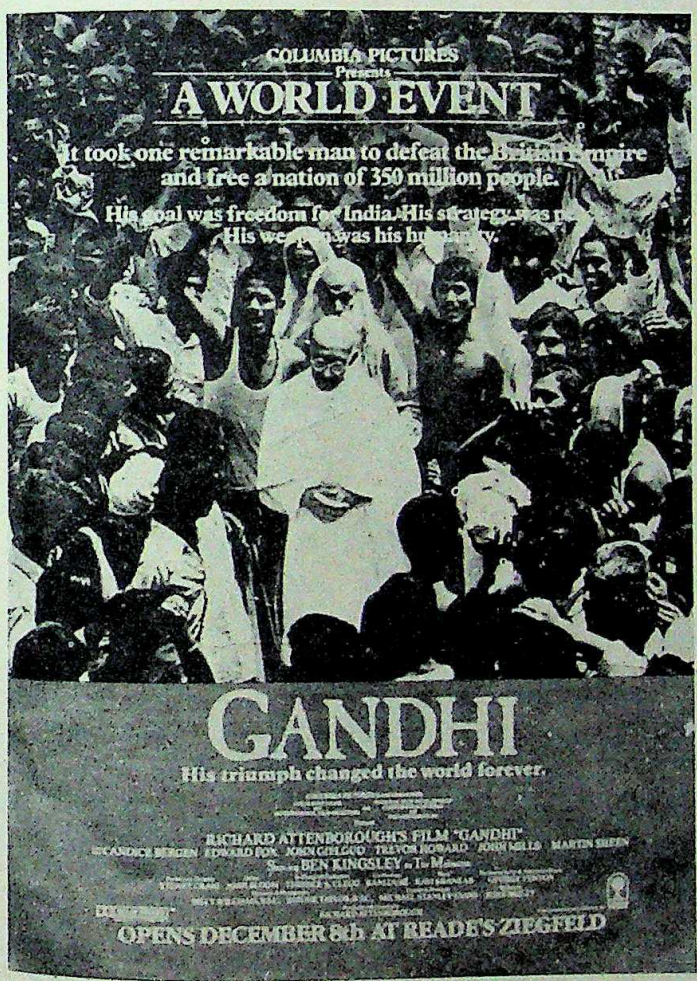
edicated to Motilal Ko- Mountbatten Of Burma, ft Jawaharlal Nehru wi- inspiration, un- y and faith it ave been made. can be encom- elling. There is e each year its ti, to include ch person who ge a lifetime. done is to be rt to the record l one's way to e man.

PENING dedi- is possibly the ew in an other- ear-perfect mas- last thing Sir rough needed to rt with an apo- has he succeeded ngy to the heart a quite likely to found his way millions around

few minutes of viewer between usic is tense and mera moves with ned uncertainty ent to happen. olves the tre- ent of how to beginning to end without with a dreary "Once upon lked on this earth....." orchestrated beginning is by nudge blasé American ing up and realising they to experience an ordinary

to detail is superb. The ion between Nathuram blades, the tension be- fore the assassination and Gandhi's last words, "Hey Ram," are moments when few Indians will be able to watch without being utterly emotionally shaken. It is a stirring, gentle film—with tremendous good feeling and tenderness, the tempo quick enough for audiences to not always recover from the previous frame before being catapulted into the next one.

Multi-faceted Man: The birth of the non-violent movement in South Africa is shown with Gandhi far more self-assured and confident than he himself wrote about in his *My Experiments With Truth*. His relationship with his children is certainly glossed over, whereas it was well-known that he was an indifferent, exacting and often cruel father. But Attenborough was wise to remove the chaff. By ignoring his major idiosyncrasies, the director has been able to zero in on Gandhi's philosophy.



An advertisement for *Gandhi*: slick marketing

In an argument with his wife Kasturba when she refuses to clean toilets in his ashram, Gandhi is shown losing his temper with her stubbornness. Her quiet "You are only human" exposes the multi-faceted frustrations of the man who struggled hard to measure up to his often impossible ideals. Mercifully, we are spared Gandhi's experiments with celibacy, but Attenborough does not fail to show that Gandhi was constantly surrounded, pampered and coddled by attractive women.

Some critics will say that Attenborough has glorified the man and, in a manner, that is true. But, at many points he is shown helpless, with his share of human faults. It also becomes clear that towards the end of Gandhi's life he had reached a stage where he was aghast at his lack of control over Hindu-Muslim mobs. Furthermore, he is shown baffled by the ego-ridden politics of the Congress Party and as envisioning an India that the people were either not ready for or disagreed with.

Fine Portraits: The continuity is exacting, with props, costumes, and sets changing as the film spans 55 years of Gandhi's life. The acting is impeccable and it is expected that Ben Kingsley, who plays the Mahatma, will be nominated for an Academy Award next February. Roshan Seth is extraordinary as Jawaharlal Nehru, overwhelmed by Gandhi and yet exasperated with his mentor's vision of India which did not match his own. If anyone had any grounds for complaint it would be Jinnah's admirers. He is depicted from a totally Indian point of view—fanatically ambitious, arrogant and narrow-minded.

Although the major characters are played by Indians, Attenborough was astute enough to use Hollywood names as guest stars, whose appearances last only a few minutes. Their names in the advertisements will not only prove box-office draws, but the presence of Candice Bergen, Edward Fox, Sir John Gielgud, Trevor Howard, John Mills and Martin Sheen

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does lend a certain stature to the film.

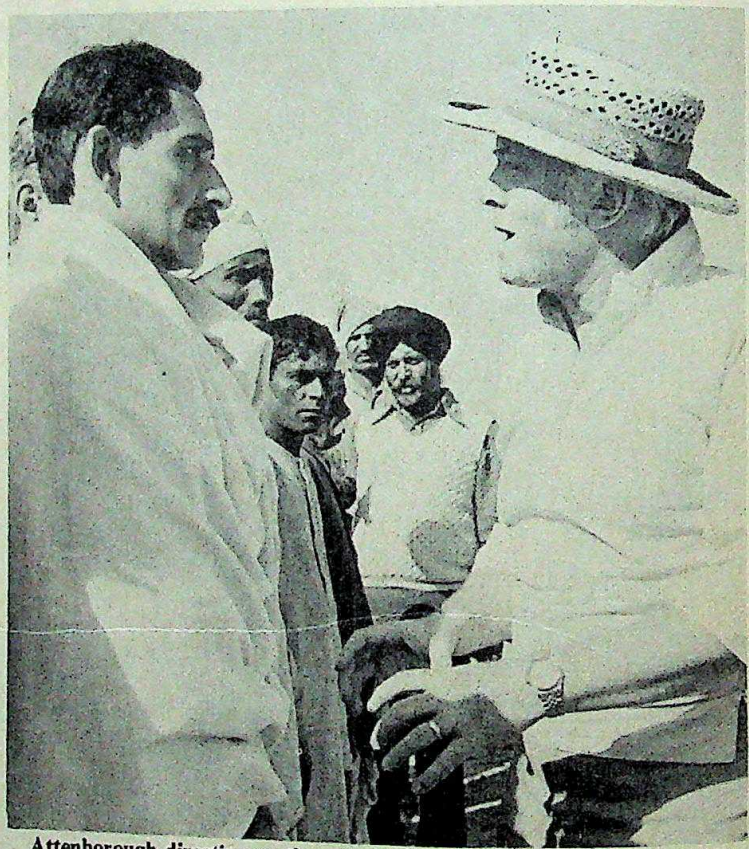
And that is Attenborough's greatest success. Not only has he been loyal to Gandhi's philosophy and Indian detail, he has understood the necessity to package, market and deliver it to western audiences with the slick professionalism required. In short, he has taken the best of both worlds, East and West, and merged them to produce an epic that should become required viewing in all schools and colleges.

Smooth Production: Of course, there is resentment over an Englishman being given money by the National Film Development Corporation of India (NFDC), but it is difficult to name any Indian producer or director who would be able to truly internationalise the product enough to reach a world market. In any case, NFDC will get one-third of the film's profits. The end result should pave the way to bury petty criticisms and envy. Secondly, almost every Indian views Gandhi as a personal experience, accompanied by a heavy baggage of personal prejudice to people and events of that time. Such a perspective would have obscured and diluted the strength of Gandhi's philosophy.

The director's control of the crowd scenes is phenomenal. The Jallianwala Bagh massacre, where thousands had to be told when, where and how to fall, must have been a director's nightmare. Yet it is flawless. Gandhi's funeral cortége, which involved bringing in 98,000 people from neighbouring towns, finally involving 350,000, is possibly one of the largest crowd scenes ever filmed: Seven weeks of rehearsal; and there was no turning back or stopping once it started. Attenborough said: "There's always some lunatic waving to his mummy at the back." In spite of such problems, it is hard to find a frame that does not support the film.

Attenborough was recently in New York and said: "Mrs Gandhi has been a guardian of the project. She made no demands but made three small suggestions. One was the foreword, secondly she pointed out a geographical fault and thirdly, she said that conversation between Gandhi and Kasturba would have been far more formal at that time." But, he added, she did say: "The Government will not approve your screenplay. The movie is your artistic creation and you must make it as you want to make it."

WHEN two-thirds of the film was made, the 'Majors' of Hollywood were invited to a screening. Attenborough said: "I had the most shameful reaction. I was delighted that they all bid for it!" The Indian version will have nine minutes more than the three hours and 27 minutes in the English cut. These are moments that would be particularly relevant to Indians.



Attenborough directing on the sets of *Gandhi*: a message for the West

The last four months were spent dubbing the movie in Hindi. Said the director: "Although it was a frightfully difficult task, there was an enormous justification for the dubbing. The English language film can only play in a few major cities. The take is miniscule whereas Hindi films make an absolute fortune."

This is an exceptionally long film. However, Attenborough said: "It depresses me immensely that there are sections that should be in there that are not." From the rough cut only six minutes ended up on the cutting room floor. What did those six minutes contain? "One or two scenes we misjudged," says Atte "We thought they were necessary Gandhi's relationships. But as said, 'My life is my message,' and that did not touch upon him or reactions to him, we ruthlessly cu

More than anything else borough believes in the rele Gandhi to today: "If we see wha on in Ireland and the Middle apply Gandhi's statement, I ha for every religion in the world great relevance. I wanted to mak because he does present a sol sides being a fantastic human attitudes and views are so wor consideration."

American

How do you sell lion (Rs 20.9 about a "little b in a loin cloth" ration which k or nothing abou an event", says M tonowsky, presid tribution at Col tures. He adds: "I der 30 do not Gandhi is. We grass roots m aware of who this

More than "this man" will ed or reissued end of the ye them Attenboro *In Search Of* INDIA TODAY, No where he tells th how *Gandhi* co made. In the months the film reened for confe conventions inc National Confere men at Work, w be presented by ghts champion Steinem, who Gandhi a hero. Also on the list: can Library Association and the Association of Social Studies Te

All the premières in the US sored by UNICEF. President Ron and Nancy Reagan attended Washington. In London, Prince C Diana watched the première an President Zail Singh and Mrs G the guests. The proceeds from the première went to UNICEF, the H Nivaran Sangh and the Gandhi Leprosy Foundation. In Lond cipients were: Jawaharlal Nehru Trust, the Mountbatten Me

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Club of Great Britain.

Projects: UNICEF will also be with Michael Reese, director and field operations, for a $12 million (Rs campaign. Reese insists will be "low-key" and "in keeping with the Gandhi spread the message: "It live in peace" emblazoned and decals. 'Gandhi' khadi, pals will be promoted. is also aimed at children. Footsteps" will be one of projects in the form of an winner from each grade teachers will be ferried free India. Students and teachers locations and visit some of figured in Gandhi's life. educational kit for high cassettes, film strips. classroom material is an to take advantage of group mbia thinks colleges are a plans to hit them directly. of endowing a chair at a in Gandhi's name is being film's sound-track features music; as he has a follow- the album should do well. sage: All in all, American bined with a unique social make *Gandhi* a winner. president of domestic distri- bia Pictures, predicts that Academy Award nomi- important slot and will for every top slot, starting The film's main competitor Award function in next cted to be *E.T.* Kingsley's ally far more attractive than transformation from a onial lawyer to a national fascinating. Attenborough e used Gandhi's quixotic to provide some very nec- ts in the film. The slogan me" will vie with the from the film: "An eye for the whole world blind." world, where aggressive- couraged but considered considered chic and a and power, Attenborough proposed that the submis- that Gandhi spoke about day's world as a position So, besides being a epic will reach and time when nuclear dis- cry for peace is becom- of the decade.

—MADHU TREHAN

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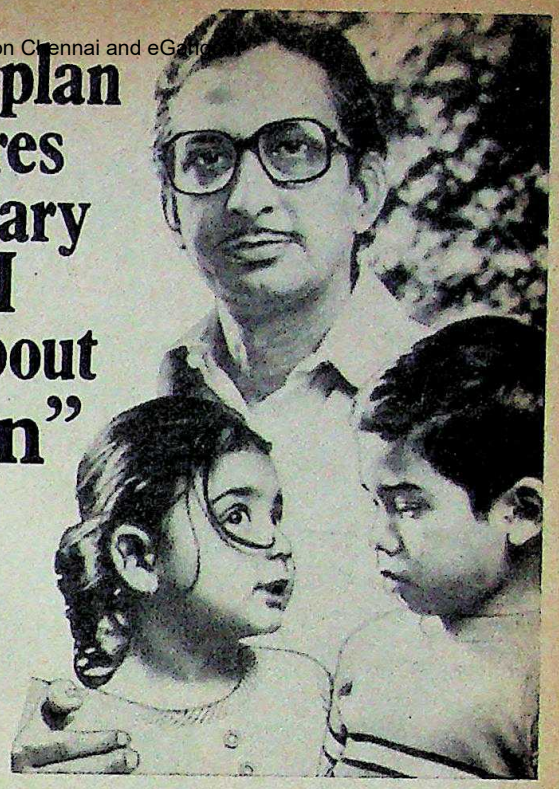

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POLICY

Too Little Too Late

THE IX ASIAD seems to have had a catalytic effect on the Government. Just before the Games opened, the Tourism Ministry, on November 3, filled one major lacuna and presented in the Rajya Sabha the first-ever tourism policy. The policy, which seems to be long on sentiment and short on specifics, has had a very mixed reception from the industry. The hoteliers called it "no policy at all" while the travel trade looked more to the positive side and heaved a collective sigh of relief that there was "a policy at last". The Minister for Tourism, Khurshid Alam Khan, said enigmatically: "Milton's *Paradise Lost* is appreciated by all, read by none. And so it is with the policy."

Pramod Pushkarna

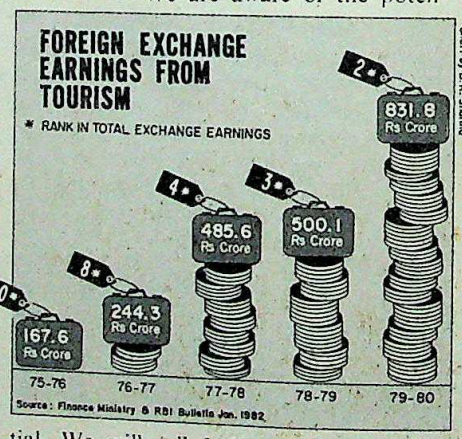
Khan: selling India

The policy at least signifies that the Government is at last willing to give the tourism industry the attention it deserves. According to the Finance Ministry's Economic Survey (1981–82) tourism as a foreign exchange earner has shot up from the tenth to the second position from Rs 167.6 crore in 1975–76 to Rs 831.8 crore in 1979–80 (*see chart*). Even so, the fact remains that India has not been getting a fair share of the world tourist traffic. In 1951, of the 25 million world tourist traffic, India got 16,829 or 0.066 per cent. In 1981, though the world figures increased to 290 million India received just 8.53 lakh or 0.44 per cent—of this, 4.27 lakh came from Pakistan and Bangladesh. Though the policy statement takes note of the Finance Ministry's report, it makes no attempt to analyse the cause for the country's poor share of world traffic.

Resort Image: The main thrust of the policy seems to be aimed at presenting India to the foreigner as the ultimate holiday resort. To do this, the Tourism Ministry intends to take full advantage of the oft-repeated national slogan "unity in diversity" and offer the country's multi-faceted heritage as well as promoting the many resort areas. So far the western tourist has concentrated on the South-east Asian countries for pleasure resorts.

By not selling India as a holiday destination, the country is steadily losing out on the most lucrative of tourist groups: the white-collar, 30–45 year age group that has now come into the big spender category. The Americans of this group, the best barometer for tourism, have dropped from 79,390 in 1978 to 73,399 in 1980 and the decline continues. This is the group that finds better facilities in other South-east Asian countries, as what they are interested in is relaxation, not the usual sight-seeing circuit.

Said S.N. Chib, the first director-general of tourism: "Next door in Sri Lanka the official statistics reveal that the main motivation of 90 per cent of the visitors is pleasure, which mainly consists of a seaside holiday. We have 5,000 km of sea coast with plenty of beaches still to be developed. Thailand's major resort, Pattaya, is overcrowded with 4,000 hotel rooms and they are now planning to develop an off-shore island, Phuket. Malaysia has a flourishing resort in Penang on the west coast and is now promoting its east coast." Retorts Khan: "We are aware of the potential. We will sell Indian culture, monuments, wild life and performing arts along with the holiday destination. But if you want Bangkok, with its sex life, I will not provide it."



The most encouraging thing to emerge from the policy is the proposal that might well give tourism the status of an export industry. This will not only attract the private sector to the trade, another avowed intention of the policy, but will also give the industry fiscal and other incentives. The hoteliers, however, were busy carping at the delay in declaring this benefit. But before this is done it seems they will have to have a little more to give. Said Khan: "I would be glad to work out incentives, but will the hoteliers lower their tariffs?" This view shared by most people. Said client of a five-star hotel: Government removed the the 15 per cent surcharge, included it in their price."

New Trends: Another to try and develop the traffic Asian countries starting with one end and Iran at the other. focus on Pakistan, Maldives. Another step being taken is industry into two distinct the Central Government take the foreign tourists and the after the interests of domestic are plans afoot to provide hostels to promote travel young.

The ministry has also adopt a selective approach to and concentrate at first on could make up a tourist circ guideline will be to concentrate that will generate the most

Surprisingly, the policy on the one lacuna that has industry all through—amenit compete with rival countries one such area, Chairman Agents Association of India says: "What the tourist sti glass of wine at the end of the in all hotels a bottle of wine 290) and beer costs $2.50 and beer are table drinks a available at reasonable Sharma, a leading tour oper problem as being one of imb by "financial and physical co more so because of the la management in planning". Khanna, senior vice-presid Oberoi group of hotels: "Big are fine but why doesn't the do the small things imm streamlining the Custom and so that arrival in India does traumatic experience?"

The general consensus is that the time has come mation of some kind of orga prising ministry officials and bers of the industry to guara some independence. Most viewed the policy statement start that would provide the guidelines before any formal started. Khan, however, feels on the basis of this policy should be able to achieve the million tourists by 1985. But mply the question of numbers needs is to encourage the nds liberally to make the lucrative than it is.

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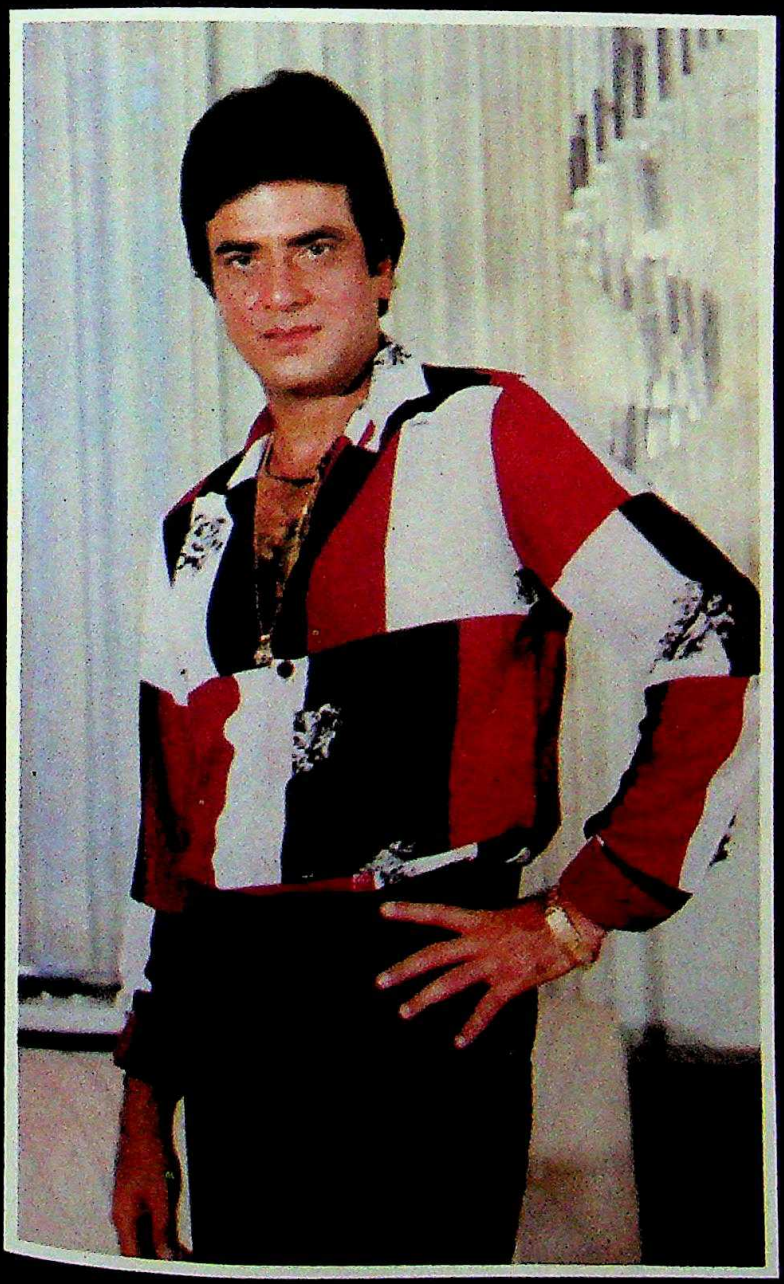

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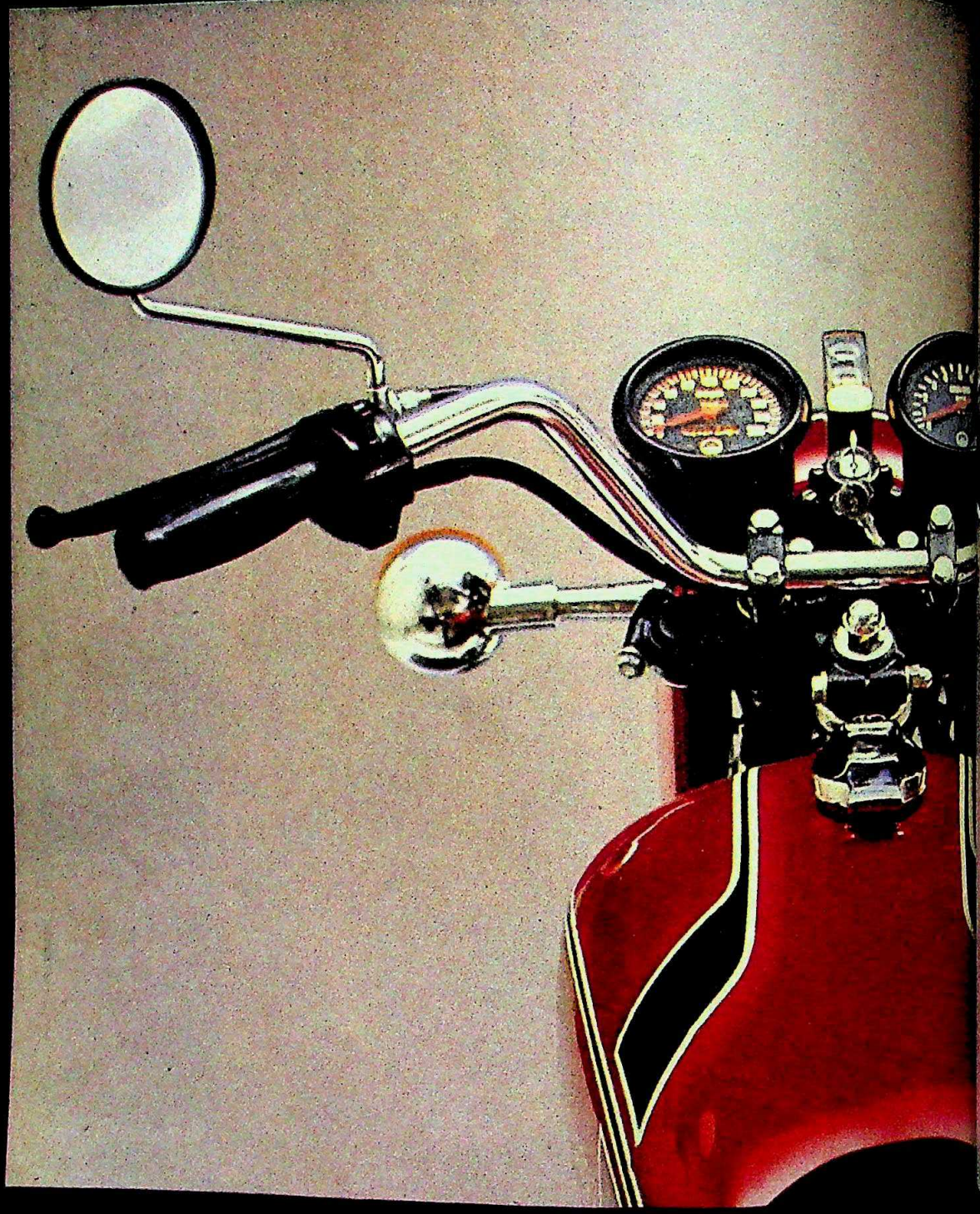

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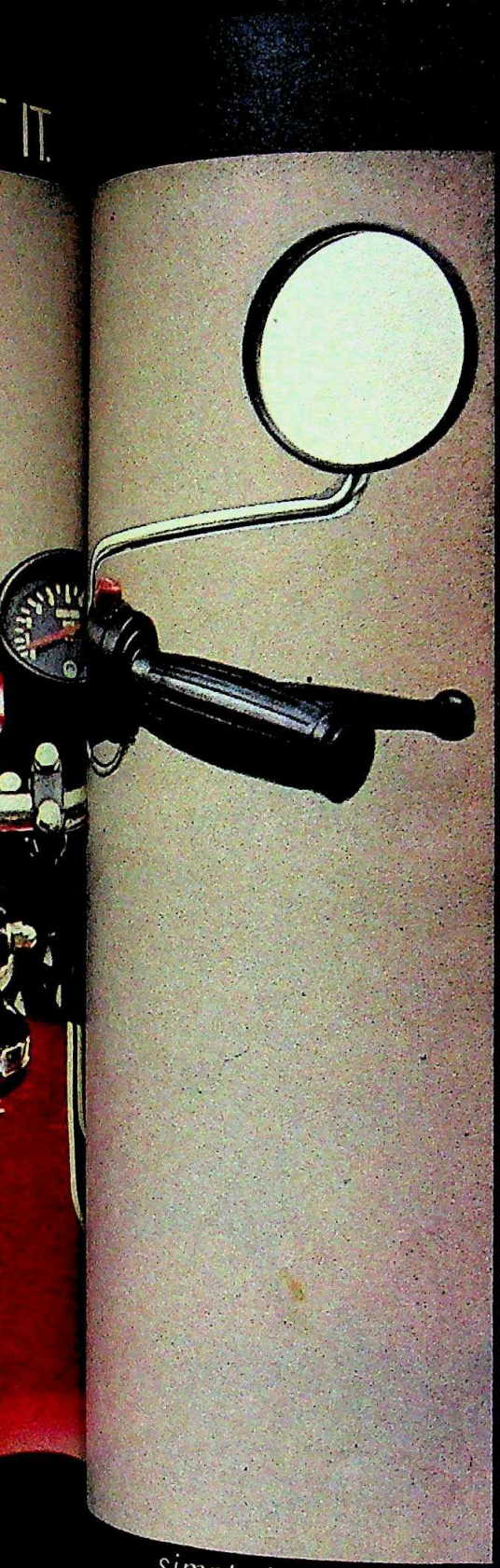

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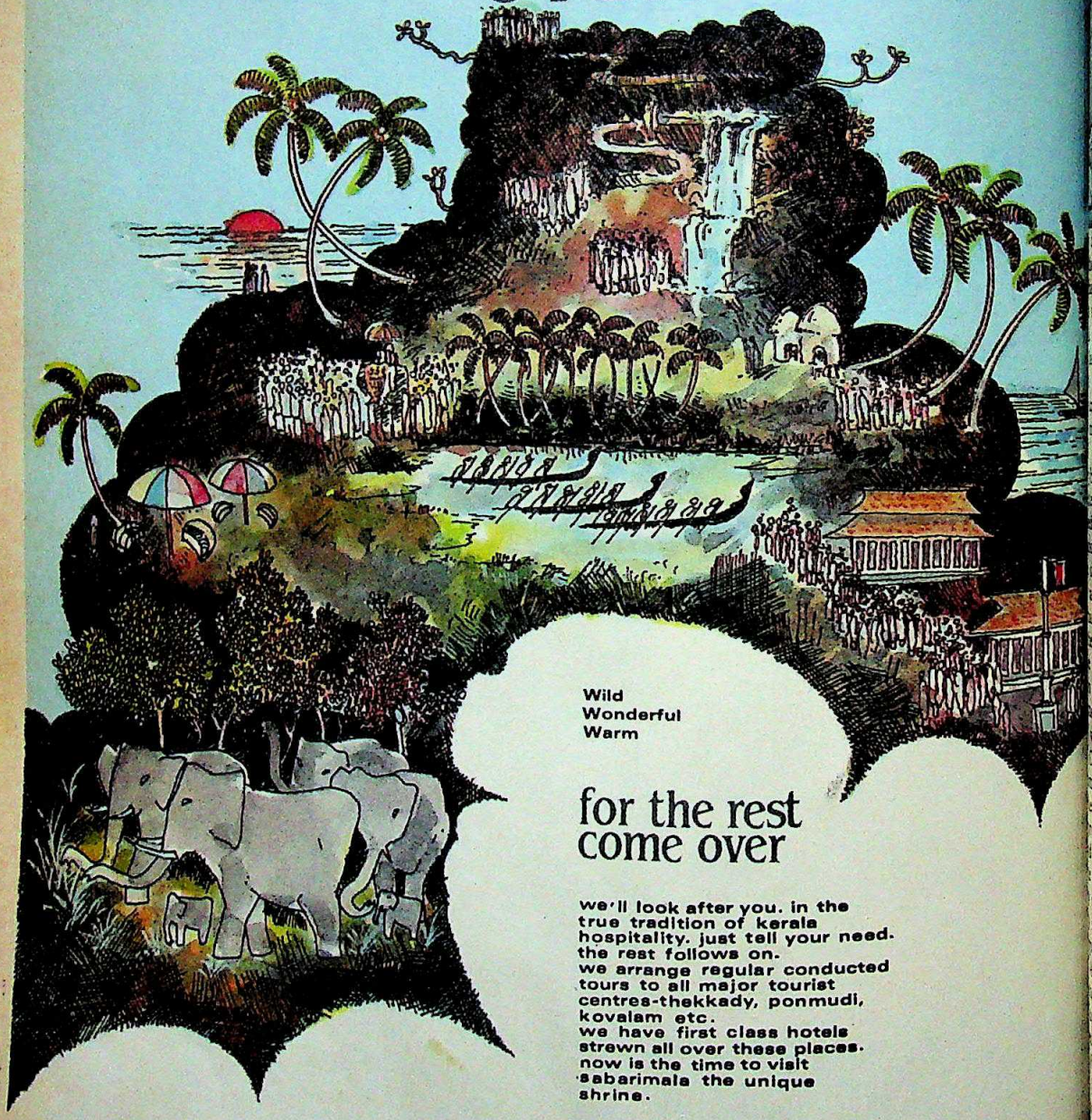

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Side

HOCKEY
Olympian

ages: 89

"VICTORY has a thousand fathers and defeat is an orphan." That was an American President, John F. Kennedy, on international crises, but he could as easily have been referring to the vagaries of Indian hockey. The description fit. But the sport has demonstrated the statement as forcibly as solitary and sporadic claim time.

the '60s, hockey west, no-much for hockey body re-ai with nimbly wagon. jump in sud-mpagne roses players to par-e story with the up win pur in heady ed momentary and the trick-passing once again over the actual sport.

now an all-too-familiar lit-side of Indian hockey has ed so naked as in the auto-Aslam Sher Khan, former and architect of India's win. Khan's is the kind story that probably holds the country's hockey stars, to feel so powerfully and the wheeling-dea-the sport to put it into a literary terms, that per-of judgment. The passion strong and too overpo-for any literary preten-

Sher Khan in Kuala Lumpur in 1975: treading on toes

sions. But that, in the final analysis, is probably the only way that a book of this type could have achieved some impact. Though crudely crafted, it is nonetheless a straight-from-the-gut, no-holds-barred account of the struggle of a highly talented athlete to claw his way to the top of the heap, and the pitfalls and politics that eventually dictate his every move.

Daring Revelations: Starting with Khan's baptism into hockey, when he was dropped from the Bhopal team in the nationals because he refused to go to bed with the 55-year-old coach of the team, the author takes the reader on a sordid and sweat-stained sojourn into the tortured maze that represents the state of sports in this country. The politics of the selection process—Khan was the first Muslim hockey player to play against Pakistan, 27 years after Independence; its fickleness—he was dropped from the team immediately after a match-winning performance; and its illogicality—he is perhaps the only Olympian to have played as a full-back, a wing-half and a forward, all in the same tournament.

Khan dismisses the selectors as "chauvinistic bastards" for their petty parochial interests and cites some telling instances of the depths to which hockey officialdom is capable of unabashedly plunging. In fact, Khan's book, for all its slim look, is not just a side-swipe at the powers-that-are but a constant barrage of literary body-blows.

Those looking for lengthy descriptions of historic matches and revelations on the finer points of the games will be disappointed. Only at one point does Khan make the significant observation that "we are taught to dodge and dribble but no great emphasis is ever placed on scoring". For the rest, *To Hell With Hockey* is essentially a personal testimony to the dark side of Indian hockey, a side that few people have so far had the courage to expose. Aslam Sher Khan is certainly never going to get a government-sponsored job or that of a coach in this country; he has stepped on too many sensitive toes for that. But if the sordid revelations in *To Hell With Hockey* make even the most miniscule impact on the way the game is run, it will be Aslam Sher Khan's greatest contribution to the game.

—DILIP BOBB

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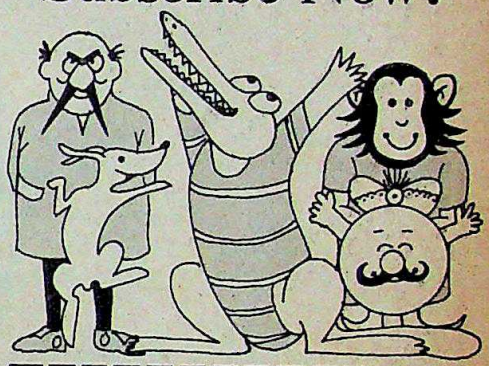

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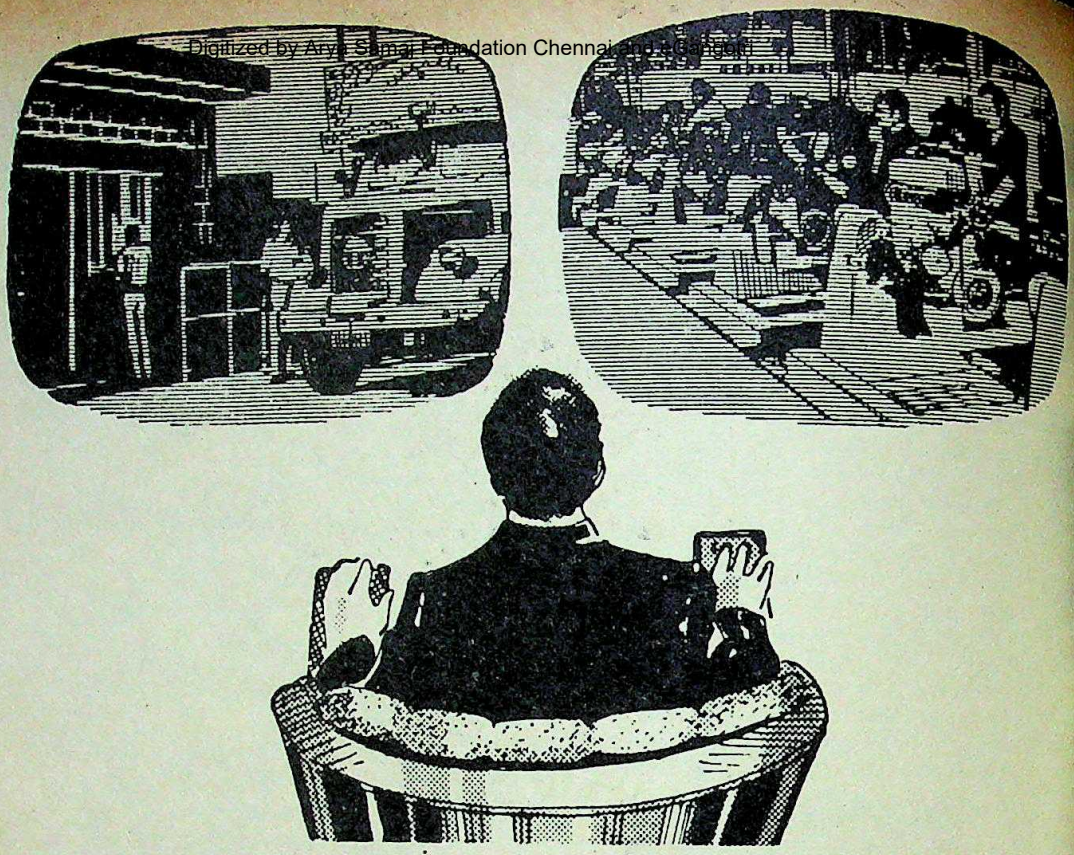

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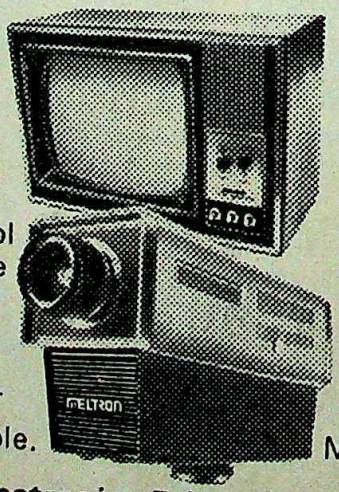

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ng In The Blanks

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OVER the last decade, volumes have been written on Indian women, their status and changing roles. But, there have been vast areas of neglect as well, where the changing social structures have seldom been related to the emancipa- Author Promilla Kapur's ne effort to try and plug holes.

k on adolescent girls tra- f social and economic cha- ode of parents towards s, at the same time trying fect of the freedom and nities on the daughters. nselling and teaching ex- deals with the physiologi- of girls and notes that the ication between the pa- ts on basic issues such as can lead to misunder- sentments.

s out that the orthodox ns are more valuable than becomes a conflict point daughter relationships. d legislative changes, dis- mes and is reflected in s of customs and rituals d the performance of last son in the family.

this social milieu, little is ughters in terms of acad- financial responsibilities. d to limit their academic traditional occupations prepare themselves for a demanding domesticity. oles for women, Kapur y lead to conflict, with men to exercise greater sions.

pur's study draws atten- problems, she, however, evant comparative ana- conflicts between parents other than in India. causes of familial con- ong for the joint family that preserved certain norms, values and culture, and for the non-working mother, reflects precisely such dualities. She also blames lack of religious or moral training in homes for the gradual disintegration of social values, which she feels could help to bridge the "attitudinal lag" between daughters and parents, brought about by education and new economic opportunities. Till that happens, women will still be expected to conform to the preferred role in society rather than have control over their life options.

—SHAHIDA LATEEF

Formula Quickie

A FAMILY AFFAIR
by VED MEHTA
Sangam Books
Price: Rs 35; Pages: 166

THERE must be by now a standard formula for producing quickies on India by, and for, foreigners. As soon as you arrive, you make a beeline to the nearest library, possibly Sapru House, spend some time going over the clippings, make notes of the more juicy stories and quotes, interview a few newspapermen for background, and then call on a couple of politicians for long question and answer sessions. String the whole thing together with fancy chapter headings, preferably with staunchly Indian motifs—elephants, peacocks—and the book is ready for the market.

One expected Ved Mehta to do better. He has after all been writing on India for nearly a score of years, having graduated from walking the streets to the prime minister's office during that period. Roughly two-thirds of the book, a racy account of the weird goings-on immediately before, during and after the Janata regime, consists of quotes and excerpts from newspapers and magazines (including, of course, INDIA TODAY), with great chunks of editorials and other matter thrown in for good measure. Mehta's own contribution seems slight, almost negligible, for he apparently met only two principal actors in the drama: Morarji Desai and Raj Narain, and they have nothing new to say. It is rather thin gruel.

Mehta looks at the Indian political scene as an intricate web of family relationships, father and daughter (Nehru and Indira Gandhi), mother and son (Indira and Sanjay, and now Rajiv), father and son (Morarji Desai and Kanti), father-in-law and son-in-law (Charan Singh and his sons-in-law) and husband and wife (nearly everybody). Fair enough, but he gives only one side of the story in each case. We read what Morarji has to say but not Kanti's reply, which seems unfair. There is a full account of the Maruti scandal but Sanjay Gandhi's version of the story is missing.

Mehta seems to have drawn a complete blank so far as the Gandhi household is concerned. He did not, or could not, meet any of its family members and is reduced to retailing saucy bazar gossip and tittle-tattle which might make amusing reading in tabloids and magazines—which is probably where most of the stuff in the book first appeared—but hangs loose in a hard-cover book. There are all kinds of stories, including one about Mrs Gandhi's visit to the site of the plane crash immediately after Sanjay's death to look for his watch, which apparently carried his (or her) Swiss account number. However, although Mehta did not meet Mrs Gandhi, he may have been present at a private dinner party where she was the chief guest. "She talked mostly about how difficult it was for her to find a good cook, how problematic it was to grow avocados in India and how children these days did not get enough homework." Interesting.

However, the book should do well on the cocktail circuits of Maharani Bagh, New Delhi, and the high-rise apartments of Malabar Hill, Bombay. Mrs Gandhi on Rajiv's birth: "As I was eating, Rajiv came out. I was so sorry I couldn't finish the toast." And there is this delightful passage from an editorial:

> Sanjay was an extraordinarily handsome man, bubbling over with youthfulness and he came of noble lineage. He could be regarded as pure Aryan, his Kashmiri mother being Indo-Aryan and his Zoroastrian (Parsi) father being Indo-Iranian in origin. In India, high birth, good looks and youthfulness are the traditional qualifications for a hero, and Sanjay stood apart from the commonality of people as a prince.

Two guesses where this mush came from. *The Times of India*, where else?

—JAY DUBASHI

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INSAT 1A

Moonstruck Satellite

"A COMPLEX interplay of relatively minor spacecraft deficiencies and unforeseen events, each of which under normal circumstances was extremely unlikely to cause a catastrophe," said the press release issued last month (November) by the Department Of Space (DOS), summarising the findings of the Failure Review Committee (FRC) set up by the Indian Government to investigate INSAT 1A's premature death.

Shed of all its jargon, the statement simply meant that a few minor erroneous steps taken while commanding the spacecraft on September 4 made India's first operational satellite take a giant leap into oblivion. As a DOS scientist in Bangalore expressively put it: "Small fires joined to make a big fire and brought the house down."

Lunar Mischief: Ironically, the moon turned out to be the villain of the piece, triggering off what the DOS calls "some deficiencies in ground control software, lacunae in contingency operations procedures and unexpected onboard anomalies", causing "events to cascade in about 1 hour and 16 minutes, culminating in the spacecraft being shut down."

What was initially thought by some of the 19-member FRC to be a lot of "moonshine" when the theory was first put forward, became the most plausible cause, after three weeks of intensive analysis of the data available and discussions with four senior NASA (National Aeronautics and Space Administration) advisers who were present during the meetings. The exact reasons and the sequence of events that led to INSAT 1A's failure would be known once the FRC puts its orange-cover report before Parliament when it convenes soon.

But from the information contained in the press release, peppered with technical jargon, and talks with tight-lipped DOS scientists, it was a series of "unexpected happenings" occurring almost simultaneously that put paid to INSAT 1A's ambitious life. Said one exasperated scientist: "With a little bit of hindsight we could have averted the disaster."

It was on September 4, the Disaster Day for INSAT as it is called, that the computer programme at the Master Control Facility (MCF) in Hassan failed to predict the intrusion of a bright moon into the earth sensor of the satellite. The infrared earth sensors are used to lock the satellite to the earth; but with the satellite unexpectedly picking up light from the moon, it confused the attitude control system, resulting in the loss of what is technically called "its earth lock."

The reason for the computer's failure to anticipate the moon's intrusion is attributed to a routine yaw (rotary motion), built up because of the non-deployment of the solar sail. Because of the yaw, the sensors were scanning a much larger segment than the computer could predict, resulting in its failure to detect the moon's intrusion. But it was when the MCF was trying to regain attitude control of the satellite that a series of misfortunes occ

Blind Mode: One of the vi
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DOS scientists theorise th
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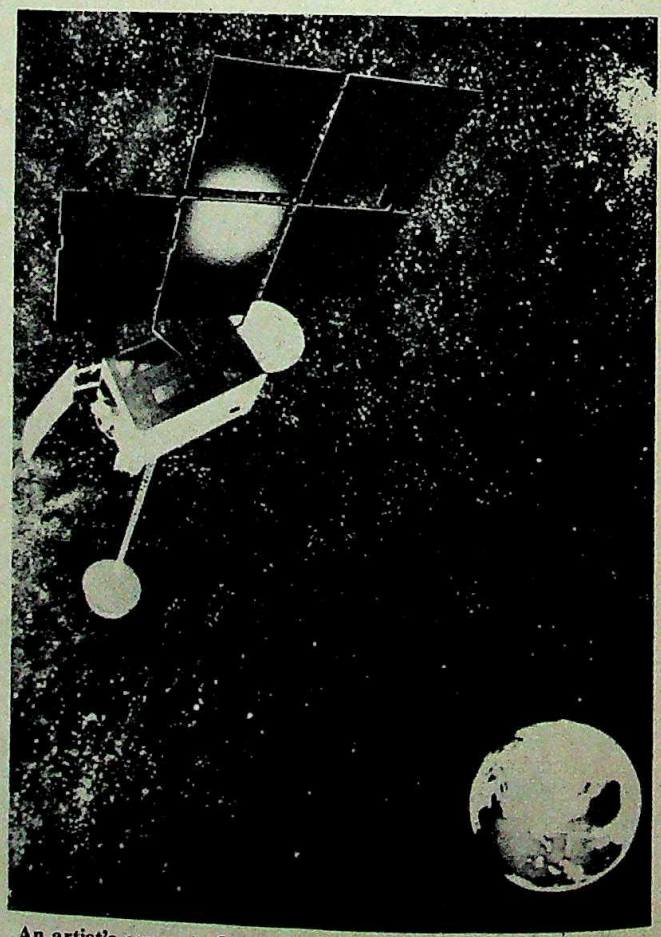

An artist's concept of INSAT-1A : victim of unexpected mishaps

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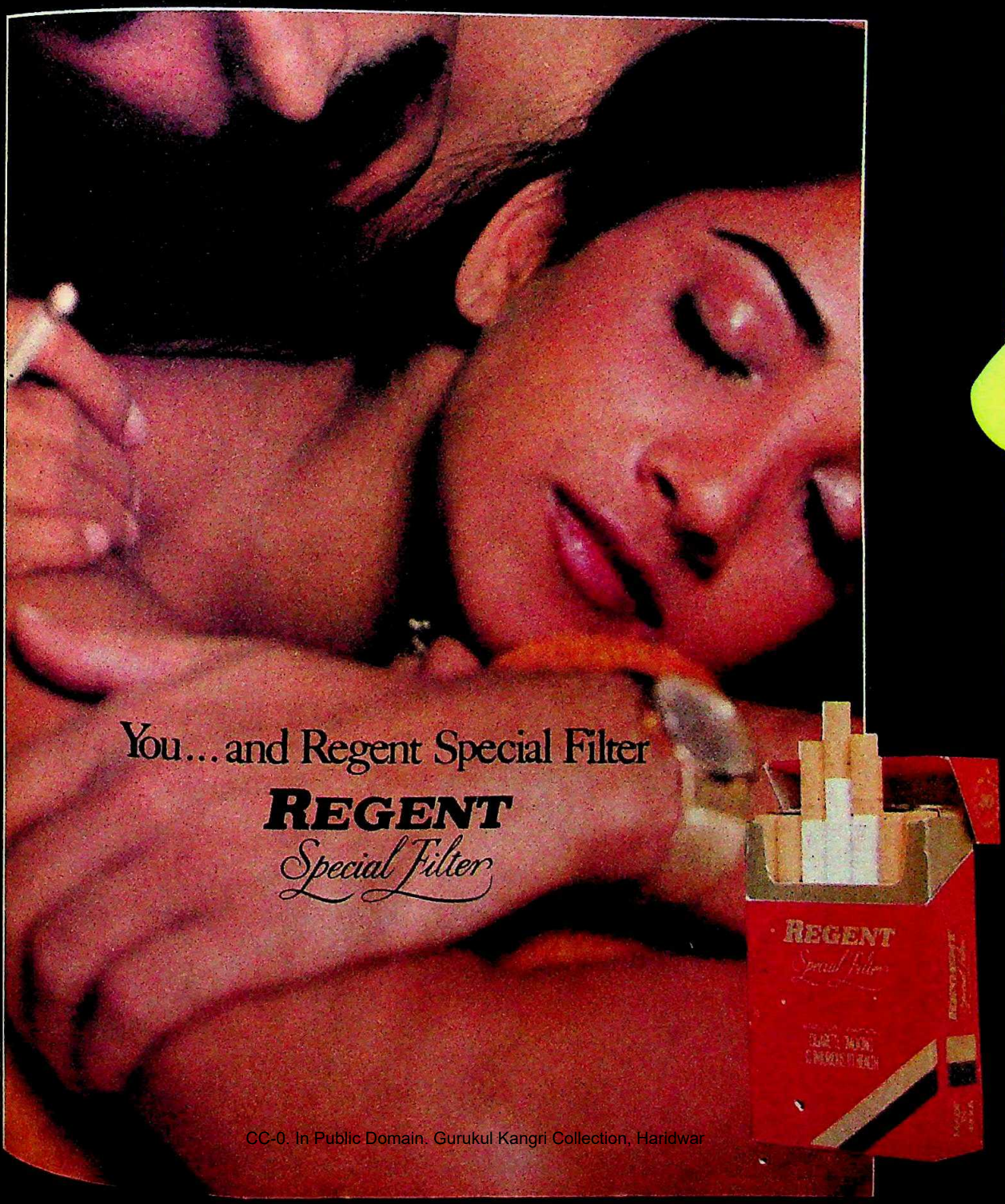
An Exclusive Affair



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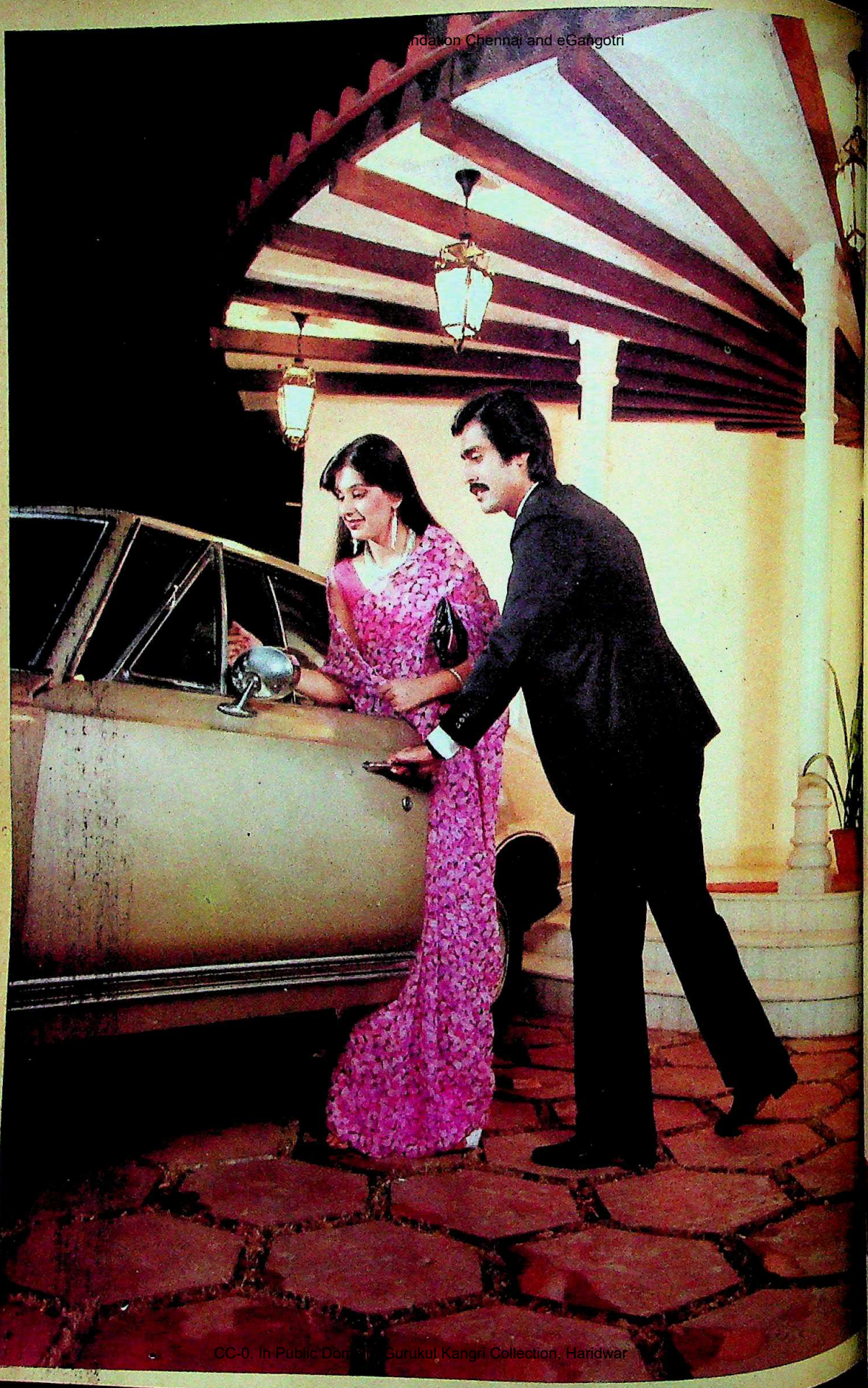

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valves circuit in the bi-propellant propulsion system.

This seemed to have had "a dissimilar effect" on the valves of the propulsion tanks. It closed the oxidiser valve, while the fuel valve remained open. The fuel cannot burn without the oxidiser in the combustion chamber, and as a result the entire quantity of 44 kg was drained out. Ground control had no idea of this development because they were operating on 'blind mode', and by the time they regained contact the damage had been done and INSAT 1A had to be shut down.

Making Sure: Both the DOS and the Ford Aerospace Communication Corporation (FACC) are "shaken up" by INSAT 1A's failure and they are now concentrating on eliminating all the defects in the second satellite, INSAT 1B, being built at Palo Alto, USA by FACC. It is scheduled to be launched on June 29, 1983 and is likely to be stationed exactly at the same position as INSAT 1A. Meanwhile, 1A is spinning in aimless circles, sketching an invisible eight in the sky; luckily, its likelihood of crashing into 1B when that is sent up is "extremely remote."

The most significant change in 1B is the incorporation of an automatic switch in the omni-directional telemetry to restore "earth lock", instead of utilising a ground command as in 1A. Also, the erring valves in the propulsion system are being modified. The computer programme is being redesigned so that it would immediately "flag off" faulty readings. Design modifications have also been incorporated into the solar sail boom assembly, which failed to deploy in 1A, as well as in the C band antenna which had opened out only later. Said a DOS scientist: "Our bird's failure in the sky has made us more cautious and has forced us to increase our surveillance. INSAT 1B *has* to be a success."

Meanwhile the DOS has advised the Government to purchase 1C, which was an optional satellite, and originally scheduled to be launched only in 1987. The department wants the third satellite to be sent up by 1985. It has ruled out advancing the schedule for building Proto-INSAT, which was to be a completely indigenous satellite to be sent up after 1987. The Government has now to decide whether to purchase another satellite from FACC (which is included in its contract as an optional) or to throw it open for global tender. One constraint is the time factor, as any tender would take a minimum of two years to be decided and would delay 1C considerably. Cautioned one scientist: "We need a backup satellite for 1B and the Government has to make a quick decision, or our schedules will be upset." —RAJ CHENGAPPA

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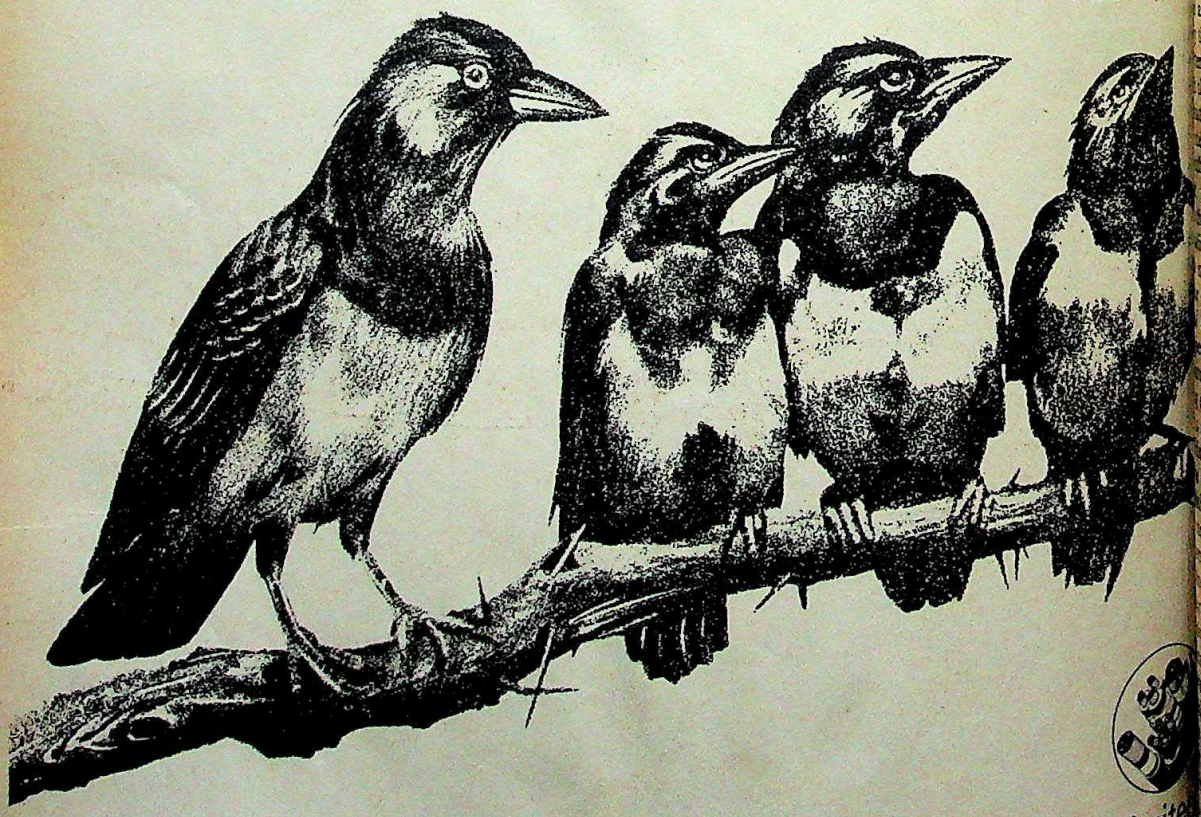

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ot In The Arm

WO RECENT production on Bombay's English ge could well change the e of theatre in India. en the state of English eatre here nothing could more welcome. Sylvester ction of Vijay Tendul- anslated into English by and Gieve Patel's *Savaksa* rategies but their achie- that of rooting Indian a local world.

e quixotic Nirad Chau- erved in his celebrated While an educated Indian speaks in private, and a mixed language, he is ted to write ish equivalent m Urdu has ppearance as age, although emergence." had pointed literature new to us. a bilingual as as far back as e Urdu poet *Rani Ketaki* the aim of de- good prose in chaste bout using a of Sanskrit e theatre col- m is nothing o such thing as purity of theatre," says Tendulkar. dramas in Marathi have king in Urdu and Farsi. eral. The audience will not e."

production of *Kamala* has nalism a stage further way middle class Indians with another language. a stray achievement but of a series of attempts In May 1969 Alyque d a 10-day workshop in of playwrights like Mehta and Nissim Eze- such as Pearl Padamsee in an attempt to try and ays for an Indian stage. the venture, Ezekiel had *Nalini*. Dina Mehta won a BBC award for one of her plays but it had little impact in India. DaCunha continued to experiment with local *ghati* accents in two revues, *I Love Bombay* and *It's Not Funny*, but they only generated the wrong sort of laughter.

Linguistic Diversity: *Kamala* is an examination of the moral issues raised by investigative journalism, and as such a topical enough play to attract the slick English audience. And its range of characters—Delhi-based journalists, Maharashtrian visiting uncle and servant, and a woman bought in Bihar by a journalist—afforded DaCunha the opportunity for linguistic diversity. Even in Tendulkar's original version three languages had been used—Punjabi, Marathi and Hindi—and the combination had worked. So DaCunha got Priya Adarkar to translate Tendulkar's script into plain grammatical English. (Except for conversations with the servant and the Bihari Kamala who only spoke Marathi and Hindi respectively.) Next, he picked a cast of professionals from the Marathi stage who could be relied upon to bring their own linguistic oddities to the plain text. In their hands the script changed radically. Syntactic inversions crept in! ("What Kamala is going to do here?" "When he is coming home?") So did interjections and exclamations in Marathi (*Pann*, did you have to buy a woman?" "*Jaoo dya ho*. Every time he meets me at a play or a reception he asks about you." "But you did, didn't you? *Bas zaale*.")

DaCunha's is an excellent production. This is partly because the standard of the professional cast—which includes the veteran Atmaram Bhende and stars like Vinay Apte and Sushas Joshi—is miles beyond that of the amateurs who usually clutter the English stage. But more importantly it is because the integration of several languages and the realism the local accents provide are so successful.

Playwright Gieve Patel pursues a different strategy in *Savaksa*. He is not interested in precisely reproducing the manner in which the middle class speaks, but in fashioning a language of his own using only English words but which is capable of expressing the fears and motives of his characters. In a prepared statement he says: "Very early on I rejected the idea of using Indian pidgin—I'm not interested in the errors made by some of my countrymen while using English. I'm interested in evoking maximally the expressiveness of their thought. For this reason I started to remould English, distorting its syntax and grammar, mauling it up, and attempted to bring it back to a new level of normalcy."

Scenes from *Kamala* (left) and *Savaksa*: multi-lingual achievement

Basic Strategy: It is a questionable strategy, though it must be admitted that the sheer novelty of *Kamala*'s language is responsible for some of its success and that does not please DaCunha. "On the first night," he confesses, "we got all the wrong laughs. People were embarrassed to hear that kind of English—particularly the accents—and their embarrassment came out in their laughter." But this novelty of 'mistakes' will soon wear off if such theatre comes to stay.

The basic strategy apart, *Savaksa* is the better play, quite possibly the first great English play to be written by an Indian. There is no simple moral debate in progress here, but a careful representation of conflicting forces and the checks they exercise on each other. In his first play *Princess* (1970), Patel had examined notions of possession; in *Savaksa* he turns his attention, with greater success, to domination.

Though Patel is 'on the whole' satisfied with Pearl Padamsee's production, it does come as a disappointment after such a magnificient script. Roger Periera who plays the title role, that of a Parsi landlord in Gujarat, sounds like Roger Periera declaiming Shakespeare, not a Parsi landlord raging as he watches his emotional territory dwindle. But a play of such magnitude cannot be forgotten and *Savaksa* is bound to be revived soon. English theatre in India has received a vital shot in the arm this year.

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EXPATRIATE ARTISTS

Acclaim At Last

THEY are a breed apart, a miniscule minority of India's vast expatriate population who live and work in the limelight of international recognition and acclaim. Curiously forgotten in the country of their origin, they have nonetheless gained a strong foothold in the once impenetrable international art world. Today, Indian artists living in Paris, New York, London and the lesser art centres of Switzerland and the Scandinavian countries have begun to make a splash on the exclusive art markets world-wide.

Exhibitions, museum showings and top rung sales of the works of Indian painters and artists living abroad have become increasingly common in recent years. Last April the Bronx Museum of the Arts in New York rung down the curtain on a five-month retrospective of prints by Krishna Reddy, the New York-based graphics artist who today ranks among the top printmakers in the world.

More recently, coinciding and competing with the official "Aditi" show, an exhibition at London's Barbican Centre focussed attention on a talented group of expatriate painters, led by Ibrahim Wagh, which calls itself Indian Artists in the UK (IAUK). And only last month a one-man show of avant-garde acrylic paintings by prolific Paris-based Indian S.H. Raza at the prestigious Loeb Gallery in Berne, was almost sold out within hours of its opening.

Growing Support: Recognition has not been restricted to art markets alone. Vishwanadhan, 42, a painter who has been experimenting with a number of new materials and art forms in Paris, was given a scholarship by the French Ministry of Culture to work on a project which involved the systematic collection of sand from every important beach in India, including the scene of Mahatma Gandhi's famous Salt March at Dandi, Mahabalipuram, Konarak and other stretches of the coastline. Early this year the effort, along with a helping hand by the Indian Council of Cultural Relations, resulted in an extended Paris exhibition of a series of sand paintings on canvas along with a film by Malayalam director Adoor Gopalkrishnan on how the sand was collected.

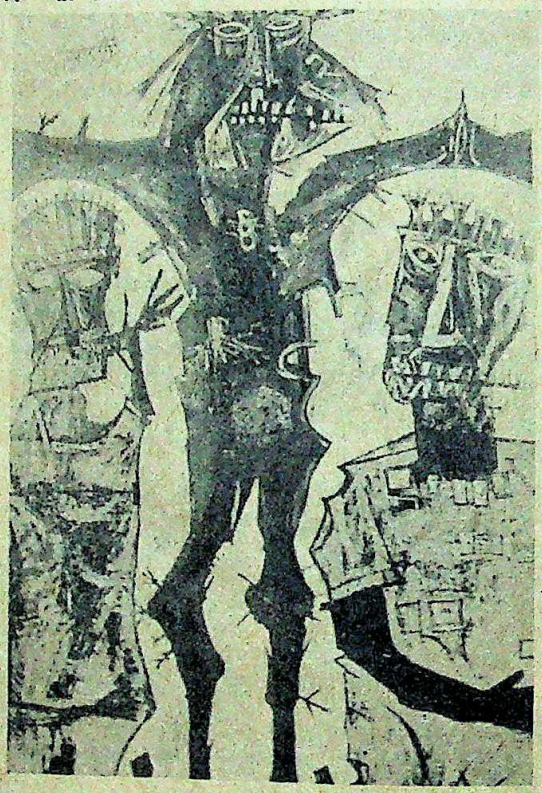
They have gained a stature in the art world which would not have been possible even a decade ago. Today the French Government has allotted Paris studios to at least two Indian artists—Raza and Satish Panchal, and both have minence among Parisian avant-garde Ecole De Paris and works out of a Left Ba the Bateau Lavoir, that which once housed great Picasso, Braque and Modig others.

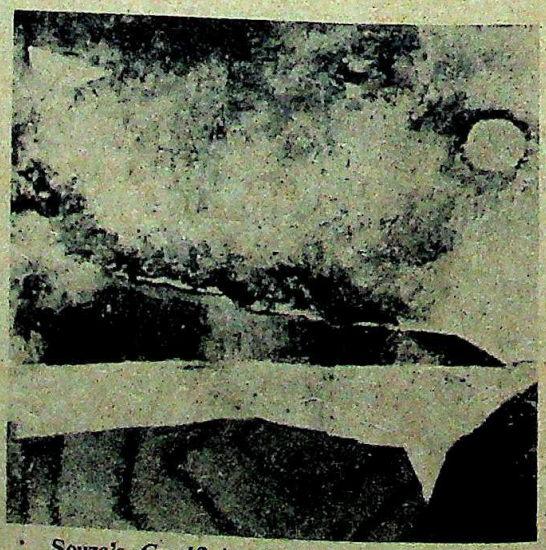
In America, Reddy hea York University's Departme phics and Printmaking and workshop which is considere best in the world. Ambadas Deo and Praful Dave in Zarina Hashmi in New Vishwanadhan, Akbar P graphic artist Sakti Burm all enjoy a standing w them the support of the government grants and growing market among seurs and collectors. S nadhan: "Thirty years a situation was inconc Indian artist abroad is increasingly judged on t his work and his talent."

Initial Struggle: D when pioneering modern Francis Newton Souza, R Samant and Sadanand B westwards, the struggle was acute. Accepted neithe owners nor the select frat collectors, Indian artist impossible to break into stream. Souza, whose b vases from his pre-1960 London are today conside examples of modern on cudgels for his fellow ar the '50s and '60s start movement in both Paris to gain acceptance for In ing recently for a newspa the once brilliant artist initial battles for survival societies and privately tions, and the final brea the '60s and '70s.

Although he shifted York in 1966 and virtual painting, vintage Souza prized exhibits in collect the world, and comman over Rs 2 lakh in sales at At the Oxford Museum Art Showings, which mad the Festival of India earl the Souza exhibit showed mastery which one art c "brought tears to the eyes

For Bakre, the lack acclaim and acceptance period of deprivation.





Souza's *Crucifixion* (top) and Padamsee's *Metascape*: unique perspectives

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15 years after he first Bakre displayed his the railings of Green morning, Eric Newton, *Guardian*, gave the artist finally the Nicholas field showings of his but popular success elu- finally returned to his with his German wife. has given up painting reclusive life.

The frustrations extended

exclusive roster of artists.

Not long after this the tall and blasphemous extrovert, whose canvases are strongly reminiscent of Ajanta frescoes, was listed by *Time* magazine among the 100 greatest painters of our times. Most recently, Samant's work was on display at the Oxford Moma Show organised by Alkazi at Britain's Festival of India. Stunningly original, the exhibit included paper-cuts and other experimental styles, though his caricature-like figures were redolent of his earlier work.

collection of his works were thrown open to New York art buffs in a one-man exhibition by Pierre Cardin, which has undertaken to promote his paintings world-wide in future.

Increasing Patronage: Foreign collectors too are increasingly cashing in on the huge pool of talent represented by relatively unexploited Indian artists in the West. Following hot on the heels of the galleries which discovered them, art collectors have begun to patronise the better-known Indian artists and painters.

left: F.N. Souza, Sadanand Bakre, Akbar Padamsee, S.H. Raza and Mohan Samant: belated success

aspects too. In sharp prices commanded by today—Husain paintings Rs 6 lakh and paintings Khakhar and other top artists routinely sell in for well over Rs 1 lakh early '70s few paintings for more than a few thou-

the Gallerie Coray in show which included artists like Praful Dave no sales were recorded. later one-man shows by have become a sell-out. artists have begun to make selves and can hold their contemporaries in the Pundole, owner of the Art Gallery in now the prices they art markets are much tend to buy and pro- their own artists rather

was the acceptance and owners and collectors alance for Indian artists known except among a aphiles. Mohan Samant when New York's House Gallery pick- put him onto their

Tremendous Breakthrough: Once having broken into the gallery circuit, there was no stopping India's band of *émigré* artists. Discovered by S.W. Hayter's "Atelier 17" in Paris when he was studying there, Reddy was rapidly elevated to the status of co-director of the exclusive studio, and worked there for many years before finally moving to New York. Bhupen Khakhar who lives in Baroda but spends much of the year in Britain, was discovered by the Western art world only after a show by Anthony Stokes of London two years ago. Today the artist is represented both in London and New York by Kasmins Gallery, and in a fraction of the time it took earlier emigrants, Khakhar is a recognised name abroad.

Praful Dave is heavily promoted by the Galerie Schlegall in Zurich, Satish Panchal by Basle's Galerie Marbach, Deo by the Marbach Galleries in Berne, Hashmi by New York's Martha Jackson Gallery, and M.F. Husain by a Canadian gallery owner who has blitzed the art world with information and literature on the prolific Indian painter.

Two decades ago, Akbar Padamsee too got his break from a Paris gallery and today has that perfect blend of artistic acclaim and commercial acceptance. Last fortnight the alliance between international galleries and Indian artists culminated in a coup for Husain when a huge

Perhaps the most dedicated Indophile in the exclusive world of art connoisseurs, American collector Chester Herwitz has in the past decade amassed over 500 canvases by Indian artists. Starting at a time when Husains were priced at a few hundred rupees each, the obsessive collector has put together over 200 canvases by the master, which is the single largest collection of Husains in the world.

Said Kekoo Gandhy, proprietor of Bombay's Chemould Art Gallery: "When top-notch artists are bought and promoted by collectors like Herwitz and Howard Hodgkin of London, it gives a big boost to all the other artists in India and abroad too, since Indian artists get a stature among art buffs all over the world. Krishna Reddy, Raza and Husain are like ambassadors who are paving the way for every promising artist in the country."

Even for the top-notch artists of today, however, the climb to recognition and fame in an alien atmosphere has been long and arduous. Reddy, an alumnus of Santiniketan who was earmarked by Rabindranath Tagore as one who would become a great artist-teacher, struggled for almost a decade in Paris before Hayter saw the phenomenal talent in the young Indian graphics innovator. And Samant, along with Bakre, Souza and Raza, remained undiscovered through most of the '50s and '60s before World House took

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leading a bohemian
the contemporaries
they were accepted by
and collectors, holding
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Satish Panchal's is
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a's *emigré* artists have
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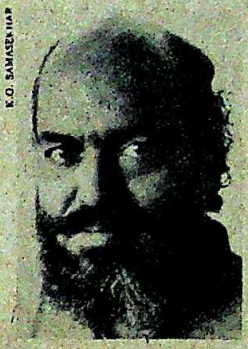
of the natives.
DKARNI and CHANDER
UDAY SINGH

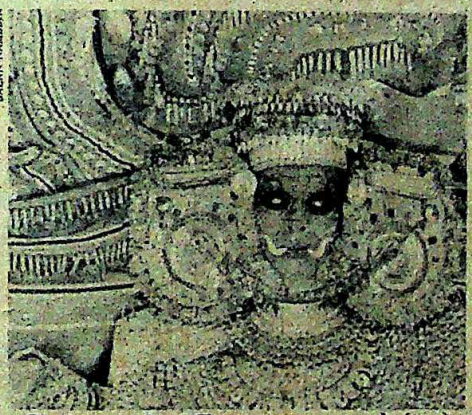
SCULPTURE

Homage To Tradition

FOR NOTED Indian sculptor and painter, Balan Nambiar, his roots in Kannapuram village in Cannanore, Kerala, have flowered into an obsession that has borne rich fruit. For the past 15 years Nambiar has not only been linking the ancient with the modern through his symbolic works of art, but has also been delving deeply into the religious tradition of the west coast. Last fortnight, in recognition of his work, the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund awarded him the prestigious Nehru Fellowship to continue his research on "ritual art forms of the west coast." Said a happy Nambiar in Bangalore, where he stays in a one-bedroomed flat with his Italian wife, Eva: "I would like to compile an encyclopaedia on this subject. It is a totally unexplored form of art."


K.O. SAMASEKHAR

Apart from documenting the innumerable religious rituals in his own district and in neighbouring Dakshina Kannada in Karnataka, Nambiar has taken more than 1,500 pictures of them. His 50-odd sculptures and more than 100 paintings have been directly influenced by these rituals and are interpretations of symbols using contemporary art norms.


BALAN NAMBIAR

Close-up of a *Teyyam* pose and (top) Nambiar: all-round performance

Nambiar's work reflects the vibrant colours and rhythmic forms of these unique rituals performed to worship the gods and goddesses. Held after the harvest season, these rituals are performed by dancers with resplendent headgear, some up to 45 feet high. While in Kerala these ritual dances are called *teyyams* (gods), in Karnataka it is identified as *bhutas* (spirits). These are unique theatrical performances in which the performer is not only a priest with occult powers but also a dancer, musician, choreographer and actor. He is also well-versed in the elaborate craft, decoration and painting that go into the making of these ritual performing arts.

Early Influences: Held mostly in village shrines, the rituals have vibrant music to orchestrate the performance of tribal priests and oracles, decked in colourful costumes and headgear, who assume the roles of gods and goddesses. In an almost trance-like state they identify themselves with the deity and walk on fire, strike themselves with swords, scream prophecies and bless the village folk. Nambiar has classified these performances into 10 divisions based on themes such as worshipping forms connected with hunting, snake worship, exorcising spirits, hero worship, and placating gods and goddesses.

The 45-year-old Nambiar, sporting a flowing beard to offset his receding hairline, has associated with these sights from his childhood. In his own house shrine in Kannapuram, *teyyams* were performed regularly. "My works of art recreate a world based on my childhood memories of these performances," says Nambiar. Although a painter from his childhood, Nambiar joined the Indian Railways as a draftsman before throwing up his job in 1967 to immerse himself fully in his art. After obtaining a diploma in sculpture from the College of Arts and Crafts, Madras, in 1971 he moved to Bangalore, which he now uses as a base.

Apart from designing pavilions and executing murals, Nambiar has been exhibiting his work in a series of international exhibitions, his latest being the Venice Biennale in September last, in which he was the only Indian to participate. Last year he won the national award for sculpture. Most of his paintings and sculptures are influenced by the mother goddess, Shakthi, who is an important deity in the religious rituals. While his bronze sculptures seem to be, as one critic puts it: "a creation emanating from nature itself", his paintings with clear bright colours signify the magnificence of these rituals. It is as Nambiar puts it: "My homage to these great traditional artists."

—RAJ CHENGAPPA

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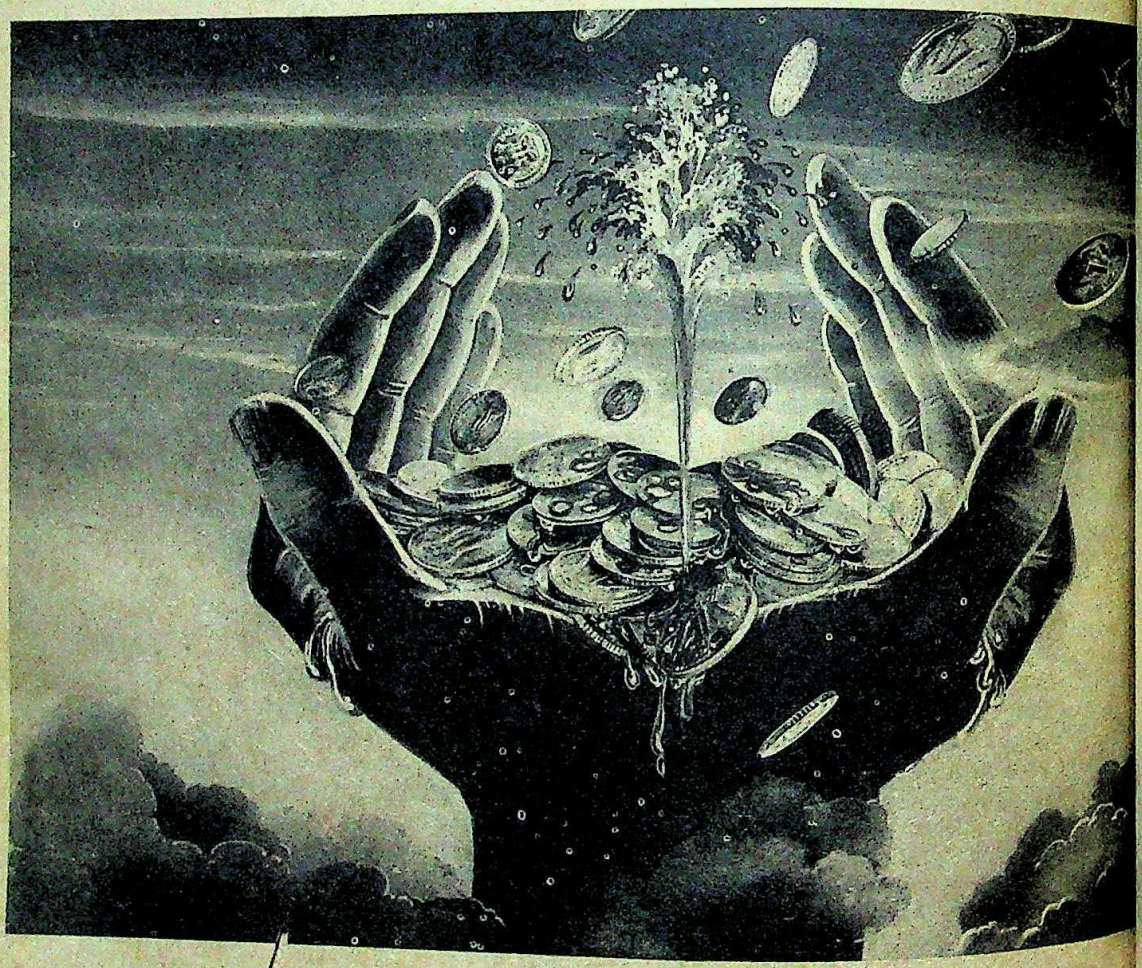

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En famille at the Asiad: Mrs Gandhi with Rahul and Rajiv with Priyanka

■ The universal language of sport was never demonstrated more forcibly than at last fortnight's spectacular Asian Games. And the one family that proved the point the most was India's first family. In fact, it appeared that matters of state were temporarily put on the back burner as the Gandhi clan, ranging from the prime minister down to her grandchildren **Rahul**, and **Priyanka**, popped up regularly in the various stadia, watching the proceedings with as much enthusiasm as any sports buff. They were frequently accompanied by filmdom's first family the Bachchans.

Priyanka, clutching a sheaf of Indian flags which she waved vigorously each time India did well; Rahul instructing an amused **Mrs Gandhi** on the finer points of a particular event and **Sonia** applauding with obvious delight at the more memorable moments. **Rajiv**, of course, was all over the place, twin walkie talkies ever at hand, or rather, hands. The only clan member conspicuous by her absence was Maneka. But that, as they say is a different ball game.

■ She was once the rage of the silver screen and gave it all up for a marriage to writer **Dom Moraes.** After years of relative obscurity she emerged again, this time in cold print. Beginning with editing *Society* and later *Keynote*, which was a colossal failure, **Leela Naidu**, the fair and fragile yesteryear star, tried her hand at documentary film making. Last fortnight, she was again in the news after she was signed on by award-winning director **Muzzafar Ali** for his next film *Daaman*. This time round though Naidu was cast not as the leading lady but in a character role. In the lead are Zeenat Aman, Saeed Jaffrey and Suresh Oberoi. And Naidu plays Zeenat's mother in the film, which begins shooting next January. Says Naidu about her doing a character role: "I am delighted because ideally every role, whether you play an 18-year-old or an 80-year-old, is a character role. And the kind of roles they make our heroines do are non-roles."

■ It took London by storm and continues performing to vigorous applause. And for those who missed it in London there is yet a *desi* version. For **Alyque Padamsee,** Bombay's whizz-kid adman and theatrewalla, the directing of *Evita*, an opera based on one-time first lady of Argentina, Eva Peron could well be his crowning glory in the world of theatre.

Prabhakar: singing hoarse

Padamsee has roped in singer-actress **Sharon Prabhakar** to play the lead, in the one-woman rock opera, which is scheduled to open for public performance in January. Svelte glamour girl, Prabhakar has in the past meddled with the stage, films, edited a magazine, cut a disc on nursery rhymes for oriental melodies and has been voice training under operatta Hyacinth Brown since May for *Evita*. And su posite Prabhakar adman **Dilip Tahil**, the narrator Che Gu

Cooed Prabhak the biggest role taken on. It's such for me that I am breathing Evita."

Naidu: back on screen

SIGN POS

■ **Died:** Achary Bhave, 87, social cru having suffered a h

and then going on death in Paunar. Ea Bhave started his p Telengana. He w village to village te violence. It was in P that an old Harijan him whether he can as he was very po landowner, moved discourses, said he the poor man lan share. Thus began bhoodan movement 20 years since his took shape, travell average eight miles collected over 10 m of land for the poor over India. Unfortun of the land donate turned out to be u but the donations o received were u tructively. Bhave fo crusades, including taking a peace miss dacoit-infested Cha vines, and going on nst cow-slaughter his major contrib to the develop agriculture.

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The $50 million scooter

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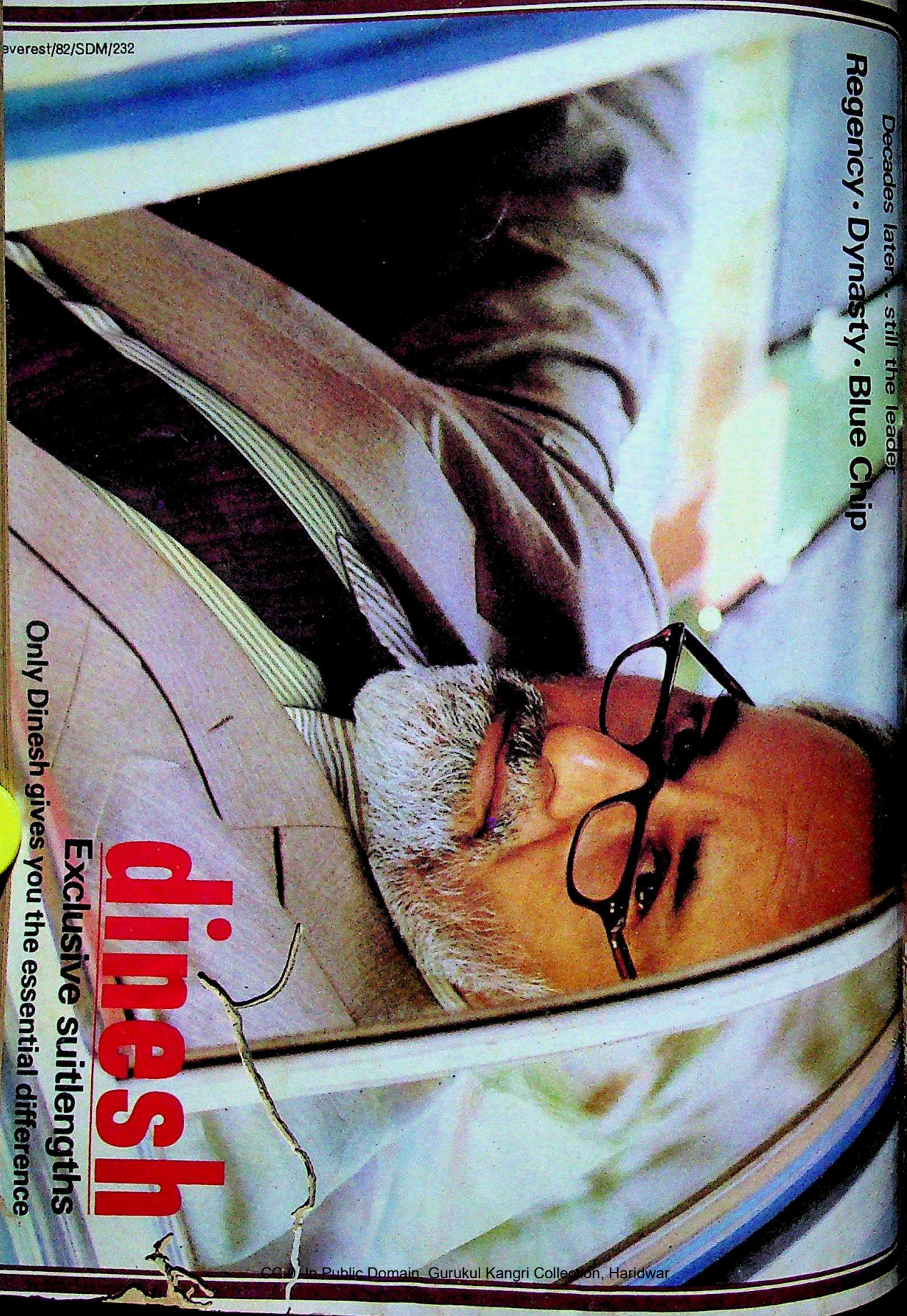

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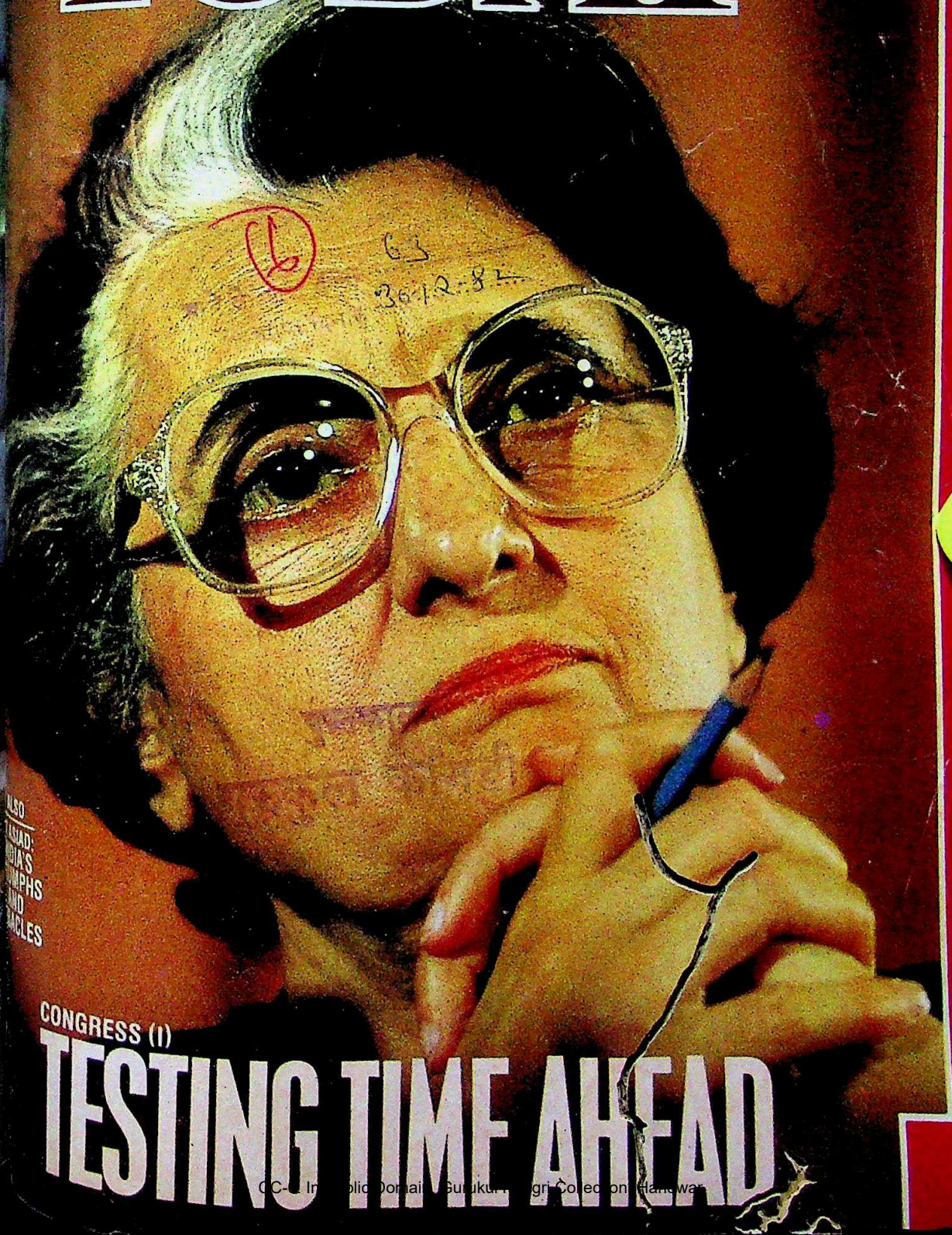

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ASIAD: INDIA'S TRIUMPHS AND MIRACLES

CONGRESS (I)

TESTING TIME AHEAD

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LETTER FROM THE EDITOR

THE NEWS media is a mirror on society in that it reflects in greater or lesser degree what is perceived to be happening in society at large. The task is a daunting one, and it is clearly beyond the abilities of the media—however large, conscientious or well organised it may be—to probe and reflect only the more relevant or visible trends, developments or events. Most media-people would consider their job well done if they could satisfactorily keep track of the high points of the news. All too frequently doing so means keeping track of those who make the news, which is one reason why Prime Minister Indira Gandhi features so frequently on the covers of INDIA TODAY. *It is not, of course, that Mrs Gandhi's own comings or goings justify that. But it is true that nobody else symbolises the country's ruling party, so much of its current political ethos, and the general direction in which the polity is moving as Mrs Gandhi. One reason is that she has, quite simply, been at the helm of affairs for no less than 12 years. For another, there is nobody to match her stature and political clout.*

Thus, when INDIA TODAY *decided to take a look at the state of the ruling party three weeks before the forthcoming elections in Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka—which, in the former at least, promise to be critical for the Congress(I)'s future prospects in southern India—Mrs Gandhi was the obvious choice of a cover personality. Nobody has done more in recent years to shape the ruling party into what it is, and there is nobody who in the coming years will be able to do more. Selecting an individual transparency for the cover is never easy. With Mrs Gandhi it is made all the more difficult by the frequency of her appearances. In order to find a picture which reflects the trials that lie ahead for the party, Picture Editor* RAGHU RAI *reached into his portfolio of telephoto pictures taken during Mrs Gandhi's 'Festival of India' press conference in London earlier this year.*

To write the story, INDIA TODAY *correspondents in eight states fanned out in ruling party circles. Principal Correspondent* PRABHU CHAWLA *talked to Congressmen in Delhi and tagged on to the unending flow of ticket seekers and official delegations that flooded the corridors of the party headquarters from Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh. In Bangalore and Hyderabad, Correspondents* RAJ CHENGAPPA *and* AMARNATH K. MENON *followed the early preparations to next month's elections. The result of this field work is the first of two political cover stories inspired by the elections. The next issue will take a closer look at the campaigns, the issues they raise and how the parties are likely to fare.*

THIS issue also rings the curtain down on the Asiad, with another eight pages in colour and accompanying stories over 12 pages. As the letters columns show, the Asiad evoked a wide, sympathetic response, touching chords of national pride that India was able to stage such a spectacular show and that its sportsmen and women, in spite of the men's hockey debacle, bettered their performance in so many fields and won a record number of medals.

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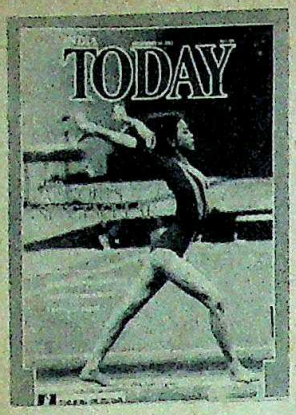

A TRIUMPH

The cover story "A Moment Of Pride" (December 15) was marvellous and gave a very good account of the IX Asiad. When I read the article, it seemed as if that extravaganza was being staged before us.

Aligarh *Abbas Ali Mahdi*

■ It is a pity that the glitter of the Games has thrown the real heroes—the athletes—into the shadows. All the limelight has been hogged by the organisers and the politicians.

Delhi *Rajiv Handa*

■ The caption for one of the photographs was wrong. The dance was the Holi dance of Uttar Pradesh, not Rajasthan.

New Delhi *Dr Ratish Chandra*

■ The articles on the Asiad were matched only by the photographs. For this effort the entire team of journalists and photographers deserve a gold.

Bulsar *M. Raju*

■ After watching the opening ceremony on TV, I was convinced that the money spent on the IX Asiad was well worth it.

Bangalore *D. Bharat Kumar*

■ It was only appropriate that Bhajan Lal should have been chosen to award the gymnastics medals. After all, he is our champion in floor-exercises.

Kanpur *P.P. Sah*

■ The Asiad will definitely give a great boost to the morale of all sportsmen and women in the country.

Hyderabad *Sesha Sai*

■ Indian women have indeed done us proud! The number of medals won by them prove conclusively that Indian sportswomen have come into their own.

Hassan *S.P. Kaman*

■ Nothing during the Games, not our poor performance in wrestling or athletics or swimming, can compare with the hockey debacle. It is the thing that symbolises our low standing in the world of sport as this game has been our traditional forte. I think the IHF should resign *en masse* and an entirely new team should be trained.

New Delhi *N. Kapoor*

MEDAL HOPES

As an athlete and a sports enthusiast, I must say that the articles on the IX Asiad (November 30) were the best done by any magazine. Everything I wanted to know about the Asiad was there.

Madras *Prafulla Bhatnagar*

■ Though no one can deny the magnitude of the feat accomplished by the Government in completing the stadia and all the other arrangements and putting on a show we can all be proud of, I must say that one look at a drought-stricken state, like Bihar, is enough to take all the colour off the show.

Patna *Sanjay Jain*

■ In the box article on hockey ("Clash Of The Giants") I read that our team prayed at a temple, a mosque, a gurudwara and a church before the Games. Isn't it a classic case of all pray and no work makes Jack a dull boy?

Bombay *D.M. Nadkarni*

■ With uncanny precision the predictions made in the story have been coming right. INDIA TODAY has outdone even the sports magazines in this. What better tribute to the research that must have gone into these articles?

Bhopal *Sunil Malhotra*

EXPOSING CORRUPTION

■ It is indeed heartening that INDIA TODAY has won the case against Charanjit Singh—it is not just your victory but one of the press as a whole. It is also heartening to see that the article on "The Meridien Controversy" (December 15) did not hesitate in exposing corruption at the highest levels.

New Delhi *V. Sagar*

GRIPPING ISSUE

The November 30 issue was wonderful. I was able to read it from cover to cover and in every section there was an interesting article.

Chandigarh *Sukh Raj Singh*

■ This issue was 100 per cent interesting. Right from the Asiad stories and Mrs Gandhi's interview to "In Search Of Gandhi", everything gripped the [illegible] I hope this tempo is maintained.

Sonepur *G.*

SOVIET CONNECTION

The article "Giving Amity [illegible] (November 30) deliberately pl[illegible] the significance of General Z[illegible] visit to India. While Pakistan [illegible] regime is constantly condemned [illegible] mention made of the blatant So[illegible] sionism in Afghanistan. The [illegible] General Zia was on his way to [illegible] pitals; and there India is not w[illegible] cause of its constant toeing of the [illegible]

Kazipara *M.*

MISGUIDED

It was disheartening to re[illegible] The Horns Of A Dilemma" [illegible] 30) how a small group of misg[illegible] are trying to tear the country [illegible] it strange that while the Aka[illegible] power they made no move to [illegible] demands implemented and h[illegible] bered them only since they ha[illegible] of office? The only way they c[illegible] ped is if the public, both Hind[illegible] launch an agitation against the[illegible]

Ambala City *Rajesh*

CANDID INTERVIEW

It was very pleasing to se[illegible] personalised interview with In[illegible] ("My Father Was Not M[illegible] November 30). The interview [illegible] her sense of humour and mor[illegible] to her candour which I am su[illegible] equalled by any head of state.

Srinagar *Sanjay*

■ The interview which mea[illegible] into Mrs Gandhi's private life [illegible] less as such interviews inv[illegible] Truth becomes a casualty wh[illegible] into the lives of most public [illegible] Mrs Gandhi, not known for [illegible] truth at the best of times, [illegible] again. A case in point is wh[illegible] about her husband. If he me[illegible] she says he did, wouldn't he h[illegible] better treatment from her?

Udipi

■ This interview brought [illegible] that no matter what the cyn[illegible] Gandhi, she is a multi-faceted [illegible] has packed into one lifetime [illegible] many can in several. *Sudh[illegible]*

Bangalore

■ When Mrs Gandhi says th[illegible] everything for my children", sh[illegible] not making an idle boast.

Samur

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that the interviewer did Gandhi about the part life that hits the news- other day—about her

A. Govindam

he interviewer claims that to bring out the woman her questions towards the erview leave much to be one must compliment Mrs patience in dealing with ions on what clothes she uses them and so on. Even would have dealt with such irritation and this is the I think the magazine er interviewers better.

Sheroo Ankesaria

CURTAIN

rch Brezhnev after ruling has left behind a society wait for a day to be told of ath Of A Titan", November re can be said about the

G. Parthasarathy

ink President Reagan had a that the man to succeed d be former head of the is why he chose as his run- mer chief of the CIA?

Sanjay Upadhya

CRUSADER

sal of Arun Shourie ("An mmer", November 3) is a free and fearless reporting. that the reason why the ward was given to Shourie is why Ramnath Goenka got because he reported with in- ption that is eating into er society. And the most ert is that Goenka, after so standing for truth, has gi- ure.

Vijay Kumar Anand

ismissal proves that today nation can afford to take ment. Has Goenka forgot-

ten what he had once told a Calcutta weekly: "I am trying to get young people who have 20-30 years to go, like Arun, to carry on my tradition"? Obviously his plans aren't worth the paper they were printed on.

Patna *Seema Yadav*

■ Though Shourie's ouster is an unpleasant shock to most of his readers, it is indeed heartening to know that here is a man who stuck to his guns to the end and did not compromise with his principles.

Muktsar *Ashwani Kumar*

■ Though we have learnt not to judge the product by the advertising campaign, the one launched by the *Express* seemed fitting. But now with Shourie's departure it has gone back to being what it says it is not—just another newspaper.

Hyderabad *Sunanda Menon*

■ I have cancelled my subscription to the *Express* not because of the individual Arun Shourie but because of what he symbolised and what this action of the proprietor symbolises.

Baroda *P.R.J. Pradeep*

MULTINATIONALS

In "Trade Winds" (November 30) it is mentioned that Indian Aluminium Co Ltd (INDAL) is a sister company of Mahindra & Mahindra. INDAL is part of the multinational company Aluminium Company of Canada and 56 per cent of the shares are held by it.

Belgaum *K.S. Venkateswaran*

CRUELTY TO ELEPHANTS

■ "Jumbo Jamboree" (November 30) lacked in nothing, except perhaps colour.

Lingampally *Sunita*

■ The photo feature was a testimonial to the suffering the elephants underwent on the long journey across the length of the country.

Bangalore *K. Subhash Kumar*

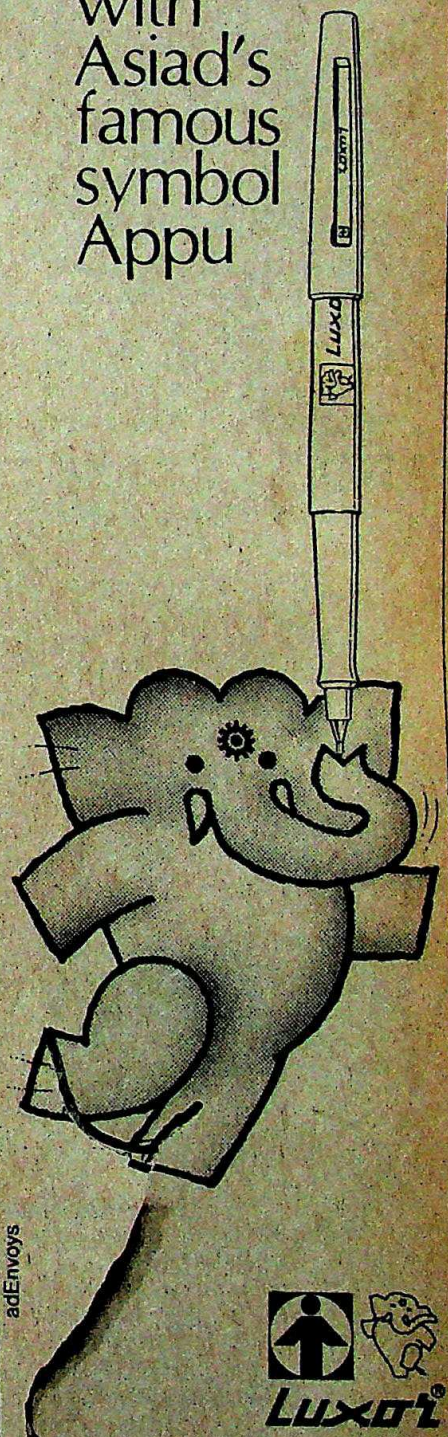
■ I write in protest of the cruelty meted out to the elephants. The torture and pain the elephants experienced can in no way be compensated by the spectacle they presented at the opening ceremony.

Patiala *Pravit Singh*

SIKH INSECURITY

My observation in this article that one of the major causes of Sikh insecurity in towns is a sign of modernization among Sikhs was not meant for urban Sikhs but for younger Sikhs in the rural areas or

Luxor-
India's most
famous pen
with
Asiad's
famous
symbol
Appu



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A national jury of eminent men of letters, citizens and journalists will assess each story.

Entries in any Indian language other than English should be accompanied by an English translation.

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Peoples Union for Civil Liberties
15 Teen Murti Lane
New Delhi - 110011

those who have recently migrated to towns. Urban Sikhs, on the other hand, are fairly strict in observing the rituals. I am convinced that the causes of insecurity among urban Sikhs are socio-economic in nature giving rise to stresses and strains, which is manifested in the form of religious conflict or heightened religious identities. The process of modernization has aggravated these strains.

Amritsar *M.S. Dhami*

GROUND FOR CONTROVERSY

We are grateful for the sympathetic treatment given to our problem in "Corridor Of Controversy" (November 15). But I would like to draw your attention to the map used along with the article which does not show the present topographical position of the area. The Indian territory shown in the map just opposite Dahagram and Kuchlibari Anchal on the

right bank of the river Teesta and known as Jharsigheswar has long since been eroded except for a tiny piece of land. This is evident from the accompanying map.

Cooch Behar *Sukumar Sen Gupta,*
President, Kuchlibari Sangram Samiti.

TORTURED UNDERTRIALS

The article "Tortured To Death" (September 30) gives the impression that convicts and undertrials in Tamil Nadu are badly treated and that there is no control over police and prison authorities. May I point out that under the existing statutory provisions the death of an undertrial, remanded or convicted prisoner has to be enquired into by a revenue divisional officer (and by the personal assistant to the collector of Madras city) who is also a subdivisional magistrate? This report is forwarded to the collector and this with the collector's remarks is submitted to the Government for careful scrutiny.

Certain instances have been mentioned in the article. Magisterial enquiry has been conducted in all these cases and whenever necessary the state Criminal Investigation Department (CID) has also been asked to enquire into the cases. All the cases including those of Paramasivam's and Gajendran's w by the Government after care except for one—Krishnamurthy a known criminal whose dea from an assault by an enraged was clearly established and the his case was entrusted to the the collector decided that his d due to natural causes is incorr thout basis. It is also surpris that the article said that he die General Hospital when his place at C.M.C. Hospital in Co

Where the Government that officials had not acted wit bit of the law, it has not hesit firm action. In the case Manickam and Thiru Thanto staff and the police are facing the case of Thiru Paramasivam the death cannot be attributed lice or the jail staff, disciplinar being taken against the jail s tain lapses. In the other cas decision has been taken.

I am sure you will appre the light of the above this artic misleading and creates a false that the police and jail staff riot.

Madras S.T

Director of Information

Information, Tourism

Government of

■ *The story was based on which was valid till August 31, the correspondent visited the st the Government had not made on the death of the prisoners this letter. Obviously the report lised after the article was Moreover, Mr Kasirajan does state that all the deaths were d causes. He only maintains that were not caused by the jail personnel.*

In the cases of Param Gajendran Mr Kasirajan's that the enquiry has been comp does not dispute the post-mo which is quoted in the sto Krishnamurthy, he died in police the police instituted a case agai

The letter also states that action is being taken against for certain lapses, but strange tains that even though Paramas die due to torture, disciplinary ing taken against the jail staff already been filed in the Se and the verdict will establish the report.

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IN FOCUS THIS FORTNIGHT

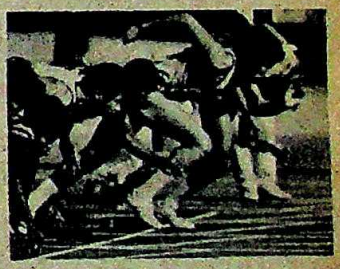
Events
: Chinese Checkers
Relations: Entente Cordiale
Too Many Cooks
: A Sordid Story
: Requiem For A Marxist
Deadly Drugs
: Closed Channels
: Security Threat
Running Aground
Kashmir: Cracking Down
Marking
Germany: Giving More Marks
Hussein: Coming Home
Lanka
: Jayawardene Digs In
Education
Debious Dealings
Industry
Elections: Testing Time Ahead
Report
: Triumphs and Tragedies
Feature
Comrade Papa's Capitalist Son
: The Skin Trade
Time
Time To Take Stock
: The Roots Of Despair
Trends
Economy
: Forever Amber
: Colour Complex
Export: Reckless Cruelty
Electric Shock
Seeds Of Conflict
: Euphoric Mood
: Steamy Pot-Boiler
Dada: Holy Show
: True Confessions
: Wishing For Death
Environment
: Trimming The Green
Charming
Heritage
Exhibition: An Unprecedented Feast
Rare Encounter

COVER STORY: With Assembly elections being held on January 5 for the 578 seats in Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh and Tripura, battle lines were drawn, last fortnight, between the ruling Congress(I) and the disunited opposition parties. Although the Congress(I) has an edge over the others, growing dissidence has caused ripples of anxiety. A report on the state of the ruling party on the eve of the battle. **Page: 68**

GLOBE-TROTTING: He started his highly successful career at the age of 23, as the youngest TV director at the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), and since then has never looked back. Starting with a six-part television series, Waris Hussein a 44-year-old Indian film maker and theatre director who has acquired international fame with a string of Broadway plays and Hollywood films is finally coming back to India. A report. **Page: 57**

INVESTIGATION: The Indian cooperative movement seems to ferment scandals with ominous regularity. Last month, it was the turn of the National Cooperative Consumer's Federation (NCCF), one of the two apex, national-level consumer bodies in the country. The scandal involves the murky dealings in the illegal export of 11,000 metric tonnes of rice earlier this year against a specific directive by the Government. **Page: 65**

SPECIAL REPORT: For sixteen exciting days, the event overshadowed every other occasion in the Asian continent. If India triumphed over pulling through the Games management with remarkable speed, there were records broken at another level—by the participants. It was also a remarkable show of amity between members of the various participating countries. An extensive summing up of the Games with colour pictures. **Page: 80**



SPECIAL FEATURE: He is the complete opposite to his hardened Marxist father Jyoti Basu, the chief minister of West Bengal. A fast blossoming, self-made businessman, the 30-year-old Subhabrata Basu, alias Chandan, with just three years of business experience behind him, heads three separate companies with an annual turnover of over Rs 2 crore. An in-depth report on the man and his business. **Page: 106**

LIVING: Dharampur, one of the most backward areas in India, has had little assistance from the Government since Independence. With the drought in Gujarat, matters have become worse. The tribals of Dharampur have therefore been falling back on their traditional diet—a bitter poisonous root called *kadya kand*. Scientific studies have proved beyond doubt that the root is harmful to human beings. A report. **Page: 119**

PHOTO BY RAGHU RAI

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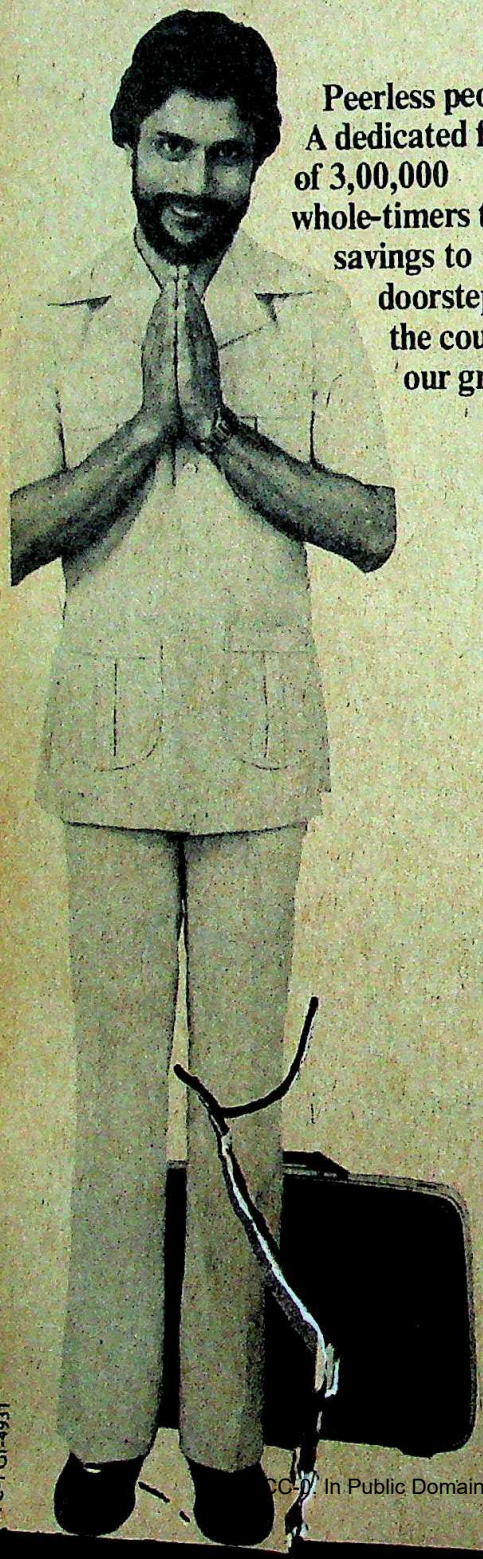
Our best assets don't even figure on our balance sheet.



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50

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BILL OF FAIR

THE TAMIL Nadu Government and its Chief Minister, M.G. Ramachandran (MGR), are reportedly under pressure from the Centre not to repeal the state's Anti-Scurrility Act. The AIADMK Government blazed the trail in its enactment, the threads of which were only later picked up by the Bihar Chief Minister, Jagannath Mishra, in the drafting of what has now come to be known as the infamous Bihar Press Bill. While Mishra has now undertaken to effect cosmetic changes in the Bill, MGR had earlier solemnly undertaken to repeal the Act, and appointed a 13-member committee of journalists and officials to review the enactment as a face-saving formula. But now the chief minister is loudly proclaiming on the necessity for the Act in the wake of rampant malicious and scurrilous journalism and the inadequacy of existing penal provisions with regard to defamation. Officials, he says, are reluctant to file defamation suits because of the embarrassment of being forced to wash further dirty linen in public during cross-examinations. Quite conveniently for the state Government, a working journalist has also meanwhile rendered the review committee infructuous by filing a writ petition challenging its constitution in the Madras High Court and obtaining a stay.

MERGER MOVES

Mani: new clout?

SOME major changes in the Kerala political scenario are in the offing after the merger of the Antony Congress with the Congress(I). K.M. Mani, the controversial finance minister and leader of the Mani faction of the Kerala Congress, who failed to persuade the rival faction of the Kerala Congress led by P.J. Joseph to join him, is casting about for new allies. This time he is working to convince Kidangoor Gopalakrishna Pillai, chairman of the National Democratic Party (NDP), the political wing of the Nairs in Kerala and another constituent of the ruling front, to merge with his group.

If the Nairs and Mani's Christian-supported Kerala Congress faction come together under one banner, it could give Mani, who has an independent mind, a new clout. The Congress(I), aware of this, is also wooing Pillai for a merger of his NDP with them. This could spell trouble for Mani, because the Congress(I) is determined to outwit communal and small regional factions and dominate the Kerala political scene.

REDDY'S PROSPECTS

CHANGES are expected in the Union Cabinet soon after the Assembly elections are completed next month. Channa Reddy, former chief minister of Andhra Pradesh and the man responsible for getting the largest share of tickets for his supporters for the elections, is planning to quit as governor of Punjab and return to active politics. Since he cannot return to his home state, having once been removed from the top political job there, he is tipped to come to the Centre—if only to keep him away from Hyderabad. He has been feeling uncomfortable in Punjab's spacious Raj Bhavan and has been behaving like a chief minister from the start, touring the state extensively and receiving representations from the people. In fact, Reddy has toured all districts twice.

...general election round the corner? It appears likely ...r March 1983. The Election Commission has quietly ...the district collectors except in Andhra Pradesh, ...Tripura to submit to the chief electoral officers in ...states a report on where polling stations should be ...ectors in turn have asked all the political parties and ...ntatives to submit by December 15 their suggestions ...any, regarding where the polling stations should be ...respective constituencies. Usually, such an exercise is ...y two to three months before an election. If the ...nges to retain Andhra and Karnataka, Mrs Gandhi ...a general election later next year. But if she loses, ...a snap poll by April to take the opposition by surprise.

...OLES

...It is never pu... the Communist ...India (Marxist) ...ns in the in... ...ces a secret list ...s whose servi... ...ed upon in the ... The organisa... ...n the party's ...ulinist jargon as ...ell" (or simply ...be controlled ...ol by Ganesh ...er MP and a ... The late Pro... ...as the state ...e party's West ...ned the only ...k with the ...party apparat...

SREEDIVAN

Mukherjee: no access

...rjee has not been authorised to deal with the ...means that he will have no access to the sensitive ...the underground cadres, their allowances, their ...contacts. According to some sources in Delhi, the ...now to be coordinated by Samar Mukherjee, ...Politburo member.

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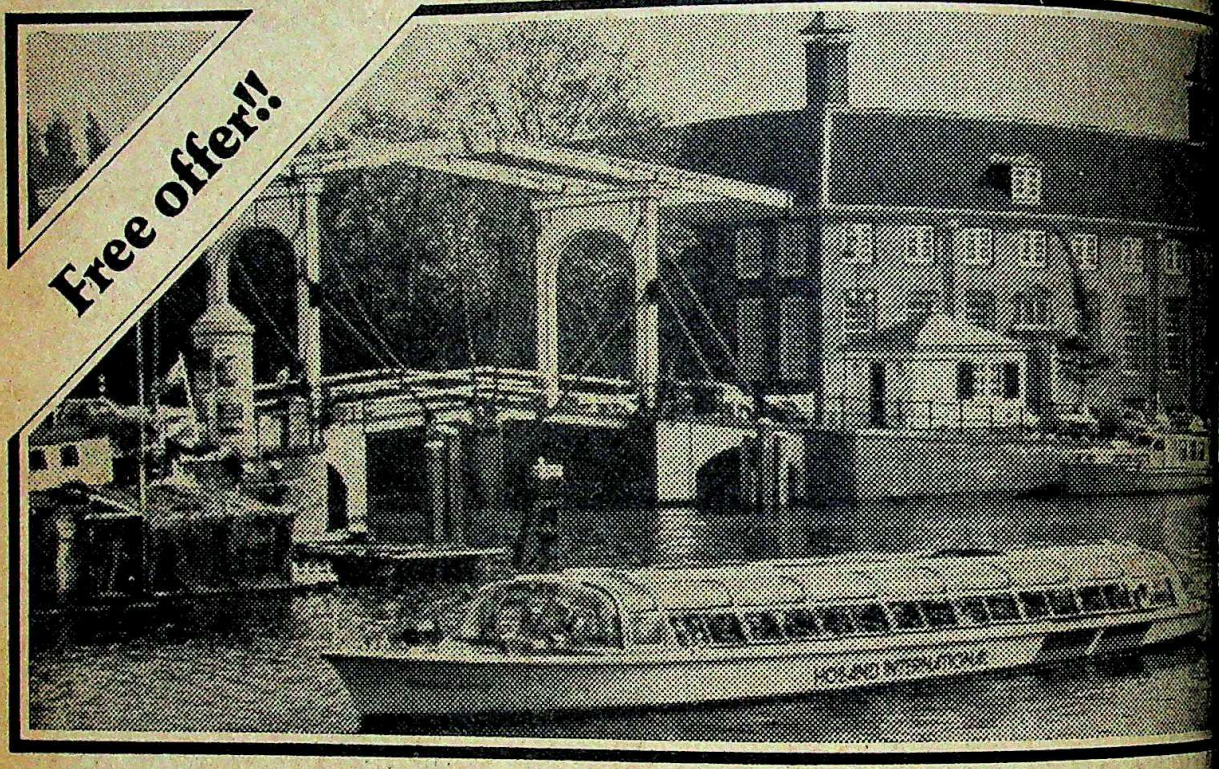
Holland welcomes you with Holland-on-the-house



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*Courtesy of the Holland Promotion Foundation.

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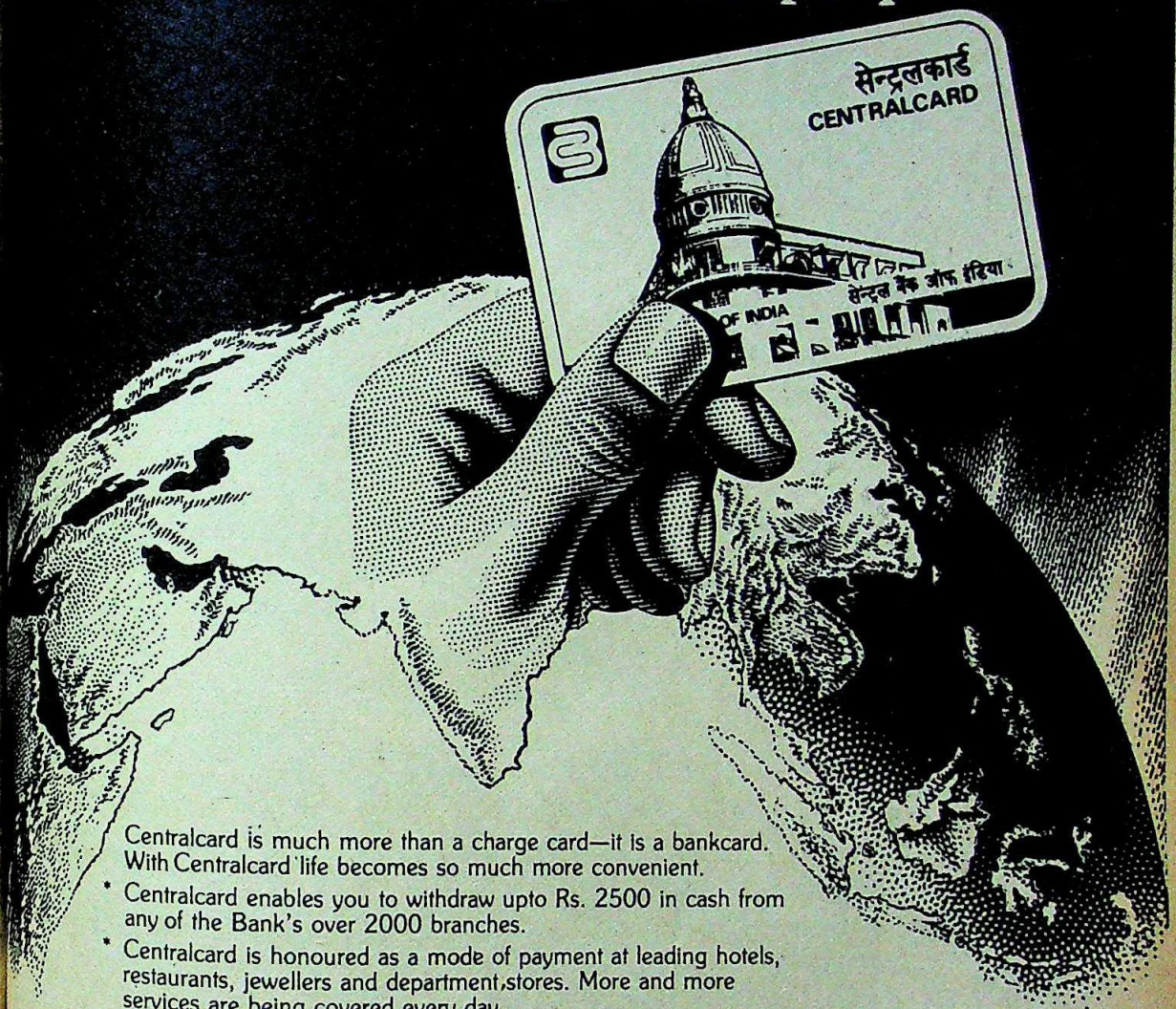

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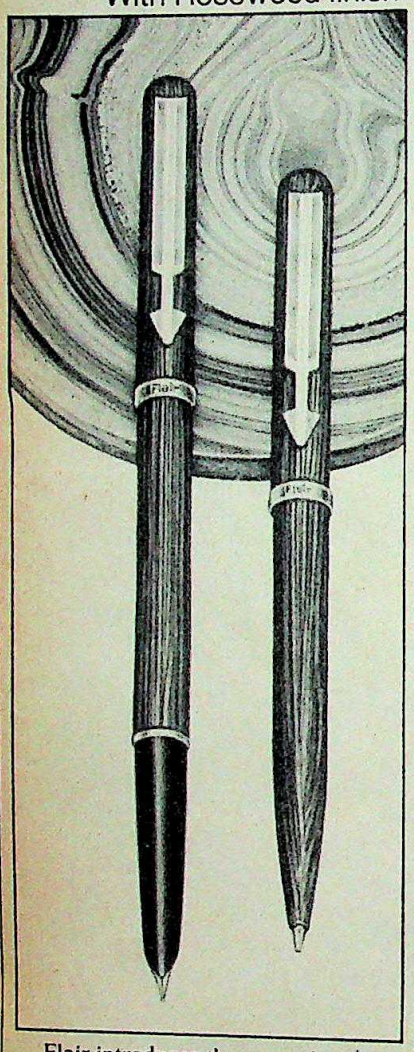

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» The quality of our public life has reached its nadir... Politics has bee tered and tainted with crime. India today is a living example of the fact th cism corrupts and absolute cynicism corrupts absolutely.

—*Nani A. Palkhivala in* The Illustrated Weekly

» I have no opponents, if I had I wouldn't be where I am today. I do n Journalists should concentrate on investigative stories...

—*C.P.N. Singh in* Weekend

» He's (Zia-ul-Haq) the biggest liar on earth. He should get a Nobel P telling lies.

—*Nusrat Bhutto in a radio interview with*

» When a large part of Gujarat has been devastated by cyclone crying fo relief, here are its political leaders, chosen by the people, fighting like K cats for loaves and fishes of office.

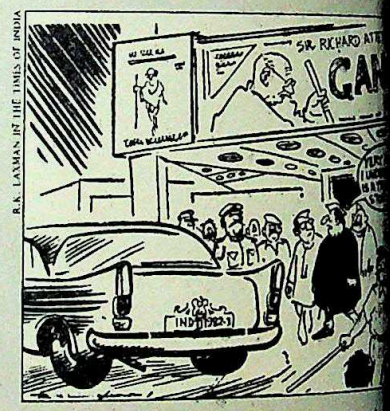
—*Editorial comment in* Ma

» What little open spaces there were are being built upon and it requ Roger Bannister to tell us that if sports are to be tackled on a scientific b at a very tender age this cannot be achieved at street corners and on paven

—*A.F. S. Talyarkhan*

» Because of the acute economic conditions their community is facing, the Muslim youth have little stake in what Indian society offers them at present. And they are turning either to Marx or the Mullahs.

—*Kuldip Nayar in* Current



» Western minds are confused by Aristotle's philosophy. Aristotle is an old fool.

—*Bhagwan Rajneesh quoted in* The Telegraph

» Gandhiji has been made fashionable again in the land of his birth moment people are talking about him instead of about Amitabh Bachch Kamalahasan.

—*R.G.K. in* The Times

» The party (Congress-I) bereft...of a democratically built organisation intense commitment of all its members to the party ideology...is being bla ed by disgruntled power-seekers.

—*Editorial comment in the* Deccan C

» Though President Zia is exuding peaceability his objective is not peace.

—*Editorial comment in the* Amrita Bazar

» Her (Rekha's) complete attitude towards life is disgusting...she is le dog's life...to want a man you fancy and to drop him at your whim...not of good character and upbringing, but dogs behave like that.

—*Ganeshan, film star Rekha's secretary in*

» The demands that have been coming to me...from the directors w into the hands of producers can be summed up in just one sentence: "M girl look good, make her look sexy and show a lot of leg and bosom."

—*Film star costume designer, Bhanu Athaiya in*

» If I started the trusts, it was with a noble object...if I had to (be co did not have to take money by cheque. I tell you now even: if I had t money under the counter, I could have used the FSI (floor space index)— do it.

—*A.R. Antulay*

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Foundation for Art and Culture Ga

is Monday. I found her for
nd aloof. It was time to turn on the cold hauteur.
t was. Deep frosted sub-zero blue.
melted and she was herself.

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fiesta
And no two moment will ever be the same

Haridwar

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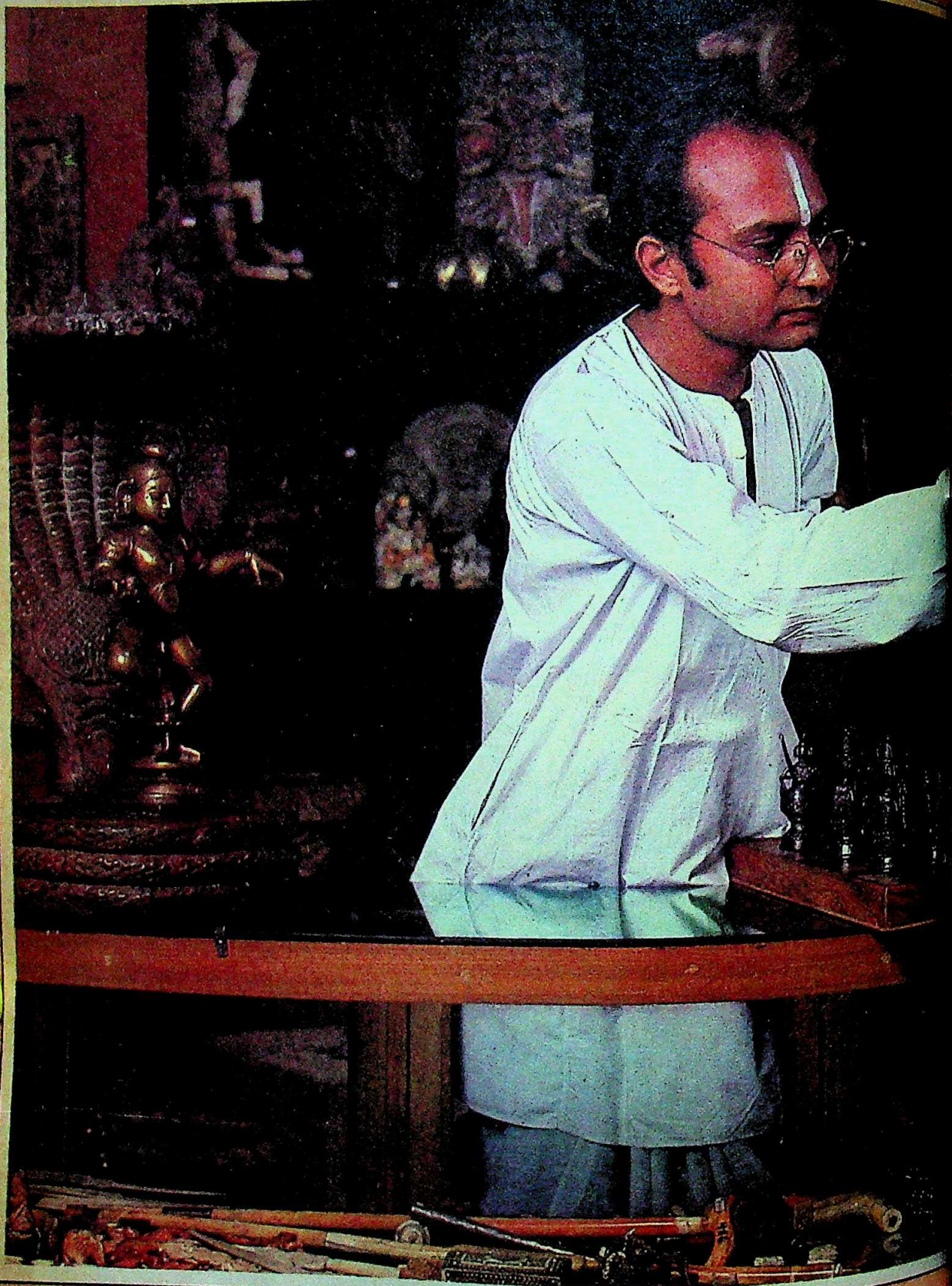
Colour Condoms in one pack



Sometimes, in the flawless lines of a tiny sculpture...you can recognise the unmistakable touch of a master craftsman.

Featured here: an antique chess set cast in bronze, by the craftsmen of Bastar.

The suit: subtle stripes in copper tan, set off by a deep umber waist-coat. Unmistakably...Digjam.

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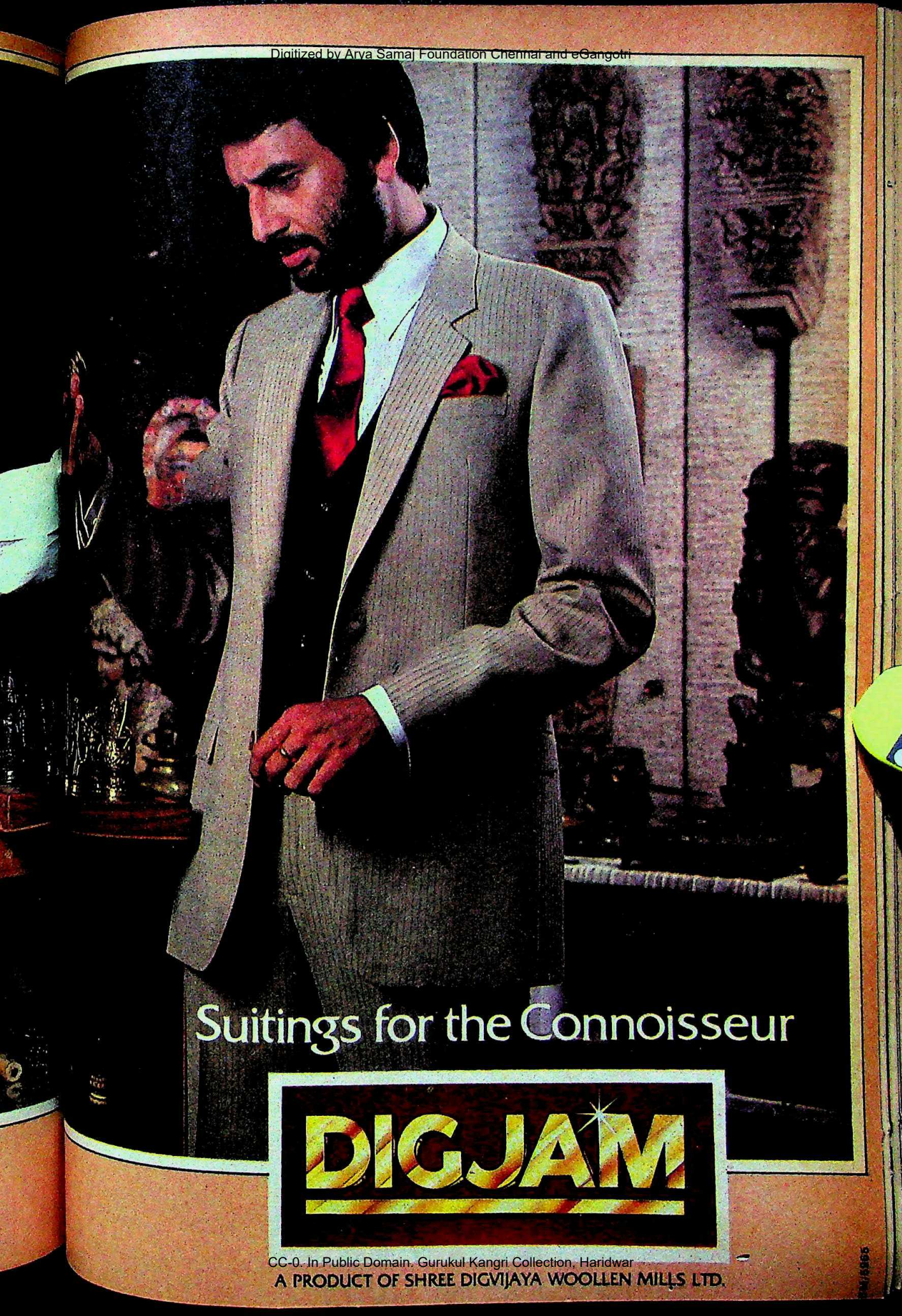

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H TALKING

...ow, going by the ... torture of Hindi ... tall, brawny man ... ancient double-... shotgun that ... a barn door at two ... a fund of thrilling ...ch as *'maa kasam'*, ... *maut'*, and *'ha-... do'*. But there ... more to this crea-... by events in Karnataka, he also packs dictionaries.

Recent night hold-ups of bus passengers in the state featured tall, brawny men, obviously from the rugged landscapes of Rajasthan, spouting the above-mentioned thrilling phrases in chastest of chaste Kannada and Telugu, although with peculiar accents. It was clear that, in the modern spirit of enterprise, the dacoits were taking courses in the language to be able to make friends and influence people on the high roads. In fact, when some persons were arrested, a search of their satchels yielded dog-eared dictionaries: Hindi-Kannada and Hindi-Telugu. Clearly the dacoit brushed up on his impressive phrases in their local translation and only then unveiled his impressive personality and more impressive gun to his new friends.

R LAYS

...man's peg is another ...son. That is the pre-...gnan in Nadavayal, a ...nestling pictures-...ow else?—in the hills ... district in Kerala. ... village there are ... forces at battle: an ... agitation commit-... liquor shop. A few ... the committee ap-... have won when the ... closed down by the authorities, but the proprietor refused to knuckle under for long and opened his shutters again to a horde of people for whom the peg was not poison.

The committee could not give up so easily. However, the usual form of protest had failed and they thought of something new. The day after the shop reopened, the committee put up a pandal in front, pulled out their tablas, their violins and their guitars and began to sing. They wailed, loud and long, of the terrors of drink, the way it eats up the guts of a man, how his wives and daughters waste away, how he himself turns into a trembling collection of bone and flesh. All this punctuated with sad little verses with a Moral. When reports last came in, the temperance tenors had proved so effective that even the most die-hard peg-downer was sneaking away and giving the shop a wide berth.

HONOUR

...ab Minister of State ...ry Darshan Singh ...st month gave a le-...ge act of government. ...gone to Kartarpur ... supporter of his, a ... commissioner, had ...pee was guarded by ... crop of policemen ... deputy superinten-... police (DSP). ... Keypee got a lit-... away by the funeral ...ed to bring his own inimitable touch to the proceedings. So he asked the DSP to order his men to reverse arms and thus present their respects to the departed soul.

Reversed arms for a municipal commissioner, however diligent and honest he may have been, is not quite in the order of things and the DSP demurred. He protested that such state honours could be decided only by the chief minister and that he must get a 'hukum' from the 'sarkar' in Chandigarh. Keypee blew up, shouting that he himself was the sarkar—and pointed in succession to his car with its flag, his armed bodyguard and his lackeys. The DSP reluctantly ordered his men to reverse arms, perhaps the only time that a municipal commissioner has had this honour. Afterwards, however, Keypee was himself scolded by the chief minister; the crowning humiliation came when the police issued a circular on the subject of reversing arms, and sent Keypee a copy.

E POST

...is good news for ... and friends of ...kar, who is living ... marine turtles on ...nds in Lak-... Bhaskar had gone ...carry out a ma-... survey for the ...ife Fund (WWF), ... while he was chas-... well, chasing is ... the word—the monsoon arrived and Bhaskar could get no message out to his family. Ergo: Bhaskar worried, family even more worried.

But you can't keep a turtle tagger down for long. Bhaskar wrote out a series of messages and pushed them down bottles. Then all through the four-month monsoon period Bhaskar tossed the bottles into the seas at regular intervals in the hope that some boat would pick them up.

And that is exactly what happened. Anthony Amacious, a fisherman from Sri Lanka, picked up a bottle. A few days later, Bhaskar's wife received Bhaskar's letter. And some more few days later, the WWF reported that Bhaskar would soon be returning, leaving a lot of tagged turtles behind.

—Compiled by JAGANNATH DUBASHI

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When people talk about the quality of tyres

“ _ _ _ _ _, _ _ _ _ _”
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the debate ends with CEAT

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inese Checkers

TRADITIONAL analogy be- the Chinese and their legendary ability now seems to have been the dustbin of folklore. The if last fortnight's events are tion, become absolute masters the diplomatic about-face, an art practised in Beijing with un- arity. Till last week, Sino- ons seemed to be rapidly on the sed in their most visible form endous rapport established by Chinese contingent to the New Games with the watching

it was obvious that even the sers were making an extra effort Chinese delegation which in- eputy ministers. In rather bla- e, the Chinese contingent was ption held at the Asiad Village ames, and each member was h a specially-crafted souvenir eciation of their "contribution friendship". But by the time and their wearers, were back on Sino-Indian friendship once the public gaze.

d: The provocation, however, warranted and, in retrospect, ducted.On December 8, four Asian Games wound up and onth before India and China d to hold talks on the border China's official news agency, sed India of "using an in- ports meet to spread a discredit- territory along the Sino-Indian

the dispatch referred to was es presented at the closing a contingent from Arunachal merly the North-East Frontier Chinese soldiers intruded in and an area claimed by China. the state (Arunachal) was "es- India in 1972 and not re- eijing". The commentary went at "the presentation of these was therefore not to merely ames participants but a de- to propagate India's sove- the state and to legalise it . . ." atic terms, the Chinese stand ely bad taste and, at first, e. It also, understandably, Government, and everybody rable surprise. The Indian Ministry spokesman re- fused to comment on the issue in his daily briefing—an indication that the reply and its tone were being carefully crafted in the bowels of South Block.

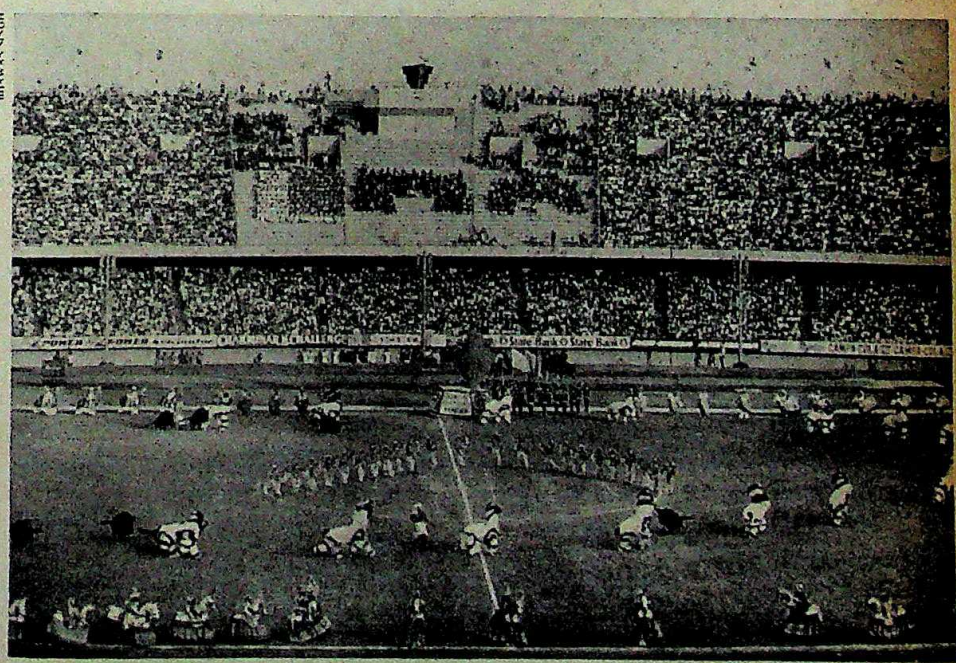
But it was clear that India could hardly take the comments in a reclining position. The fact that China had picked on an event as obscure and innocent as a dance troupe performance to make a diplomatic issue of clearly revealed that any excuse would have done just as well. The fact that it was done just before the two sides were to meet for official talks means that China has scant regard for Indian susceptibilities.

Indian Response: In the event, the Indian reply was—in tone and content—the only suitable one that could have been made. In what was one of the most strongly-worded statements to emanate from South Block in a long time, the Indian Government referred to the Xinhua commentary as "perverse" and said that it "runs counter to the spirit guiding the effort to improve relations. We reject the commentary and all its implications."

The statement went on to say that "over 14,000 square miles of Indian territory are under the illegal occupation of China. On the initiative of India, official talks have been undertaken on the boundary question, which has to be resolved for normalisation of relations between the two countries . . . it is beyond comprehension that an official agency of the Chinese Government should object to such a normal event . . ."

The Chinese comment was not, however, so incomprehensible as it was disturbing. Over the past year, relations between the two countries had slowly been restored to an even keel, and this one event threatened to cancel all the gains in a single stroke. Further, India has never denied that there is a border disagreement and has always taken the stand that it can be resolved by negotiations. The

The fact that China had picked on an event as obscure and innocent as a dance troupe performance to make a diplomatic issue of clearly revealed a scant regard for Indian susceptibilities.



The Arunachal dance performance that China objected to: puzzling move

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Chinese outburst, on the contrary, implied that Beijing's territorial claims in Arunachal were definitive and the final word—an attitude that India was hardly likely to accept without protest.

Cancelled Trip: The protest, however, was not confined to the verbal. The Chinese Ambassador in New Delhi, Shen Jian, was summoned to the Foreign Office and coldly handed over the official protest. Two days later, the Government cancelled the visit of a three-member official delegation to China headed by former Lok Sabha speaker, B.R. Bhagat. The delegation was intending to take part in the Kotnis Memorial functions which started in Beijing last week.

According to Subramaniam Swamy, the opposition MP who was meant to be a member of the delegation, the decision to cancel the event was taken for two reasons. "For one, it would have been very awkward for us to have gone there and not raised the subject of the Xinhua commentary. Secondly, we were not quite sure what kind of reception we would get, and the Foreign Ministry felt that to avoid any embarrassment, it would be better if we cancelled the trip." Swamy, like most observers, feels it was the right decision and described it as a "temporary set-back".

Immature Act: The editorial writers in the national dailies have been unanimous in condemning the Chinese action as immature and unwarranted, but none of them has been able to offer any rational explanation for the move. In diplomatic terms, the Chinese gesture was as puzzling as it was poorly timed. One reason being put forward in some offices in South Block is that China was concerned at India's sudden emergence as a threat to their regional dominance. The internationally acknowledged success of Asiad and the elevation of India as chairman of the non-aligned club are two instances being cited to underline the point. Historically, however, there are precedents for China's ill-timed action. Last year, the Chinese Government refused a visa to the speaker of the Arunachal Pradesh Assembly, T.L. Rajkumar, who was scheduled to accompany a parliamentary delegation to study China's family planning programme.

In South Block, however, the view at the end of last week was that the Chinese action should not come in the way of any future bridge-building exercises with that country. To make the Chinese side aware of this without losing face, the Government used the rather clever ploy of telephoning their ambassador in Beijing, rather than sending him a coded cable as is usual in cases such as this. The Government knew full well that the Chinese would be eavesdropping on a phone call from the Indian Foreign Office to their man in Beijing.

The message sent was that the ambassador should carry on with preparations for the official-level talks next month in Beijing, to be headed by Shankar Bajpai, and inform the Chinese Government that as far as they were concerned, the talks were on and last week's friction should be no barrier. However, even if the talks do come off, it is clear that each side is currently uncertain and wary of the other's intentions, and the matter of resolving the border dispute, now in its second decade, will be for future history to record.

—DILIP BOBB

Mrs Gandhi and Buta Singh with victorious Chinese gymnasts: blow hot, blow cold

INDO-FRENCH RELATIONS

Entente Cordiale

THERE was a strangely so[illegible] air about last fortnight's [illegible] by French President [illegible] Mitterrand to New Delhi. Ten d[illegible] his departure, nobody was quite [illegible] ther he had actually been here. There were, of course, two rea[illegible] that situation. One was the me[illegible] and the high-key public involvem[illegible] the Asian Games that succeeded [illegible] shadowing Mitterrand's trip and [illegible] come. The second was the fact th[illegible] unusual departure from routine n[illegible] joint communique was issued at t[illegible] the visit. Since both India and th[illegible] Government in France are kno[illegible] sticklers for diplomatic rituals, [illegible] ration did not go unnoticed.

Also, since no official explan[illegible] forthcoming on the non-existent [illegible] nique, it indicated quite clearly [illegible] "levels of accord" reached durin[illegible] icial talks were hardly of an earth[illegible] nature. It also, conversely, proved [illegible] areas of disagreement, nota[illegible] ghanistan and Kampuchea, were [illegible] rious enough to muddy the w[illegible] Indo-French amity.

Essentially, therefore, the vis[illegible] the words of an external affairs [illegible] "get better acquainted" trip with [illegible] intention of forging newer and [illegible] links to the mutual advantage of [illegible] countries. Viewed purely in that persp[illegible] could be said that the visit was [illegible] But it was equally obvious t[illegible] countries were prepared to be[illegible] backwards to accommodate ea[illegible] The almost ridiculous ease with [illegible] French side gave in on the [illegible] Tarapur question only served to e[illegible] the point. The French have agree[illegible] ply low enriched uranium [illegible] Tarapur plant on the same terms [illegible] scribed in the Indo-US agreement [illegible] which is in itself a major step co[illegible] the fact that it would obviously [illegible] down well with France's allies in [illegible]

Cultivating Ties: India, on [illegible] hand, was overly careful to ensure [illegible] visit went off smoothly and u[illegible] dably so. It is no great secret [illegible] Gandhi has made her "woo-the[illegible] policy the corner-stone of Indi[illegible] matic activity. Back in 1980, the [illegible] of External Affairs had received [illegible] from her suggesting that India sh[illegible]

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It was Tuesday. We had one argument after the other.
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I wanted it to.

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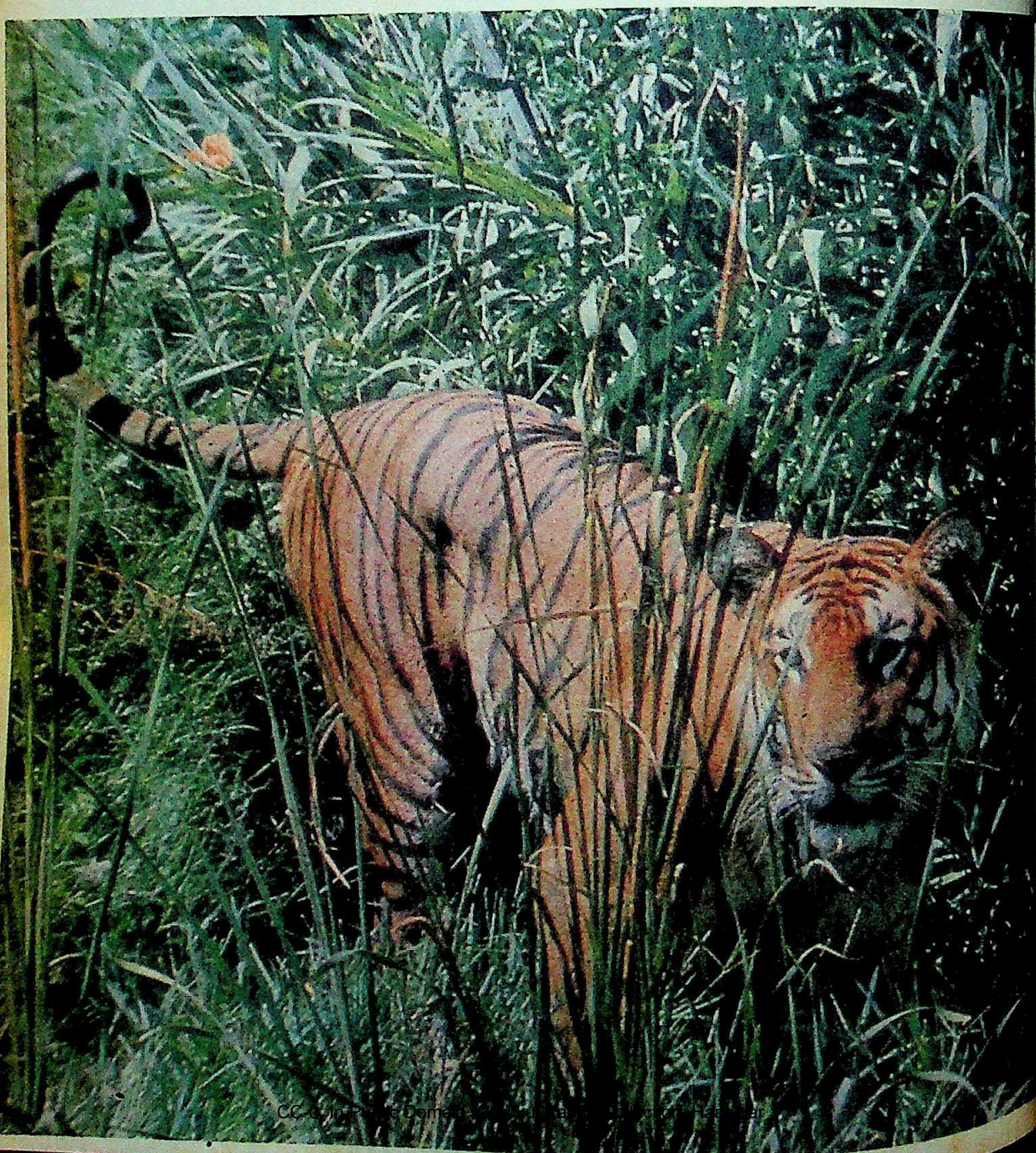

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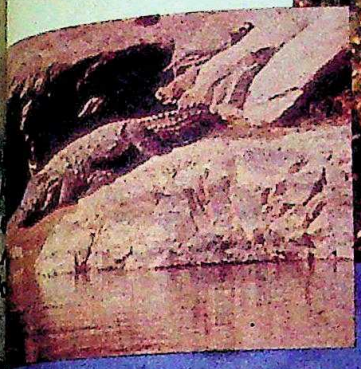

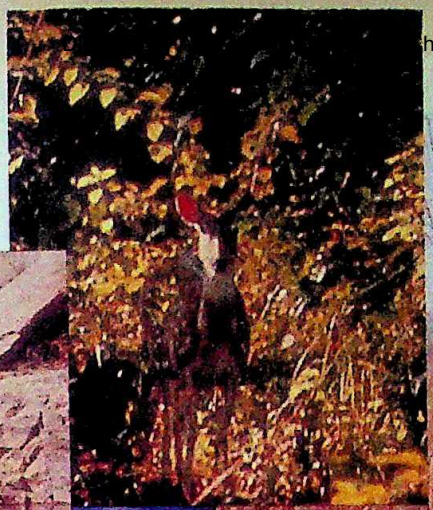

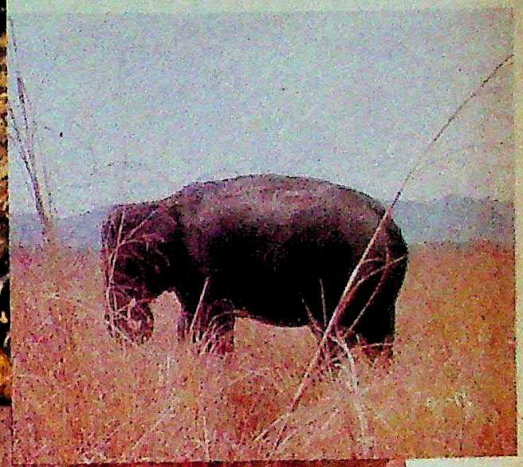

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nal Park

attractions of this Park are the sambhar he 490 sq. km. Dudhwa National Park is of rtance because of its flora, fauna and spreadout. The Park encompasses the North Kheri Forest Division and holds wildlife.

ley

are the home of the tiger, crocodile, deer, panther, sloth bear, wild boar, gharial, key, mongoose, python and 585 species of

ere are other smaller wildlife sanctuaries ous Nawabgunj Bird Sanctuary which dreds of migratory birds every year.

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relations, specially in trade, and technology, with the em- powers of western Europe, and Africa. She specifically France, the German Federal and Britain in Europe, Mexico in Latin America and Africa. In her letter, Mrs out her reasons for her sug- were that these countries increasingly autonomous powers. Most, if not all, sup- and were more sympathetic blems and aspirations of the countries.

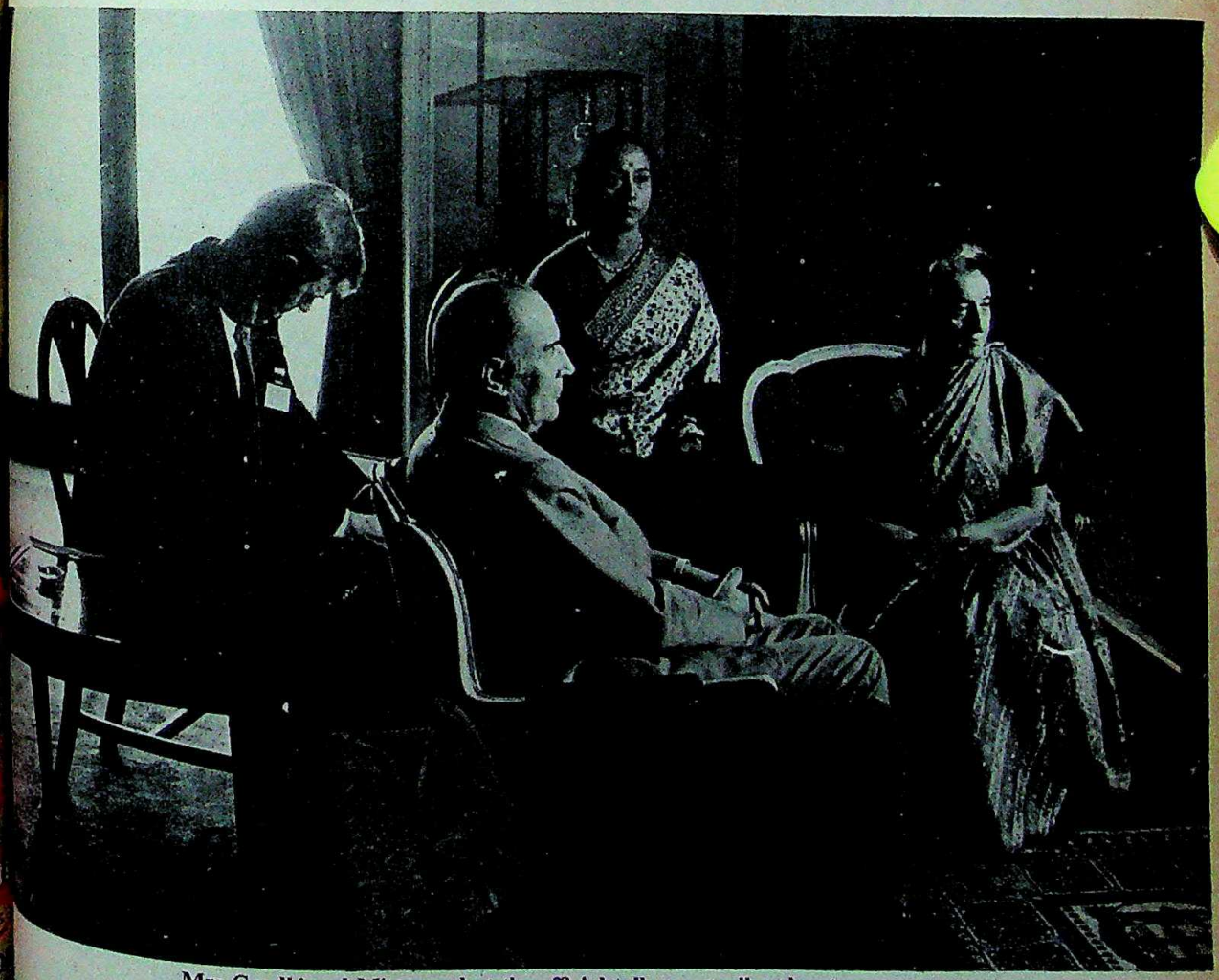
ime minister's letter resulted in diplomatic activity and in the ars, Indian foreign policy has to wooing the middle powers, France and West Germany. In ly since 1980 that Indo-French have been elevated to a high- el.

er, Mitterrand's visit was, in te- rete achievements, not as fruit- ing flouted. Undoubtedly, the do-French cooperation in the nuclear, military and industrial fields, was broadened considerably. At present, France accounts for just 3 per cent of India's foreign trade though it is the seventh largest buyer of 'Made in India' merchandise. But at the same time, it was obvious that the rapport established between the two countries when Giscard d'Estaing was around was no longer in evidence. Mrs Gandhi, according to sources, found Mitterand more anti-Soviet and pro-American than Giscard who had visited India immediately after Mrs Gandhi's return to power in 1980.

Mitterrand clearly displayed more interest and sympathy for Third World problems and intrigued his Indian hosts by expressing a desire that France be permitted to attend the New Delhi non-aligned summit as an observer. The Indians, however, are hardly likely to accede to that request not because of the storm of protest that is likely to erupt in the club (Iran has already objected in no uncertain terms) but because of France's membership in another club—NATO, the world's most powerful military alliance.

Arms Purchase: There were, instead, clear signals that military collaboration between the two countries is likely to increase even further. India, Mitterrand confirmed, will not just be buying 40 Mirage 2000s in a fly-away state but negotiations had reached the final stage for the planned production of 110 more of the highly-expensive aircraft in India. Mitterrand also, more or less, confirmed that France would be willing to sell India a number of Exocet missiles, something they were not prepared to do earlier.

On the economic front, the details were not so concrete. France has offered to assist India in steel, coal and power sectors, but sources say that India was adamant on economic cooperation being part of a package deal which would include credit, grants and technological transfers. The firmness on the Indian side obviously stems from the realisation that the level of French technology is not sophisticated enough to capture western markets and the Third World offers it a less discerning market. Hence, the Indian side's insistence that French prices and te-



Mrs Gandhi and Mitterrand at the official talks: mutually advantageous

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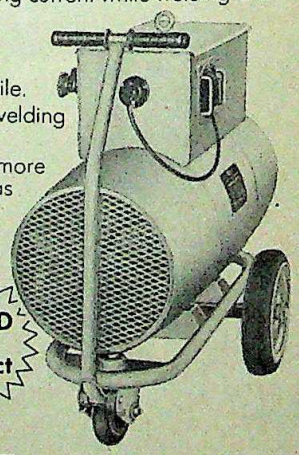

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inconsiderable time spent by n deciding on an increase in cultural exchanges clearly indicates that both sides are wary of rushing into each other's arms without first laying a solid foundation for the relationship. But since it is a relationship that is eminently suitable to both parties, Mitterrand's visit should clear the way for what definitely promises to be a marriage of utmost convenience to both parties.

—DILIP BOBB

ked And e Dead

ER PENCHANT for wandering around in the nude had given her plenty of exposure. turned out to be of the indecent Last fortnight the Kurnool Di- Sessions Judge D.J. Jagannatha sentenced the controversial -old nude sanyasin Mangam- to jail for life. Her crime: kil- amakoti Reddy, a devotee, hom both she and her sister having affairs, after he told about his plans to marry so- else.

e murder itself is a macabre but Mangammavva really a sensation on December 18 when she embarrassed Raju ing on appearing before him ude. Her bail was cancelled. eek later Raju released her ded to go ahead with the thout having her in court. he heard the 16 witnesses in Mangammavva moved the Pradesh High Court to the case out of Kurnool on that Raju had asked her to clothed in court.

dictable Judgement: In Sep- the High Court predictably, down her plea. But Man- va was unrelenting, and r petition to the Supreme which finally ruled that: edom of religion is not ab- rules governing proceedings in The court helpfully suggested e should be produced in court ed by her disciples holding a around her.

the end this outlandish sug- was acted upon and Mangam- ppeared before Raju surroun- her disciples on December 9 handed down her life sentence. Savitramma and brother-in- ma, who were accomplices in , were also jailed for life. A Mangammavva to Ramako- and the evidence of Mallamma, the maid at Mangammavva's ashram at Holiveedu village in Kurnool district clinched the matter.

In the letter to Reddy of May 11 last year, just four days before his marriage, Mangammavva asked him to fulfil her desire by visiting the ashram for one last time before his marriage and bring some offerings, including money. Reddy pledged some jewellery with a money-lender and reached the ashram the same night. Giving his verdict before a packed court, Raju asked:

Mangammavva: plenty of exposure

"How can a person with claims of divinity write such a letter to a devotee? There's more to the relationship."

The murder was apparently carefully planned according to the prosecution. Mangammavva and her accomplices tied a noose as Reddy was asleep and, as she sat on him, crushed his testicles and strangled him. They then carried the body and left it outside the ashram. Remarked Raju: "It is evident that the motive for murder is sexual jealousy as Ramakoti Reddy had decided to marry someone else." He wondered why the police had not taken up the interrogation the next day. Said Raju: "They hesitated perhaps respecting the sentiments of her divinity."

Conflicting Reports: Though there are conflicting stories about this divinity, Mangammavva first attracted attention in 1970 as she moved around naked, performing "miracles", like conjuring articles from thin air. Village elders described her as the reincarnation of a nude sanyasin known as Mangammavva who lived in the area about 50 years ago. She was promptly renamed Mangammavva and dropped her original name Yasodamma. As the word about her spread she acquired an egg-shaped stone as her symbol of divinity, and several of the followers, including Ramakoti Reddy's father, helped build her tiny ashram-home in Holiveedu.

Says a Kurnool journalist: "Some disciples came from Bellary in Karnataka and others from Madras, presuming she was a faith-healer. She used to ask them to worship a small image of *Naga* (Shiva in the snake form) made of gold and keep it in a sealed box for 20 years. This she asked them to do as a follower of Shiva for total cure of their ills." Police sources, however, say offerings made to her, including fruits, often found their way to nearby markets.

After her arrest on charges of murder last year, Mangammavva attracted more voyeurs than believers. The believers now prefer to go to the temple built after the death of Mangammavva-I in the village of Kandigudem. But the nude wonder has some disciples in Kurnool and neighbouring districts.

Her followers who have remained faithful to her have decided to take the issue in appeal to the High Court. Meanwhile, Mangammavva-II, a rather short woman of 25 who covers her body with her long hair and flowers, has been admitted to the Central Prison in Hyderabad. Her insistence on remaining nude and eating only fruits is a problem for jail officials. Said one: "Nudity as a birthright appears to be her creed. Our problem is to convince other women prisoners not to get worked up about this."

—AMARNATH K. MENON

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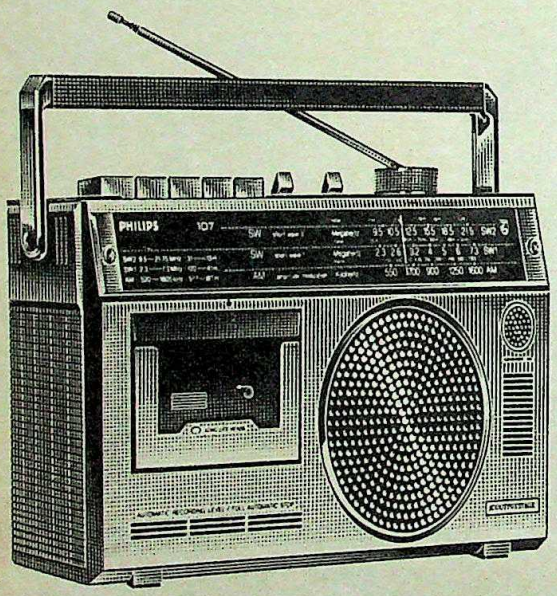

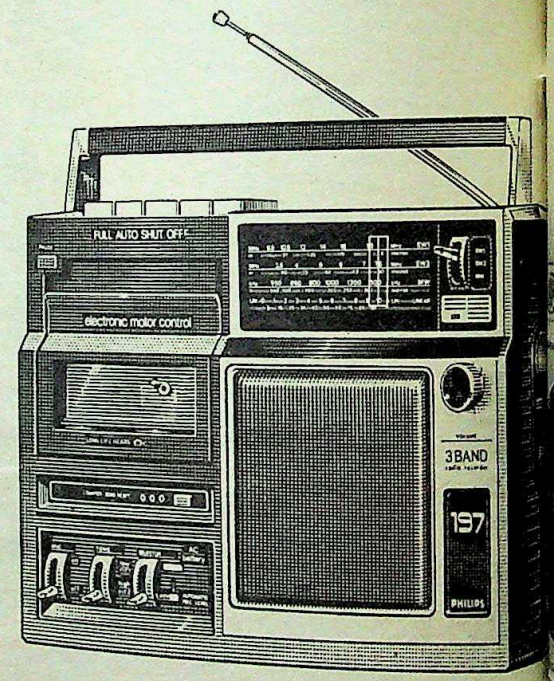

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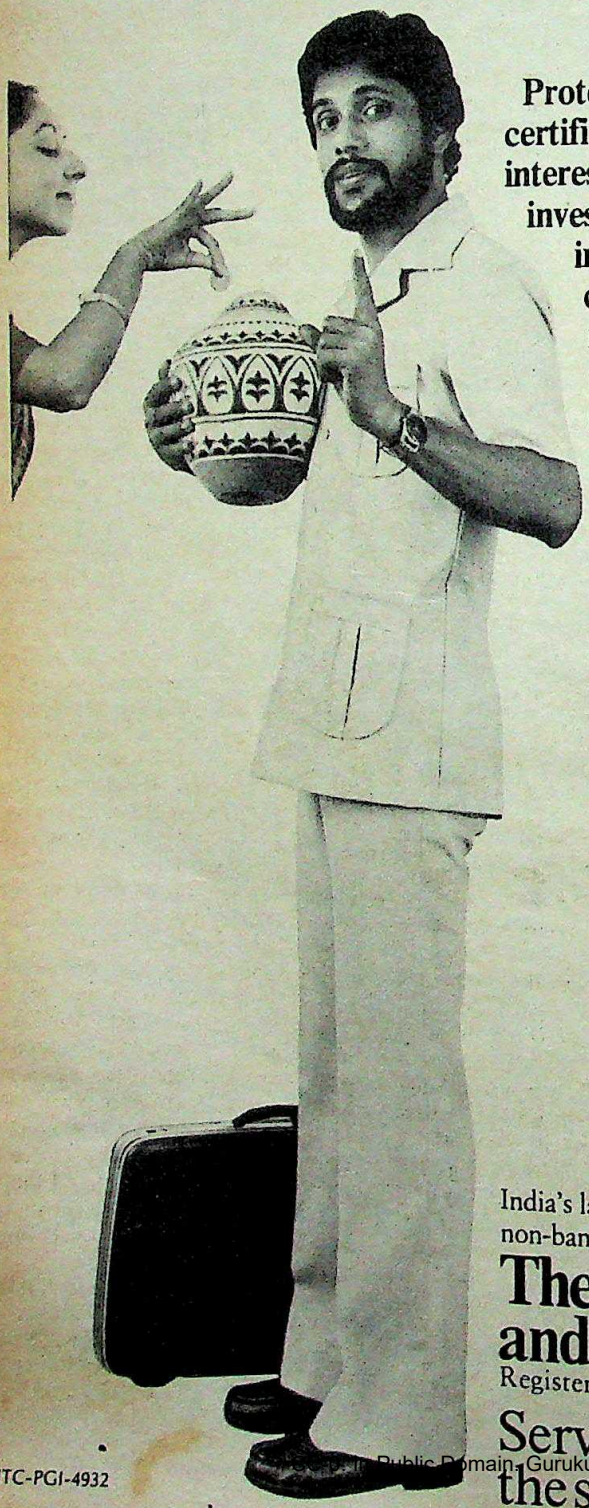

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o Many Cooks

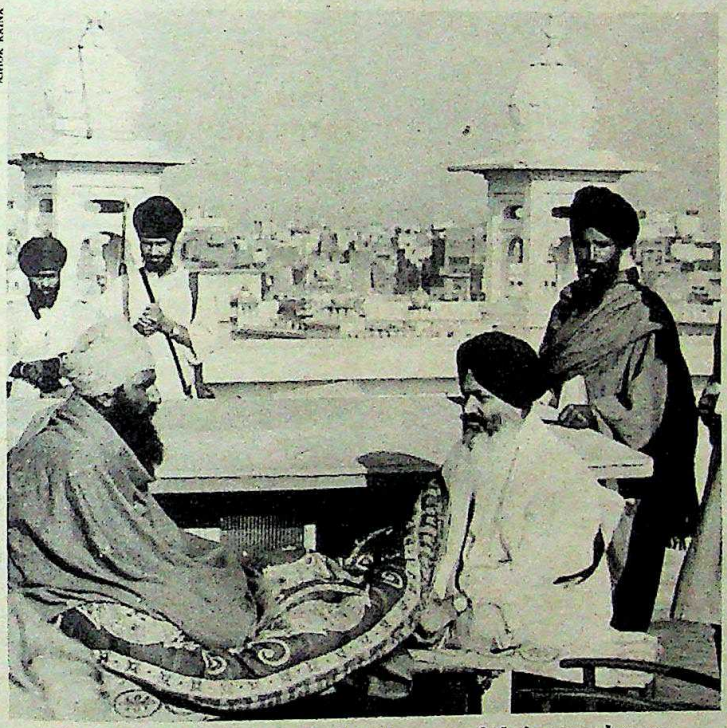
EVEN as half a dozen mediators—some of them self-appointed—fussed around with the 18-month Akali agitation in Punjab, no solution was in sight last fortnight. Instead, the volasingly exasperated agitation amed that they were gearing phase which could lead, in the cha 'dictator' Harchand Singh a "revolt".

mber 10, over 300 middle level s—including mem- negotiating panel, ders, MP's, MLA's, s of religious orga- sembled in Teja dari Hall in Am- n and frustration air, as doves like gh Badal, Ravi nd Balwant Singh to show after nu- s with numerous t by Prime Minis- Gandhi. Longowal when he disgus- d: "No fruitful be served by sitting gotiating table." Singh Tohra, chief mani Gurudwara Committee (SGPC) d ominously that recognise any of from the Central

Tactics: On the gowal's fiery spe- hering resolved to agitation for the the 45-point charter of de- ext phase begins January 26, ongowal will forward the resig- of four MP's and 36 MLA's to officers of the state Assembly t. The Centre views the mass ve as an attempt to create a crisis: with over 40 per cent bly seats vacant, legislative not have the backing of the full

s also decided to launch l morcha if the Centre failed ete commitment. Says Jag- lwandi, MP and extremist realise that we are our own also realise the implications of our slogans which the Sikh masses take up. But we are left with no alternative but to repeat these slogans."

The decision to return to the barricades followed fruitless attempts at a solution by Swaran Singh, Amrinder Singh, MP and a scion of the former Patiala ruling family, Jammu & Kashmir Chief Minister Farooq Abdullah, Marxist leader Harkrishan Singh Surjeet, Union Home Minister P.C. Sethi, Mrs Gandhi's Principal Secretary P.C. Alexander, and Union Home Secretary T.N. Chaturvedi. For the last six months they have tried and failed to break the ice, their efforts stymied by the inter-party squabbles in both the ruling Congress(I) and the Akali Dal.



ASHOK RAINA

Bhindranwale and Longowal: prisoners of their own slogans

Stalled Agreement: When Swaran Singh was brought out of hibernation in August this year, he was expected, with his experience, to keep the Akalis talking. The Akalis settled for Swaran Singh, as they were not willing to sit down with Punjab Chief Minister Darbara Singh. The dialogue continued for a week and might have ended in a settlement when the state Government threw a spanner into the works by not agreeing to release about 50 Akali leaders jailed on charges ranging from violence to intimidation. Among them were important supporters of the militant Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale, who has catalysed the revival of Sikh fundamentalism. The state Government also made it clear that it would not permit the transfer of Abohar and Fazilka to Haryana—a quid pro quo for Chandigarh. Accuses Balwant Singh: "Darbara Singh is the villain of the piece."

Swaran Singh's job was complicated by the entrance of Amrinder Singh, who is disliked heartily by Darbara Singh. Amrinder Singh has been projected as a replacement for Darbara Singh and the chief minister's supporters refused to aid him. While Swaran Singh dealt with both extremists and moderates, Amrinder Singh concentrated on the moderates and was instrumental in arranging their meetings with Alexander and Chaturvedi. Meanwhile, Marxist leader Surjeet—who had won his Rajya Sabha seat with Akali support—pitched in to help, drawing suspicious glances from the Akalis as the CPI-M disapproved of the morcha. Surjeet was roped in because of his association with Tohra and other extremist leaders.

When Swaran Singh withdrew after his failure to "narrow down the areas of disagreement" Farooq Abdullah made his play. In November, he held discussions in Amritsar with Akali leaders. Abdullah's aides claim that he had the prime minister's blessings for his mission; but, embarrassingly, when Abdullah met Mrs Gandhi afterwards he was told to keep away from the muddle. Sure enough, Abdullah declared at a wedding in Amritsar on December 10 that he had given up mediating and advised the Akalis to deal directly with Mrs Gandhi.

Rough Work: But the major responsibility for the breakdown in talks lies with the Haryana Government. For two months Chief Minister Bhajan Lal used a sledgehammer to prevent the Akalis from disrupting the Asiad in New Delhi. Every Sikh traveller passing through Haryana—be he an Indian Administrative Service (IAS) official, an armed forces officer or politician—was stopped and thoroughly searched at four different points on the 300-km Sher Shah Suri Marg which links Delhi with Punjab.

This "humiliating" treatment drove the Akalis away from the negotiating table. Says Balwant Singh: "Bhajan Lal with his strong-arm tactics did a great service to our cause. By humiliating respectable Sikhs he has

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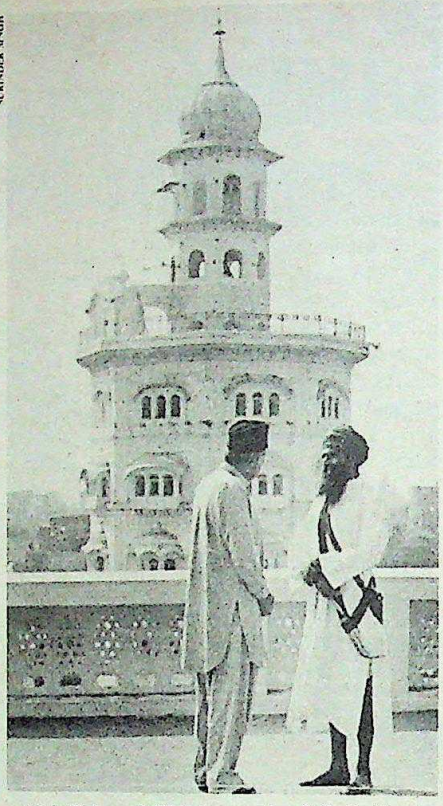
proved that Sikhs are second-class citizens in his state. He has done that which we could not in two decades." The Akalis also allege that Bhajan Lal would not have started the anti-Akali campaign without the Centre's approval.

Earlier, Bhajan Lal had managed to extract a pledge from all opposition parties that they would resign from the Assembly if any territorial agreement was reached with the Akalis without consultations with the Haryana Government. Swami Adityavesh, a suspended Congress(I) MLA, went as far as to demand the expulsion of all Sikhs from Haryana.

WHILE the Central Government and Congress(I) leaders are no doubt responsible, in part, for the present crisis, the divided Akali leadership has also been blowing hot and cold. At no time have all Akali leaders spoken with one voice, enabling the Centre to make up its mind. The five-member negotiating team well reflects the division. Tohra, Talwandi and former state education minister Sukhjinder Jeet Singh have always been opposed to any dialogue with the Centre; their sole objective has been to chip at the political base of Badal and Balwant Singh.

Tohra as chief of the SGPC wields en-



SURINDER SINGH

Abdullah and Bhindranwale: failed efforts

ough clout but Badal has rallied the peasantry behind him. Akali hawks o to the meetings which Badal and B Singh have been holding with Con leaders and Central officials. Predi Tohra and his men have sabotaged Badal-Balwant Singh proposal.

It was primarily owing to Tohra dding that the Akali Dal rejected suggestion that the issues of shar Ravi-Beas waters and Centre-state re be referred to an independent judi thority. It was Tohra's suggestion th and MLA's be asked to resign, a mo viously designed to weaken the Badal which is recognised by both the state Central Governments as the Opposit December 10, Tohra and Bhindranwa to persuade the gathering to agree resignation letters now lying with Lo be immediately forwarded for acce Longowal himself rejected this.

Final Phase: The Akalis are no ing beyond Punjab for support December 10 meeting decided to in minority communities in the agitati convert public opinion to the cause ever, Imam Abdullah Bukhari of Jama Masjid was the only minority l respond to the call. Badal, Balwan and former Union agriculture

AKALI DEMANDS

Lebensraum

THE AKALIS are no laggards when it comes to asking for more. Their demands, enshrined in the 1972 Anandpur Sahib resolution, ask for everything from Amritsar as a holy city to the merger in Punjab of large, productive chunks of neighbouring states so that the Khalsa can at last "reign supreme".

That is precisely what the Khalsa would do, if the Centre caved in. The Akalis want for Punjab large tracts of the Sri Ganganagar district in Rajasthan, a big slice of adjoining Haryana, areas of Himachal Pradesh and Chandigarh. Assuming that these demands are granted—more than unlikely—Punjab's wheat and paddy production would be up 20 per cent and cotton production would be nearly doubled. It would get huge areas of irrigated land. One drawback to this vision of a promised land is that there would be fewer Sikhs than before: their population would decrease from 52 per cent of the state's total to 40 per cent.

Water Trouble: The loss to the other states would be colossal. Sri Ganganagar district in Rajasthan is part of that state's granary and hacking tracts out of it would certainly demolish the state's economy to quite an extent. The fear that the water would go to Punjab haunts farmers. Said Pritam Singh of Kesrisinghpura: "We are alright in Rajasthan but if the water is to be withdrawn, we should be where the water is." However, divided loyalties exist. A good number of big landowners own property in Chandigarh and would like it to be a part of Punjab.

Elsewhere, the story is the same. Ram Sarup of Sirsa in Haryana points out: "Hissar and Sirsa which now flourish were poverty-stricken before canals were dug. We do not want to return to barren lands." Haryana Irrigation and Power Minister S.S. Surjewala said: "The Akalis are asking for some areas of my district, Jind. There is a sprinkling of Punjabi-speaking people but most of the people speak Hindi and Bagri. The demands look senseless."

The furore at the moment is centred on the 1970 award by which Chandigarh was to be given to Punjab in exchange for the merger in Haryana of 114 villages of Abohar and Fazilka tehsils in Punjab's Ferozepur district. This works out to one village in the sta cotton-rich district for each square k metre of Chandigarh. The award sti lated a 7.6 km-long and a 200 m-w corridor along the Punjab-Rajasth border to connect Haryana with merged areas. Although the awa stated that the merger of these villa along with other disputed areas was be decided by a linguistic commis after Chandigarh was merged Punjab in 1975, nothing at all has done.

Divided Opinion: And for g reason. A recent opinion poll by a b ness consultants group found that per cent of the citizens favoured Union Territory status for Chandig with only 23 per cent opting for P jab; a mere 1 per cent favour Harya But, then, Haryana would be q pleased to give Chandigarh to Punja it got Abohar and Fazilka—and asking for Rs 200 crore and a period five years to build a new capital. total cost: Rs 1,000 crore, according town planners.

With political parties in the to lining up with 'Chandigarh for Pun and 'Chandigarh for Haryana' slog opinion in Abohar and Fazilka equally divided. Ashwani Dhamij

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Barnala, were directed to tour to win the support of other and regional parties.

ation is likely to enter the final uary 26, leaving Mrs Gandhi six ve the issue. As she will be very ctions in three states, the six likely to throw up a solution. never surrenders to pressure e Akalis have burnt their boats h a stiff posture. Last fortnight, er Sethi tried to lure the Akalis e negotiating table, sending on a fresh mediation foray and Longowal. Sethi's appeal was the Akalis, who stated that this stage would be fruitless "if ent shuts its eyes to facts and ping in the same tune as it the main body of your letter". al's rejoinder to Sethi held the ernment responsible for the pre- charging that it "closed the amicable settlement during our with the prime minister . . . she an award over the Ravi-Beas without taking us into con- gh we were holding discussions e. We could not continue after ting treatment and the point- by Mrs Gandhi to reopen the issue of Ravi-Beas which was so vital for the economy of the state." The territory and water-sharing issues have contributed to the failure of the Akali-Centre talks. Clearly, however, as they involve neighbouring states, the Centre cannot take a decision which could create additional problems.

Future Moves: The Centre is, however, favourably inclined towards the religious demands—but will do nothing before the Akalis withdraw their threat of revolt. During the next six weeks, while Akalis brace for the final round, Mrs Gandhi will have to settle the primary issues raised by the Akalis—the transfer of Chandigarh to Haryana, the appointment of a judicial commission to decide the water dispute, and future Centre-state relations—before they call off their morcha.

For the Akalis, now checking their flags and clearing their throats for the slogans, it is now a question of survival. It is Mrs Gandhi's turn to play her hand and she has good cards—public opinion is on her side and the Opposition is lukewarm to the Akalis. The desperate Akalis will just jump at a request from the prime minister in person to come and talk things over. Will they receive the invitation?

—PRABHU CHAWLA with GOBIND THUKRAL in Amritsar

MAHARASHTRA

A Sordid Story

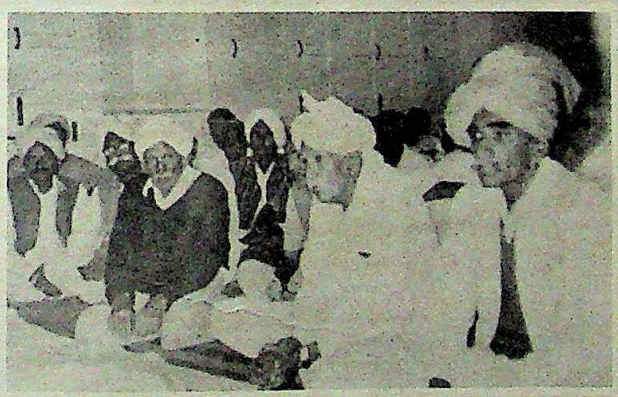
SHE SITS doubled up on the narrow cot in ward six of Bombay's J.J. Hospital, the little-girl face breaking into deep, wrenching sobs each time the shivering starts. A dirty white hospital robe swings open to reveal a ravaged, emaciated body within, wasting away from the multiple infections which are consuming her insides. On a scrawny wrist is a single red bangle, the only visible link with her horror-filled months of slavery in sleazy Bombay brothels.

At 13, Tulasa Bhirduj Thapa has seen more of the seamier aspects of human avarice and lust than most people three times her age. Kidnapped from her native Nepal and sold into Bombay's teeming flesh markets only last March, the pretty pre-adolescent has survived an ordeal in three different brothels since then, catering to the perverted demands of up to 2,000

lawyer who owns land of the 114 villages. This transfer would be ticulous. Some farmers have land in both states face inconvenience as, essal of their grievan- will have to run to capitals. A large per- in both Abohar and would like to stay in

re are others who exactly the opposite. Brajlal Runia, who science in a D.A.V. in Abohar and Ami- a cobbler who works e Abohar Railway Station both like their region to merge aryana. Runia feels that Hindi- people in Abohar are discri- against and Amichand is ready any fall in income if the shift ace. Legislator Sajjan Kumar- son of Lok Sabha Speaker Jakhar—recently addressed a in his village of Manzgarh present expressed their firm go to Haryana.

guage Split: The division seems re on the basis of language than religion although the dividing line is very thin. Sukhdev Singh Brar of Abohar said: "Eighty per cent of the people marked Punjabi as their mother-tongue in the last census as against 50 per cent earlier. This shows that the people want to stay in Punjab." As against this, Lala Chander Sain, a petrol dealer of the Fazilka-Abohar area asserts: "Our forefathers came from West Pakistan 100 years ago and established full understanding with the local Bagri people. We adopted Hindi in our home and social life. This is positively a Hindi-speaking area."



People of Abohar at a pro-Haryana meeting: linguistic differences not religious ones

There are those who want to let sleeping dogs lie, like Ramchand Setia, a Fazilka farmer. "I am a Hindu," says Setia. "But that does not mean that I wanted to leave Punjab. In Haryana caste considerations are worse than Akali communalism here. We would rather stay where we are." Gurdev Singh, a farmer from Singhpura village near Fazilka, says: "The transfer would amount to dividing people in the sensitive border areas and no sensible government keeps harping on divisions."

Sensible governments don't, insensitive politicians do. At the root of all the Akali demands—quite literally—lies their demand for more land for the Khalsa. However, as a cursory sampling of opinion in all the areas shows, any step towards fulfilling even a part of that demand will cause disorder and tumult, not to speak of the resulting economic dislocation outside the promised land.

—GOBIND THUKRAL and B.D. SNATAK

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men in the interim. "But I will kill myself rather than go back to that," she emphatically told an attending doctor in hospital.

Close to death after months in the dingy, overcrowded and disease-ridden brothels of Bombay's sprawling red-light district near Grant Road, Tulasa was last month taken by her third "madame" to a private nursing home which caters almost exclusively to the 10,000-strong population of prostitutes in the area. The doctor, alarmed by her condition, promptly recommended admission in a regular hospital and, two days later on November 27, the child prostitute was brought to J.J. Hospital with a list of ailments as long as her age. Among the life-threatening infections which had ravaged her were: tuberculosis and tubercular meningitis, which inhibited the flow of cerebro-spinal fluid to her brain; acute genito-urinary tract infections, which ultimately affected her kidneys; several sexually transmitted diseases and the possibility of hydrocephalus.

Breaking Away: But the hospitalisation gave Tulasa her first bash at breaking free from her captors. Sensing the sympathy of resident J.J. doctors Ishwar Prasad Gilada and B.V. Mangani, member-secretaries of the Indian Health Organisation (IHO), the girl mustered up enough strength to pour out her story. The revelations made their way to Bombay's press and, by last fortnight, Tulasa was the focal point of the IHO's six-month-old crusade against forced prostitution and venereal diseases. Something of a *cause celebre* already, Tulasa's story resulted in 28 flesh trade arrests.

It is a pathetic story of depravity and greed. Playing last March near her uncle's house in Madtirth village near Bagmati in Nepal, Tulasa was suddenly acc[illegible] Kanja, a friend of her parents. "It [illegible] festival of colours and I was playing [illegible] the house," she recalled, her memo[illegible] last eight months vivid despite th[illegible] lations she has been through, "whe[illegible] came and said he would take m[illegible] because my mother was unwell. But [illegible] of going home, he threatened me and [illegible] me to go on the bus with him."

Brought on a route which Ka[illegible] clearly used before, the young gi[illegible] immediately spirited past border gu[illegible] Veerganj by three knife-wielding m[illegible] three days after her kidnapping, [illegible] was in Bombay. Only two days late[illegible] being alternatively threatened, beat[illegible] locked up, the girl was sold for R[illegible] to her first "mistress", a Nepa[illegible] prostitute called Thuli. Four days a[illegible] reached her new "home", she was [illegible] at knife-point: Tulasa remembers t[illegible] month as a blurred haze: an u[illegible] stream of customers ravished the ch[illegible]

Miserable Existence: Sold at t[illegible] of the month for Rs 7,000 to Rith[illegible] ther Nepali madame, Tulasa spe[illegible] next six months in the worst kind o[illegible] kie joint. An average of ten custome[illegible] day handed the girl a pitiful Rs 5[illegible] assaulting her. With Tulasa in the [illegible] ped brothel were a dozen other gir[illegible] ted similarly. By end October, p[illegible] broken into the trade, the girl was s[illegible] again—this time for Rs 7,500—to [illegible] brothel on Khetwadi Crossroad N[illegible] Two, a relatively high-class house [illegible] charged Rs 30 for in-house services [illegible] Rs 150 call-girl option for Arabs.

"There was 20 of us in Gaun[illegible] out of which 19 were Nepali," said [illegible] between sobs. But the diseases sh[illegible] picked up along the way had ca[illegible] with Tulasa by now, and b[illegible] November the girl was too far g[illegible] work in the brothel.

Although she continued the s[illegible] for her life last fortnight, Tulasa [illegible] that falling ill was the best thi[illegible] could have happened to her. Looke[illegible] by hospital *dais* and fellow patients [illegible] warmth which she had not seen fo[illegible] months the girl said she was confid[illegible] doctors would make her well and s[illegible] she got back to Nepal. But the [illegible] about her parents' reaction remai[illegible] letter written to her father soon a[illegible] arrived at J.J. Hospital had elic[illegible] response by the end of the fortnig[illegible] the girl constantly implored her do[illegible] make sure they came. "My mot[illegible] come. I know she will," she said i[illegible] burst of confidence. "I'll go back [illegible] in my home and meet my brot[illegible] sisters again." —CHANDER U[illegible]

Tulasa: inhuman ordeal

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t was Wednesday. I felt like the cat's whiskers.
had said all the right things and done all the
ht things all day. Green I decided. And she
d see the glint of mischief in
yes. Every of them all green
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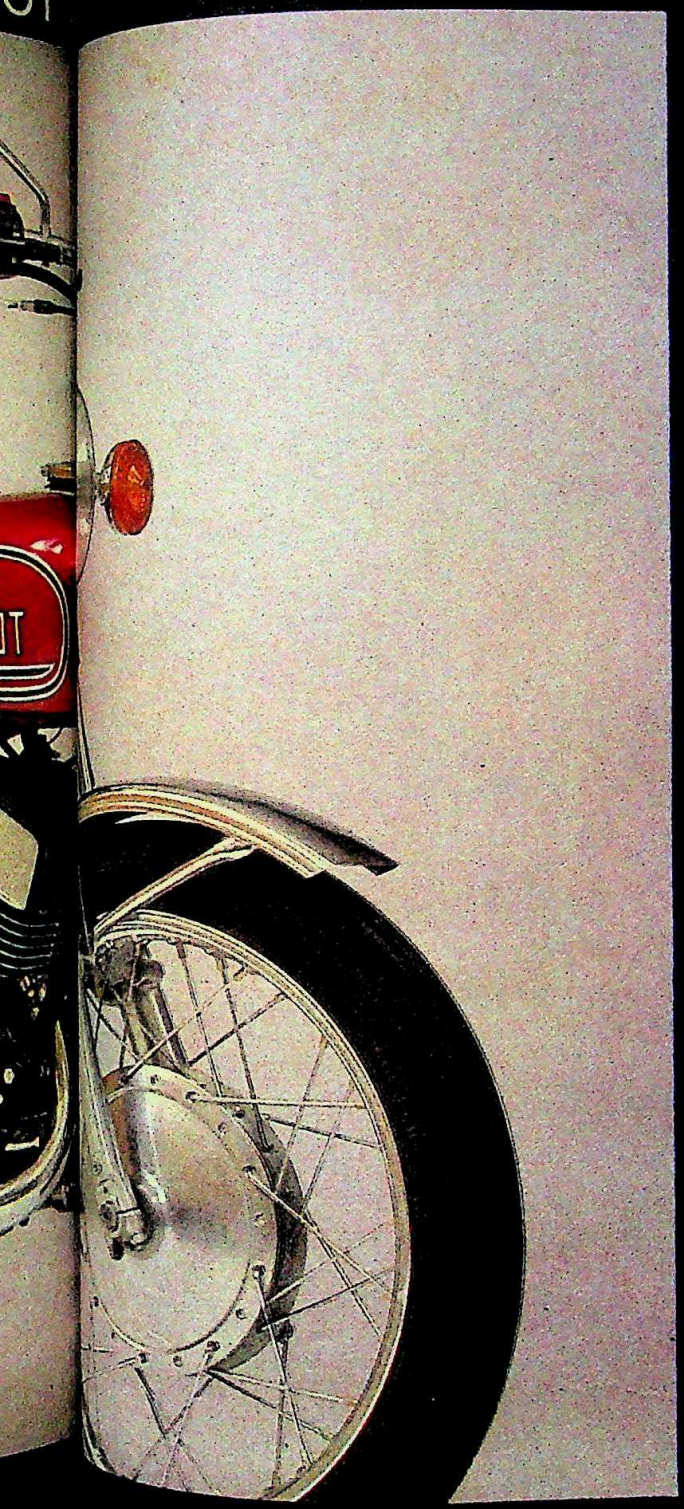

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uiem For A Marxist

THE IMPORTANCE of Promode Dasgupta to the Communist Party of India-Marxist (CPI-M), cannot be better judged than by the way he was bid goodbye. On December 5, when his in Calcutta, six days after the Marxist leader had died in Dum Airport was filled to along the route of the cortè- oved slowly to the party office Street, stood silent mour- es several feet deep, carrying party flags.

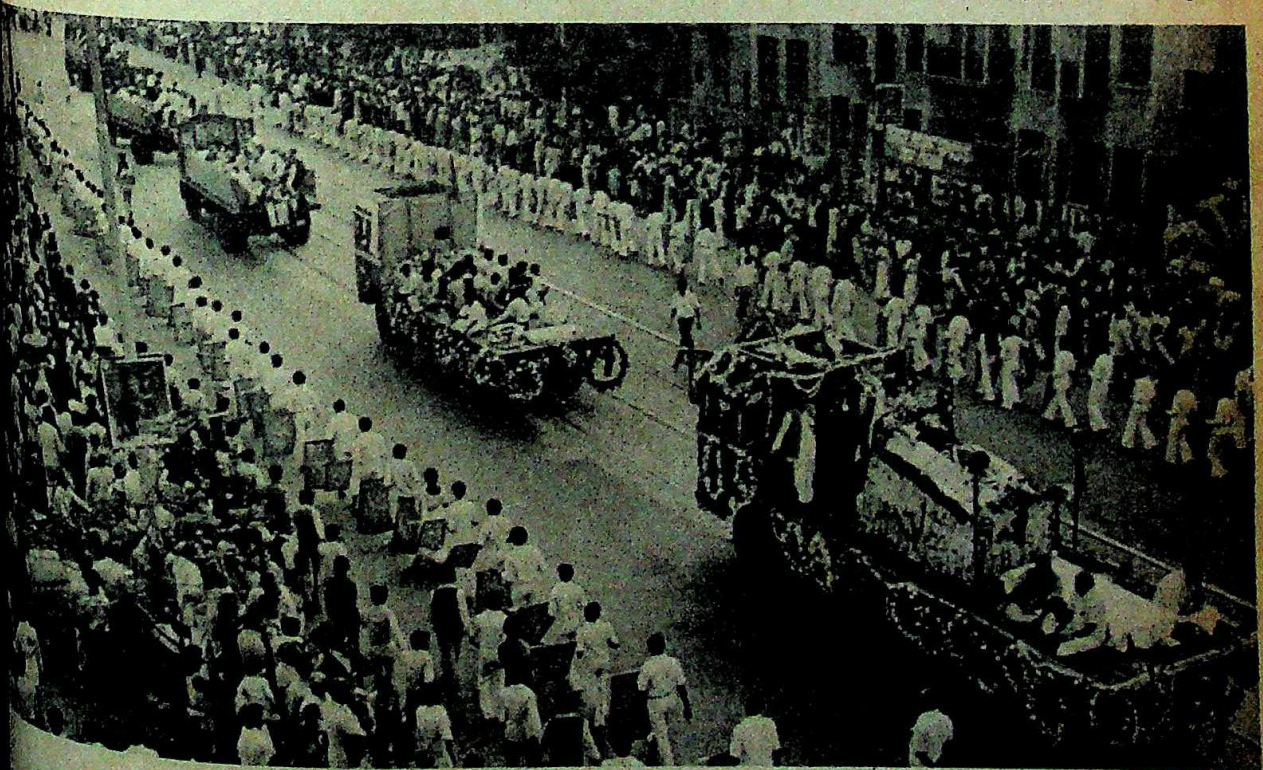
party office where Dasgupta's a couple of hours while thou- mourners filed past, many tears. At 2.30 p.m. the body out on a flower-bedecked truck atala crematorium. Almost people followed the process- y now then the strains of the could be heard as one or of cadre members sang. At s Dasgupta was placed into crematorium, without any reli- ny, the crowds burst into one omode Dasgupta *Lal Salaam*."

Position: With the finality of senior party members in the state were forced to face one stark fact —the vacuum that Dasgupta had left in the party. For the last 18 years, ever since the party had split from the Communist Party of India (CPI), Dasgupta had been the secretary of the West Bengal unit and had become synonymous with the party in the state. His death brought into sharp focus the fact that there is nobody who can take charge of administration in so effective a manner. Said Chief Minister Jyoti Basu: "When he (Dasgupta) was there none of us had to bother about the organisation. Now we will have to work as a collective body."

The first indication of this came with the election of Saroj Mukherjee, 71, to both the offices Dasgupta held at the time of his death—secretary of the state unit of the CPI-M and chairman of the Left Front. His appointment, according to political observers, signifies a continuance of Dasgupta's plans for the party as well as a transition period when younger members will be given greater responsibilities. More importantly, it signifies that the Marxist Government may be gaining ascendancy over the party organisation—something Dasgupta never allowed to happen. It also places a heavier burden on Basu who will be expected to deal more directly with matters of administration and mediation not just within the party but also between the Front's discontented partners.

Events during the time Dasgupta was in Beijing for acupuncture treatment for his chronic cardiac asthma, proved the need for a man of his calibre. With the membership of the CPI-M burgeoning to over 1 lakh and given the temptations that members of a party in power face, the time had come for a thorough reappraisal of the party machinery. The incidents at Tiljala (see INDIA TODAY November 30) when CPI-M workers aided by local goons went on a rampage resulting in the death of a police officer had brought home this fact with urgency. The leaders at Alimuddin Street were waiting for the party secretary to come back to initiate a cleansing process. Said Basu: "At the last meeting of the secretariat we had noted with concern the infiltration of bourgeois influences and lapses in the party. Cases of corruption were also noticed and even though the number was not too much we decided to nip the evil in the bud. We were just waiting for Promode babu to return when this sad news came."

Managerial Skills: The need for Dasgupta's return can be understood when it is considered that no one else has such a detailed knowledge of the state unit of the CPI-M at every level as Dasgupta did. Having worked for years as manager of *Swadhinata*, the Bengali party organ of the undivided CPI, Dasgupta had unparal-



Dasgupta's funeral cortège: a void in the organisation

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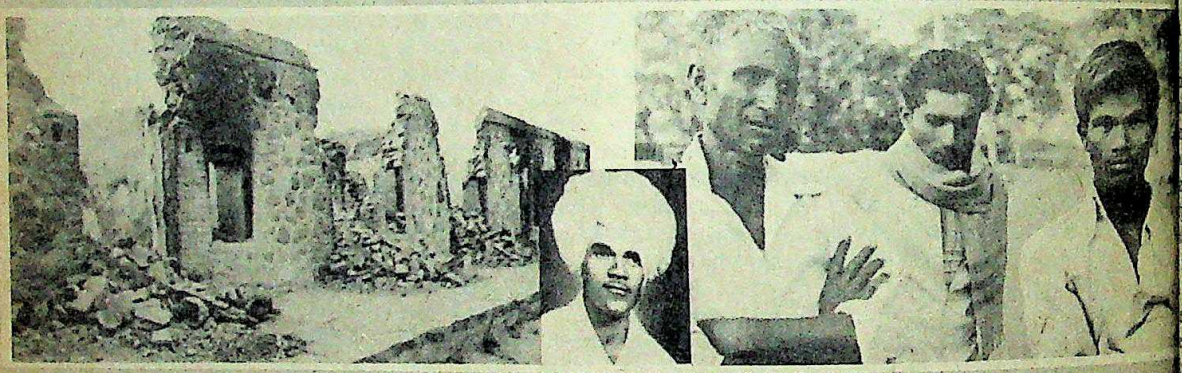
leled knowledge of the district units and members of the CPI-M. As one of his younger colleagues put it: "Promode da was an excellent manager. Even as he sat all by himself in his office room at the party headquarters at Calcutta and smoked his cigar, a well-oiled communication machinery brought to him exactly what was happening at various levels of the party so that he was rarely caught off guard."

This long association and intimate knowledge of the people had other advantages. Dasgupta has long occupied the position of a kind of *paterfamilias* in the West Bengal CPI-M. It was to him that all intra-party conflicts came for solution and it was he who was depended upon to extricate the party from trouble and guide it to safety. This was more than evident when senior party leaders like Mukherjee broke down and wept on receiving the news of his death. For the Marxists in West Bengal, the party is like a joint family and Dasgupta was its undisputed head.

This sense of loss will be felt even by the other constituents of the Left Front, hard though they had found it to get around the iron-willed leader. With the same skill that he used for his own party, Dasgupta as chairman of the Left Front, kept the most rebellious of the alliance partners in line as they were secure in the knowledge that he would bring about a solution to their mutual benefit. Possibly, the only other person trusted to this extent is the chief minister, but as events have proved, Basu cannot take this office as it would put him in a most awkward position—of having to pass judgement on his and his cabinet's actions. In the changed situation leaders like Ashoke Gho[illegible] Forward Bloc, Makha Paul of the [illegible]tionary Socialist Party and Bi[illegible] Mukherjee of the CPI fear that fu[illegible] sunderstandings may be allowed [illegible] out of proportion resulting in wh[illegible] of them want—the disbanding [illegible] Front.

Political Clout: Another sphe[illegible] Dasgupta's death is likely to have [illegible] effect is in the relations between t[illegible] Bengal CPI-M and the party's cen[illegible]dership (*see* Perspective). Dasgu[illegible] enough clout to make the polit[illegible] which he was a member, go alo[illegible] him or to just ignore their dictates [illegible] were forced to agree with the sta[illegible] more radical line. The most recent [illegible] of this was during the June Assem[illegible]tions when he simply ignored th[illegible]



The Dhokane farmhouse after the [illegible] (left); the victim Ramkrishna (inset) [illegible] members of the Dhokane family

MAHARASHTRA

Village Revolt

IT IS the rule in most of India's villages that a single family, by virtue of money and power, is able to browbeat the vast majority of indigent inhabitants. But last month the residents of at least one typical, oppressed village, Gopalpur-Khamgaon in Ahmednagar district of Maharashtra decided they had taken enough—and fought back. The battle between the family of Vishnu Hari Dhokane and the rest of the villagers came to a head in the last week of November as nearly 200 villagers attacked the Dhokane farmhouse in an expression of their resentment.

The clash between the two groups, which started on the night of November 29, went on through the next day. According to the Dhokanes, the violence started when a group of villagers set ablaze a servant's room and a haystack, as a result of which the family apprehended three villagers who they suspected to be the culprits. But the villagers say that the Dhokanes cut off canal water to their farms and beat up the three villagers when they objected. They maintain that the Dhokanes themselves set the room and haystack on fire in order to frame the three.

As the news of the assault on the three villagers reached the village, a mob of about 200 villagers stormed into the cement-constructed farmhouse, measuring 3,500 square feet, to retaliate. After asking the Dhokane womenfolk to leave the house and setting free the 50-odd cattle, they set fire to the house, haystack, a large compost pit, harvested bajra, standing sugarcane crop, a tractor, a trolley and farm implements, and looted whatever they could get their hands on. The three-hour orgy of violence resulted in the death of Vishnu's brother, Ram Krishna, injuries to six other people and damage worth Rs 6 lakh. By evening, a platoon of Special Reserve Police (SRP) jawans patrolled the village, which was placed under prohibitory orders. Thirty-four men, including th[illegible] lagers' leader, Takate, were arreste[illegible]

Cunning Tactics: But this is n[illegible] entirely unprecedented incident. [illegible] hostility between the villagers an[illegible] Dhokanes has a much longer hi[illegible] Dhokane, who was a primary s[illegible] teacher till about 1960, started [illegible]mulating land after he sensed the [illegible]tune in the Gopalpur-Khamgaon [illegible] when two irrigation projects s[illegible] shaping up. Villagers claim [illegible] Dhokane bought farms from ign[illegible] farmers with small advances, prom[illegible] full payment later. He had re[illegible] compensatory money for his [illegible] which had been submerged int[illegible] Jaikwada reservoir and this a[illegible] came in handy for his initial i[illegible]ments. In addition, his unli[illegible] money-lending had already [illegible] trapping the poor farmers.

The Nevase tehsil, in whic[illegible] Gopalpur-Khamgaon village [illegible]tuated, has rich black soil and [illegible]

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call for "left and democratic
would have meant electoral
with the Congress(S). Dasgup-
this as such an understanding
been objectionable to his col-
to the rank and file of the

characteristic candour, Dasgup-
mented to INDIA TODAY last
the constant search by the na-
ship for alliance with "demo-
es: "Those who are not strong
their own rights have to go in
ercises." Basu, acknowledging
situation, said: "By virtue of
ce and contribution Promode
d a special position in the po-
it would be too much to hope
cessors will command the same
e, however, hastened to add:

"Not that we ever had any conflict with others in the politburo. What used to happen is that sometimes we had to explain the situation in greater detail."

Thus last fortnight, as the huge procession accompanying Dasgupta's body wended its way through Calcutta's crowded streets and the sound of the *Internationale* filled the air, the question uppermost in the minds of all those present was: how would the party now maintain its unique position in the state? As lesser lights take over from a man whom the Calcutta daily, *The Telegraph*, described in an editorial as one who "had started as a worker, become a leader and died an institution", the CPI-M in West Bengal seems to be heading inescapably towards uncharted waters.

—SUMANTA SEN

of irrigation canals of Mula dam
Rahuri. The cluster of villages
Gopalpur-Khamgaon has the
al advantage of being at the
of a sprawling reservoir of
a dam in adjoining
abad district, which provides
ound water to wells through
ion. Not an inch of land, there-
emains without sugar cane and
or wheat throughout the year,
in other parts of the district
drought is a common feature.
e realised the rich potential of
and proceeded to acquire as
of it as possible. In course of
e expanded his 15-acre farm into
re empire, and the lands were
into the records under the na-
six brothers and their wives and
Meanwhile, the land cost rose
Rs 2,000 to Rs 40,000 per acre,
o cane and two sugar factories.

nated Family: Dhokane's fa-
owever, deny any exploitation of
ers. They insist that Vishnu's
y was a result of hard work,
lanning and improved farm te-
s. They claim that the villagers
alous of the united family.
brother-in-law, Eknath
suggested that communists, who
ntrolled the Nevase Assembly
ency for 15 years—till 1978—
nded the trouble.
few people are prepared to be-
e Dhokane family. They have
pathisers among the present lot
ernment officials or the police.
Superintendent of Police D.N.
ightly brushes aside the sug-
that the incidents of November
e politically motivated.

New Leadership: About four months ago, an ex-serviceman-led action committee jumped into the dispute to try and undo the injustice allegedly meted out by the Dhokane family to the poor farmers. In ex-serviceman Babasaheb Keshav Takate, 35, the villagers found a leader who had the courage and capacity to organise their discontent against Dhokane into a proper agitation, when the Congress(I) or the Communist Party of India (CPI) failed to solve their problems. A Gopalpur Anyaya Nivaran Samiti ("Committee to End Injustice in Gopalpur") was formed and it took out a morcha on August 17 to the tehsil office in Nevase to demand the restoration of the farms grabbed by Dhokane.

Tehsildar B.D. Shaikh says that the Dhokanes and the villagers had clashed earlier on July 12–13, and six cases of rioting had been registered by the police against members of both groups. The August 17 morcha, of about 200 villagers, had submitted a memorandum to the tehsildar, listing their grievances and allegations. They alleged that Vishnu had amassed wealth—to the tune of Rs 75 lakh—by cheating the small landholders into selling their fields for petty amounts or under threats, and by bribing officials.

The villagers' furious uprising in Gopalpur-Khamgaon village against the *nouveau riche* Dhokanes is indicative of the fact that farmers and peasants are increasingly losing faith in political parties and government machinery. Unless this faith is restored or an alternative source of recompense is established, the bloodshed may well continue.

—KIRAN THAKUR in Ahmednagar

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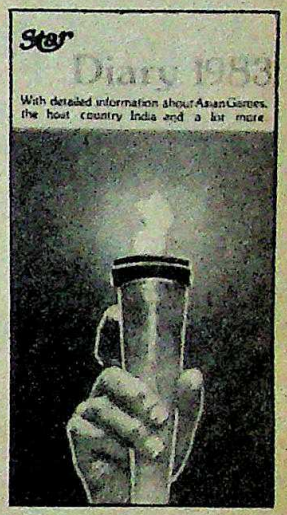

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VIKALP

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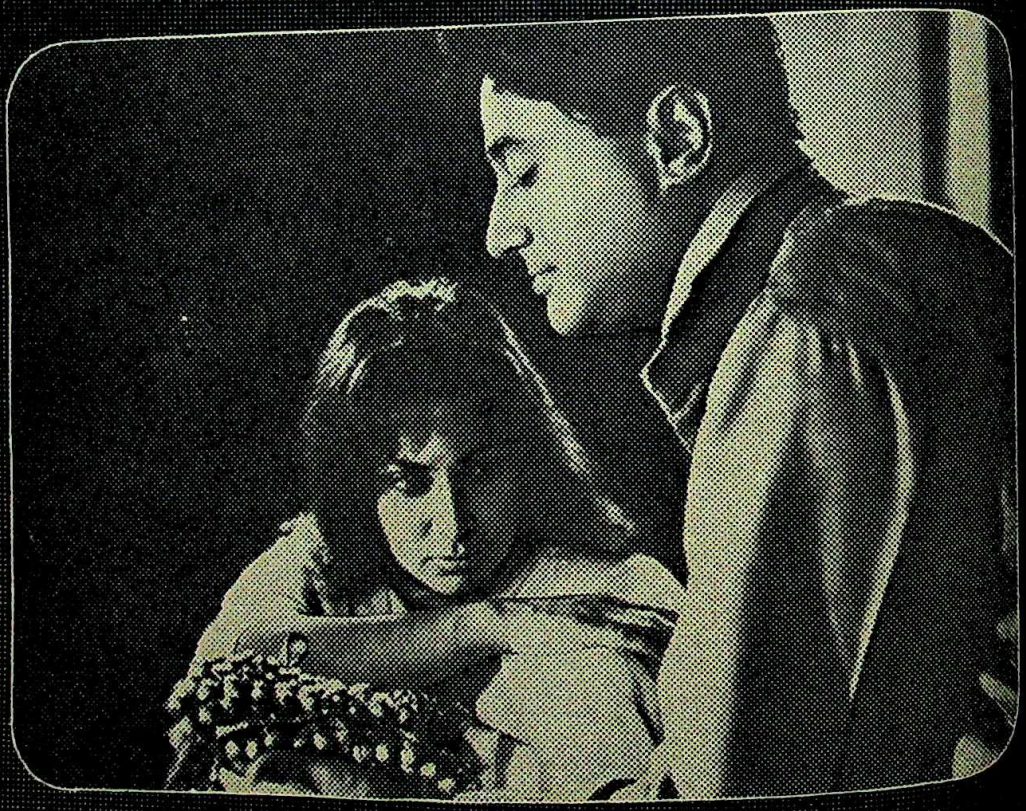
Do you remember Waheeda Rehma
brooding and magical in 'The Guide'?
And the ice-cream cone uneaten in yo
moist twelve-year-old hand...
Uncle Ramesh nudging your elbow
and breathing heavily:
"Isn't she gorgeous



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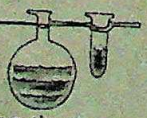

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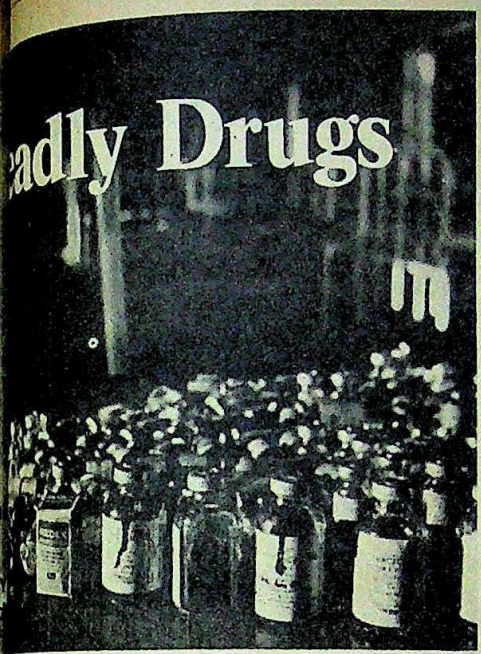
adly Drugs



he spurious drugs used by hospitals: no checks

IT WAS a disaster well averted. Last fortnight, when large consignments of spurious life-saving drugs and fluids were detected in major Bihar state hospitals, including the edical College Hospital in ment officials immediately -wide alert amidst much panic. n of spurious drugs by a few s and some officials from the Department was followed by e hospitals and seizure of all cks. Till now the authorities ulated the number of victims llen prey to the drugs, but entified the killer: fungus in e and spurious medicines re- m various stores.

le there was little that the uld do to control the panic, r Dubey, the zestful health of the state ordered the Hea- to seize all such drugs, with- time. Front-page advertise- dailies were inserted, warn- and the health officials in hospitals against use of manufactured by firms in Kanpur, Muzaffarpur (Bihar) e warning named drugs like de and dextrose injections, capsules and mercurochrome particles of fungus.

have yielded eight to 10 cines of the spurious and ty although the sources are vestigation. Said Dubey: "The discovery last fortnight was just the tip of the iceberg, and we suspect that almost all medical colleges and other government hospitals have such stocks." A deputy secretary in the Health Department who refused to comment until the investigation was over, however indicated that the disclosures would be startling.

Ineffective Controls: Meanwhile Health Department sources said that the Government was eager to clear the mess before its policy regarding the purchase and supply of drugs was violated any futher. Although they had evolved a fool-proof system for the purchase of drugs from various channels like the public sector manufacturers, medical stores depots at Calcutta, the director-general of stores or through nationally reputed firms through tenders, sub-standard drugs still managed to find their way into major hospitals.

While all attention was focussed on the central drugs store at Gulzarpur, which procures and distributes medicines to various hospitals, a spokesman of the store, however, pleaded not guilty and claimed that the spurious drugs found at the various hospitals must have been purchased by the hospital officials themselves or been supplied by the Health Department. Said the spokesman: "We only supply anti-epidemic drugs to civil surgeons who redistribute them to various health centres."

Officials from the Directorate are sceptical about whether a probe into the sources of the drug racket is going to yield anything of value. According to the Deputy Director, Shatranjan Sahay, the purchase and supply of drugs was centralised till 1976 but after a spurious drugs haul worth Rs 1 crore, it was decentralised. Medicines are now purchased by central stores or through civil surgeons. According to Dubey, the most unfortunate part is that the Government does not have a drugs testing laboratory in the state and suspected spurious drugs are sent to Calcutta and Ghaziabad for testing which takes a great deal of time.

Although Rs 3.5 crore were hurriedly withdrawn from the Government budget for the purpose of drugs purchase in March last, few people have any indication as to how the money was utilised, specially in view of the spurious drugs flooding the hospitals. Officials maintain that recently an estimates committee of the Assembly on health had listed a number of irregularities in the purchase and distribution of medicines to Sadar hospitals. The committee in its report number 81 for the year 1980–81 said: "In reality the medicines are not purchased at all but entries are made in the register and it is difficult to say whether these are purchased and the suppliers get the payment. Moreover, patients in most cases do not have even a glimpse of such medicines."

While the health commissioner and experts were busy probing into the drug scandal, the state Government had yet to go through the estimates committee's report, and there was little indication of any prompt action coming that way. Said a health official: "Though the Health Department's direct relation is with human life, the health directorate is playing with it. Everybody appears more concerned with making money than saving human life."

—FARZAND AHMED

TAMIL NADU

Closed Channels

THE MUCH-VAUNTED accord between Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu on transporting 15 thousand million cubic (TMC)feet of water from the Krishna river by a 380-km-long open channel to Madras, to cater to the chronically parched city's drinking water needs, is now practically a dead letter, with elections having been ordered in Andhra Pradesh on January 5.

It was the present Andhra Pradesh Chief Minister K. Vijayabhaskara Reddy himself who invited the Tamil Nadu Chief Minister, M.G. Ramachandran, to Hyderabad around the middle of November to sign the draft accord to bring Krishna waters to Madras. With elections imminent, Reddy cannot commit himself to such an agreement now before he can prove himself at the hustings. Not only that, any long-term agreement would only give an extra handle to the charismatic Telugu Desam leader, N.T. Rama Rao, to whip up populist feelings in the state against the Congress(I) for allegedly surrendering Krishna waters to Tamil Nadu, when people in the

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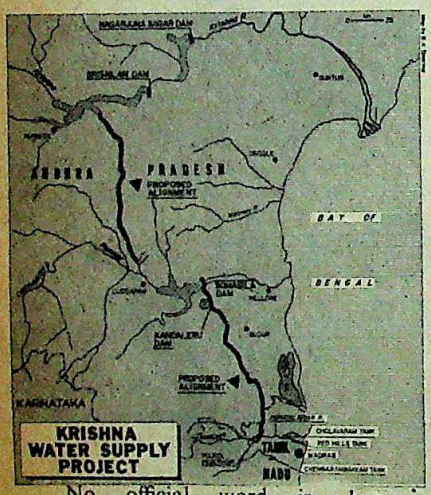
Rayalaseema area of Andhra Pradesh were themselves suffering, starved of precious drinking water and irrigation facilities. Thus the accord is likely to be signed, if at all, only after the new government assumes power in Andhra Pradesh.

Delayed: According to the Andhra Pradesh Deputy Chief Minister and Industry Minister, C. Jagannatha Rao, the accord was originally scheduled to be signed in mid-November, but was put off to the first week of December because of Vijayabhaskara Reddy's preoccupation with the proposed organisational elections of the Congress(I) in the state. The election to the state Assembly, which came as a bolt from the blue, is a plateful of worries and constitutes full-time work of campaigning and formulation of electioneering strategy for Reddy.



No official word is, however, forthcoming on the further delay that the signing of the Krishna water accord is thus likely to suffer. Said the Chief Secretary to the Andhra Pradesh Government, B.N. Raman: "The state elections have no direct bearing on the signing of the Krishna waters accord. The draft accord was ready, and all that remained was for the two chief ministers to affix their signatures to it at an agreed time and place." The Secretary to the Public Works Department of the Tamil Nadu Government, the stout and affable K. Madhav Sharma, said likewise that "the draft document had been fully finalised after several rounds of discussions between officials of the two Governments, and the chief ministers had only to formally sign it." It is, however, learnt from official sources that the technical proposals embodied in the draft accord have yet to receive official sanction from the Central Water Commission.

Ambitious Project: The draft accord seeks to concretise the assurance given by the three states of Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Maharashtra, at the instance of the Prime Minister Mrs Gandhi in 1976, to spare 5 tmc feet of water from each state's share of Krishna waters to meet the drinking water requirements of Madras. And 15 tmc feet of water is the projected total demand of water for the city in 2002 A.D., according to a survey by the Public Health Department.

The scheme, estimated to cost a total of Rs 500 crore and to involve all-out work for five to six years after the funds are actually made available, visualises the tapping of the total promised quantity of water from the Srisailam reservoir in Andhra Pradesh which is located immediately south of the famous Nagarjunasagar dam. The water will be drawn south, through an open canal, first to the Somasila reservoir on the Pannar river, situated west of Nellore, and then on to the Kandaleru dam further south, before being brought in one continuous stretch across the border to the Poondi reservoir north-west of Madras which is one of the three sources of drinking water supply to the city, the other two being the Red Hills and Cholavaram tanks. The proposed canal will be 354 km in Andhra Pradesh and 25 km in Tamil Nadu.

Even if the accord had been signed, arranging the finances for it would have proved a Herculean task. Tamil Nadu's share of the cost is Rs 140 crore with Andhra Pradesh, dreading the burden of the balance amount, having asked the Centre for assistance to the tune of Rs 200 crore.

Losses: The possibility of widespread pilferage from the nearly 400-km-long open canal also poses a serious threat. As it is, out of the 15 tmc feet of water that will be drawn from the Srisailam reservoir, only 12 tmc feet is actually expected to be available at the Tamil Nadu-Andhra Pradesh border, owing to evaporation and other transmission losses.

Officials in Tamil Nadu, however, point out that since a covered mode of transportation of the water was technically unfeasible, the only way out was to provide for intensive patrolling and supervision along the canal to prevent diversion of water. They point out that the existing open canal system in the state already extends to a total length of nearly 5,000 km. Fortunately, the loss from pilferage in this vast network has so far been negligible. On the Andhra Pradesh side of the border roughly 3 lakh acres of land were to be irrigated, and for this reason, seepage would not be a serious problem.

—S.H. VENKATRAMANI

UTTAR PRADESH

Security Threat

VIOLENCE has b
way of life in Ut
desh. This was dr
ly underlined whe
dozens of the sta
tariat security gua
on a rampage for
in the secretariat building. It took
pany of baton-wielding policem
several rounds of fire to control th
ed guards but not before variou
bureaucrats and one police inspec
been manhandled.

The real target of the securit
wrath was Prem Kumar Nee
Lucknow-based representative o
Ganesh, a Kanpur daily and a m
powerful political connections,
allegedly attempted to sell the dat
one of the guards, Jai Datt P
prostitution in October. On Nove
Pant, along with some of his co
tried to rough up Neelam for eve
tried to meddle with the girl, a
Inspector Ram Asrey Sahi, in c
the secretariat's security personn
the journalist from, according to
ing lynched, the enraged mob tur
anger on other quarters. Says Sahi
total chaos on all sides and the
gates had been jammed shut."

Prolonged Violence: After
had been rescued, the guards stor
Home Secretary Ram Chander
office demanding that the jour
handed over to them. Takru, afte
failed to pacify the crowd,
retired into the toilet while cha
hurled at him and telephone co
ripped out—all this accompanie
filthiest abuse. The next person to
brunt of the guards' anger w
Secretary Rajendra Pal Khosla.
point the police finally manage
into the building, restore some
of order and take Neelam aw
escort.

The next day all the gates o
retariat were sealed by emplo
security staff in protest agains
excesses". Both Sahi and the Sec
charge of Secretariat Admi
Kamal Pandey, were manhand
attempting to enter the building
so badly hurt that he had to b

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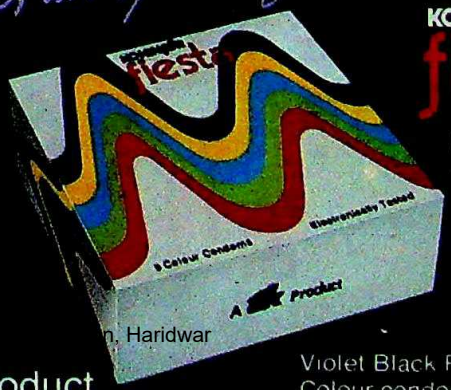
It was Thursday. Soft and unhurried. We lost
ourselves in one wistful thought after the other.
It was violet. Dreamy, tender, whispering
violet. It brought us closer
rather than ever before.



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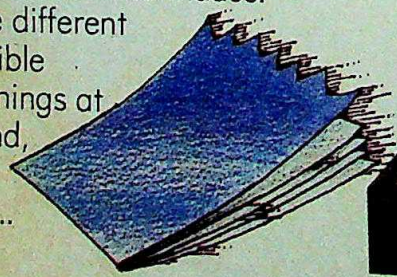

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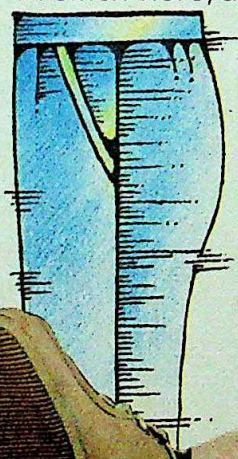

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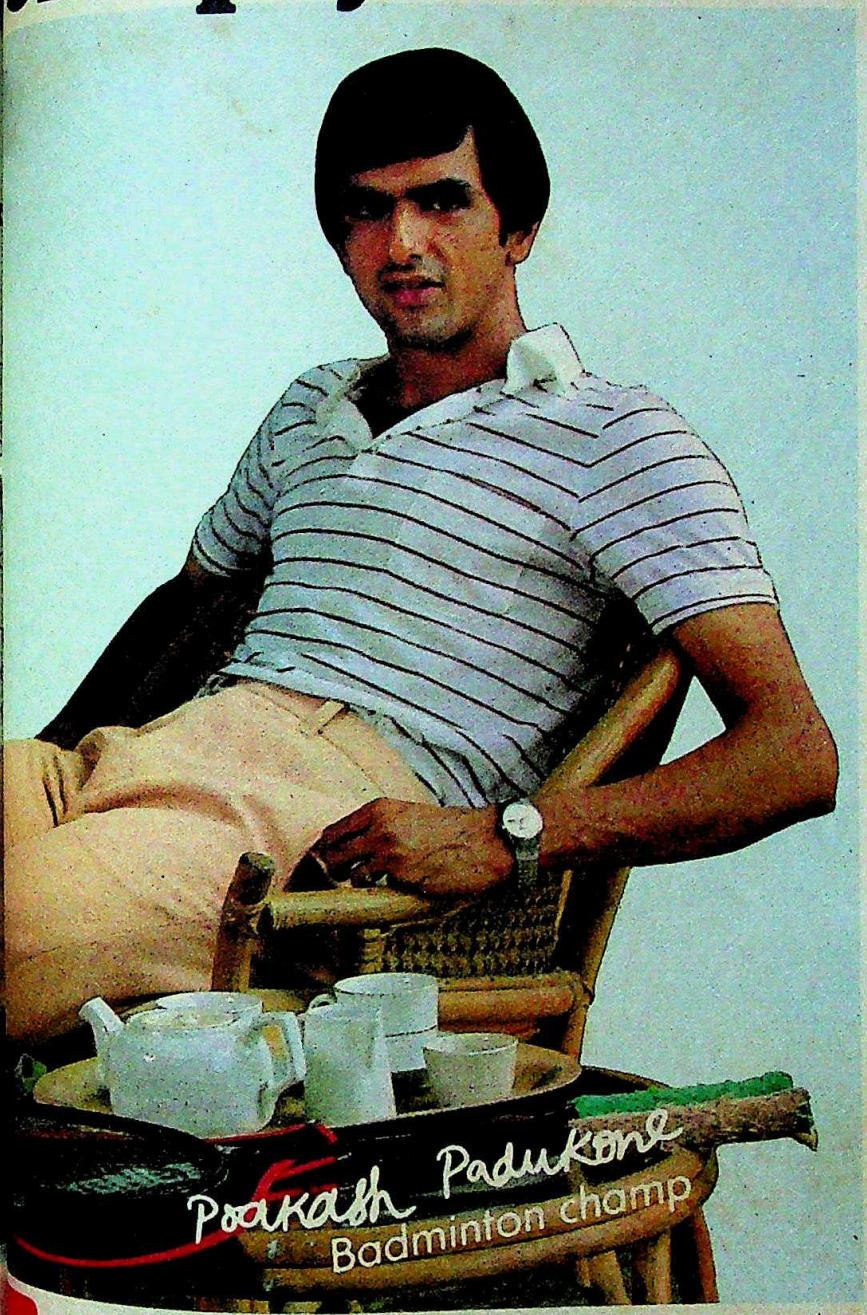

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...and Neelam and (above) Vidya: a sordid story

...ru, when questioned about the ...maintained complacently that the ...burst was no reflection on the ...cratic brass but the sole respon- ...Pandey.

...sibility also lies with Neelam. ... more an operator than a ...he set up his own news agency ...ratiya Samachar Lok Seva ...On this basis he got hold of a ...ka pass and then started issu- ...cards under his own signature— ...ch he gave to Vidya Pant when ...d her. The Criminal Investi- ...rtment (CID) is trying to find ...Neelam managed this. Vidya, ...she was duped into believing ...working for a legitimate news ...also given a job as a trainee ...in a local eveninger, *Pratidin*. ...-old intermediate student was ...d by Neelam to help him get advertisements in the evenings.

Suspicions: On October 18, 27 days after she started working for *Pratidin*, Neelam gave Vidya Rs 1,200 saying it was her salary and commissions. The same day the girl decided to quit as she had a feeling that "it wasn't all quite above-board". But Neelam and his wife Mithilesh persuaded her to accompany them to a forest rest house in Musabagh on the Hardoi road. The pretext was that they were going to Scooters India on work. In the car were two men whom Vidya has not been able to identify.

On reaching Musabagh, barely an hour's drive from Lucknow, Vidya says she was taken to a room and told that she had been "purchased" by the two men. In tears, she tried to talk the couple out of their scheme but was slapped and bullied into silence. Seizing on a chance opportunity, Vidya managed to unbolt the door and run out onto the street and from there a passing rickshaw-puller escorted her home.

Pant when asked why he had not lodged a case with the police replied: "I was sure that the police would hesitate to take proper action against a journalist and besides Neelam was pally with many of the secretariat bosses which I have observed while on guard duty." Pant is not alone in his suspicions. A CID official corroborated that Neelam enjoys political patronage and said: "We are trying to scrutinise how these could have been mutually exploited."

Numerous Attacks: Several bureaucrats backed this view saying that Neelam was "someone who knew how to twist the ropes to get his job done." Neelam countered this by saying: "It's a frame up to discredit me professionally"; but he could not answer why he had been singled out for attack and was silent even about Pant's motive for leading the assault.

While Neelam's fate still hangs in the balance the security personnel are anticipating the worst for themselves. Already 17 of them have been suspended and Pant, who is president of the Secretariat Security Guards Union, fears that the Government may overreact and disband the guards and get the police to replace them. Also at issue is the indifference with which the guards feel they are treated by the bureaucracy and the fact that there are no promotional avenues open to them. To pacify the guards the Government has given transfer orders to Sahi who has refused to accept them and has sent in his resignation instead.

It is felt that the authorities will wait a while for tempers to cool before taking major disciplinary actions against the guards. But for the fledgling Sripat Mishra Government this is yet another signal and this time much too uncomfortably close to home, of the smouldering resentment felt by different groups of people in the state that can at any moment erupt into violent outbursts.

—ANAND SAGAR

KERALA

Running Aground

THREE months after getting New Delhi's approval, the six-month-old Karunakaran Ministry has been unable to acquire land for its most publicised "gain"—the proposed naval academy project at Ezhimala in Cannanore district. Budgeted at Rs 550 crore, this biggest-ever Central government project in the state was welcomed by all political parties in the state including the Marxists. Currently, however, the focus has sharply shifted to the 8,000 people from Ramanthali and Ettikulam—two of the affected subdivisions of Ezhimala—who will have to be rehabilitated for the project.

Located in a region languishing from official neglect before the project came through Ramanthali village, 55 km from Cannanore, was one of the first to pass a resolution pleading for the location of the academy at Ezhimala. But with later awareness about displacement, property loss, compensation and rehabilitation, they conducted a bandh and even prevented the survey staff from carrying out their work. Their reaction has received the full support of all political parties in Cannanore district.

Two all-party conferences convened by the district collector have been unable to shake the people from their demands. These include reduction in the area to be acquired, exemption of densely populated areas, rehabilitation facilities and payment of compensation at market rates prevailing at the time of the acquisition. Clarifying

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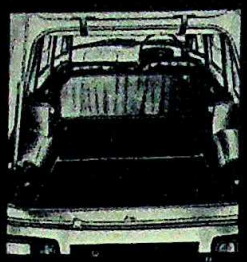
SAB 22 for those who care



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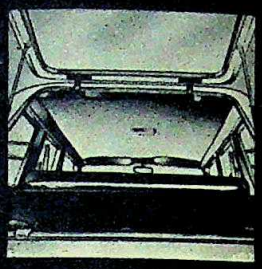

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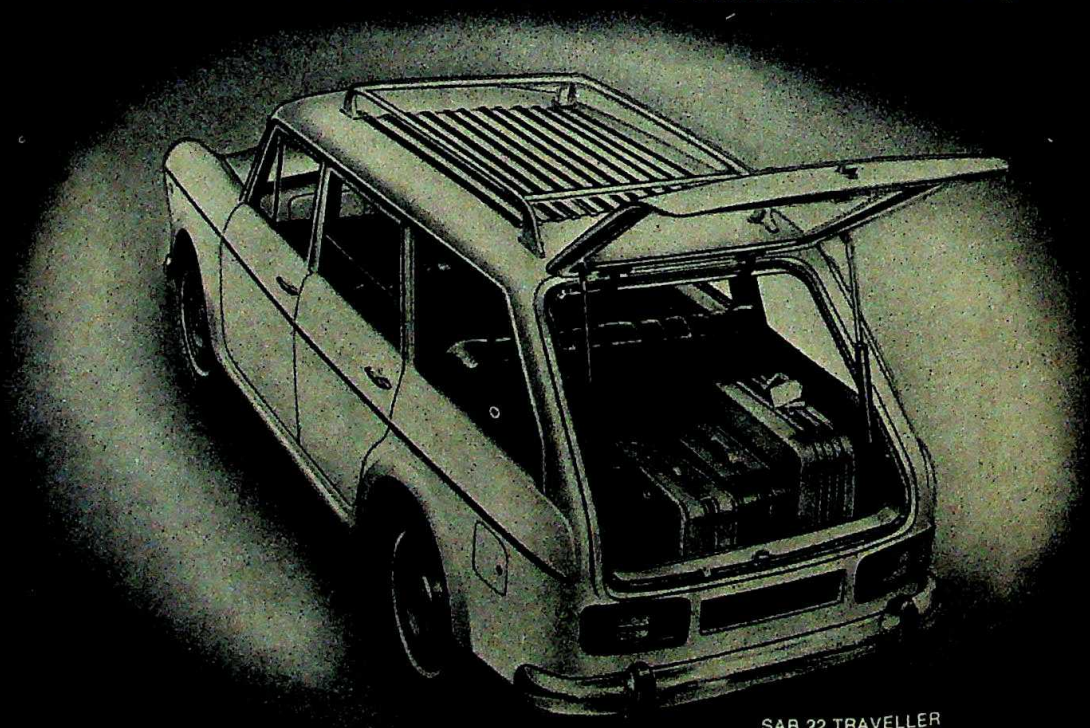

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Indeed even the Muslim League,
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or Customs official: "The day
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g Demolition: Religious senti-
and outraged with the threate-
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o K.V. Chandrasekharan Nair,
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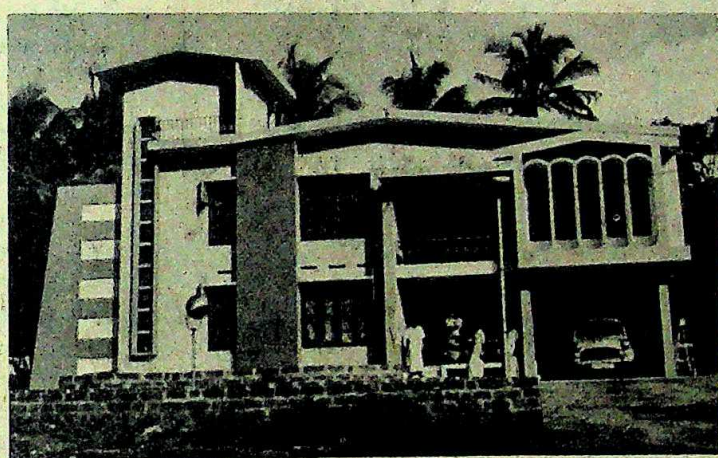
mosques and three temples in
ted area for the project." But



The Ezhimala coast where the proposed Naval Academy is to be situated (top) and a Rs.12-lakh bungalow to be demolished to, clear the site: strong objections

he added: "The navy is willing to preserve and maintain the sanctity of these places.

The final solution of the land acquisition problems will rest mainly on the report of the high-power facilities committee appointed by the Kerala Government with N. Kaleeswaran, Revenue Board member as chairman. Said Kaleeswaran: "Under Section 47-A of the Kerala Land Acquisition Act, the entire village of Ramanthali had been declared a project area in 1980." In an effort to minimise displacement he has suggested restricting the area to be acquired. But he feels that not more than a 20 per cent increase on the 1980 land prices will be given. A top level decision is likely to follow the report before the end of the year. However, despite the contentious nature of the issue, Chief Minister Karunakaran said last fortnight that 1000 hectares (2,471 acres) of land would be acquired at Ezhimala within three months at an overall cost of Rs. 16 crore.

With increasing superpower presence in the Indian Ocean and the Arabian Sea and India's exclusive economic zone (EEZ) sweeping over 2.2 million square miles of sea, the need for an independent naval academy for training purposes is a pressing one. The present academy, which was established in 1969, at the southern naval headquarters in Cochin functions from makeshift Second World War barracks. Nearly 200 cadets graduate from here annually. Ezhimala will be the country's first naval academy.

Popular Acclaim: Said Charles Correa, internationally reputed architect: "It is a dream come true. Ezhimala is the most ideal spot in the world for a naval academy." Corroborated Madhvendra Singh, captain of the naval academy and project director at Ezhimala to INDIA TODAY: "From a sailor's viewpoint Ezhimala is also in a strategic position." Adding that the "Mount Delli peak at Ezhimala has for centuries been an important navigational landmark," he said, "Not only will the young trainees be inspired by the sea, but in the backwaters we can do all our watermanship training like yacht training, rowing, power boat training and so on."

However, land acquisition, Singh feels, is entirely the state Government's problem. The navy has been promised the land by February 1983. In addition, it wants around 2,500 acres for future expansion programmes. Indeed, Chief Minister K. Karunakaran has faced an uphill task from the very beginning. Piloted almost single-handedly by him, the project was accorded approval at the highest level by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi herself and by Defence Minister R. Venkataraman in the teeth of powerful lobbying by the Tamil Nadu Government and (surprising though it may seem) by Venkataraman himself to situate the academy at Chingleput, 50 km from Madras.

Meanwhile an atmosphere of uncertainty continues to stalk the entire area. Work in most granite and stone quarries, a major business and source of employment in the area, has come to a standstill. Fertile paddy fields are fallow without any preparations for the next crop. And palatial buildings which were being constructed with Gulf money are lying incomplete. The naval academy is proving to be a mixed blessing.

—SREEDHAR PILLAI in Ezhimala

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ASHMIR

cking Down

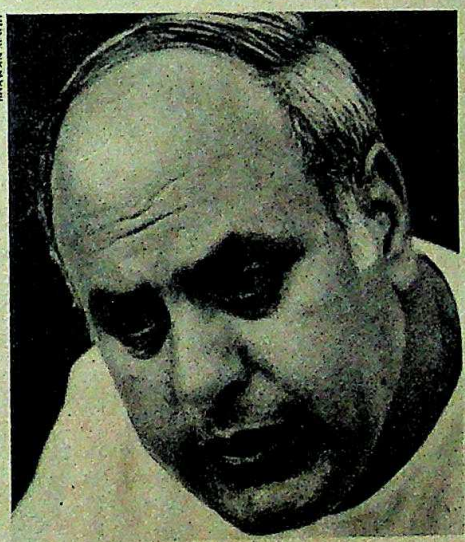
IN A MOVE presumably directed at ensuring the "health and prosperity of the state", Chief Minister Farooq Abdullah recently declared his intention to ban communal and secesties like the Rashtriya Sangh (RSS), the Mahazi Liberation Front and the gue in the state. According to ate provocation was offered kas with swords and guns in at the RSS had been allegedly his takeover. Political pun- felt that the move was more to offset allegations that after 's demise, the youthful and g chief minister would not be anti-national elements.

ective has yet to take concrete since there is no such existing ate that can ban any organi- s communal by its policies and purview of the Public Safety during the Sheikh's regime, to the detention of undesir- s. An ordinance to this effect repared by the state Law Handoo.

the RSS which is primarily ac- n and neighbouring areas has shmiri Muslims by its con- d for the abrogation of Article Constitution which accords spe- to Jammu and Kashmir, ies have mainly challenged the legality of Kashmir's ac- India. But the Jamait-e- shmir which has an extensive some parts of the valley and Muslim fundamentalism, has ed from the ban. Similar re- been exercised with regard to Janata Party (BJP).

Feedback: The scheme has g reactions. RSS and BJP lea- hreatened country-wide reta- st Abdullah, whom Ram vice-president of the BJP, cal- e challenging an elephant". s leader Hansraj Gupta re- arked that the chief minister ly bracketing the RSS with unal organisations because exigencies in the valley. Mengi, the state RSS chief, ait was "openly spreading ology", and that Abdullah ature politician playing in the hands of some who wanted his quick downfall". He further denied allegations of armed shakhas, and reiterated that as part of his "cultural organisation" these were open affairs for anybody to witness. Gupta also reaffirmed their determination to sustain organisational activities despite the ban. Circles close to the BJP in Jammu disclose that legal experts belonging to the party are currently working on the possibility of legally contesting the prohibitory directive.

Secessionist in their aims, Muslim parties such as the Mahazi Azadi, the Jamait-e-Tulba and the Muslim League have been equally vehement. Said the 90-year-old leader of the Mahazi and one-time staunch supporter of the Sheikh, Sufi Mohammad Akbar: "Ban or no ban, we'll continue our activities." Backed by a handful of Muslim youth from his home town in Sopore, 45 km north of Srinagar, the party propounds a "total independence of the state". Also ridiculing the step, Azam Inqilabi, dismissed government teacher and leader of the Muslim League, said: "The freedom fighters of Kashmir will continue their struggle."



BHAWAN SINGH

Abdullah: resolute move

The motives and methods of Abdullah's decision have invited sharp criticism. Said Mufti Syed, Pradesh Congress Committee(I) (PCC-I) chief, attacking the discriminatory proposal: "We don't oppose fighting out obscurantists at all levels, but where does Farooq draw his line by banning the RSS and singling out the BJP, even when Jethmalani himself says that the BJP was proud of having its several leaders come from RSS ranks?" Added Shafi Shaida, PCC(I) secretary, that the ban should be extended to include the Jamait-e-Islami and the Jamait-e-Tulba.

Legal Obstacles: The legal hurdles are more significant. As the law stands at present, punitive action can be launched against a specific person or communal organisation under the provisions of the Indian Penal Code or the Criminal Procedure Code. But the difficulty of processing these cases through normal or special courts is borne out by the fact that the state Government, which had amended the law a while ago to prescribe harsher punishment for communal offences, has launched no significant prosecution except to haul up a journalist for publishing a report of a clash between caste Hindus and Harijans.

Further the problem of identifying an organisation as communal presents a legal difficulty. None of these admit to being communal in their approach. Indeed even the most fundamentalist of them, like the Jamait-e-Islami, claim that their object is the cultural and moral uplift of society.

Moreover, to ban these parties is to make martyrs of them and to credit them with an overwhelming support in the state that they have not so far possessed. The past electoral performance of the Jan Sangh or its successor, the BJP, in Jammu clearly indicates their limited base. In no election where they have contested alone have they secured more than six seats out of the region's 33. Similarly in Kashmir, the Jamait is currently represented in the Assembly by only one member.

Opportunism: Not surprisingly, allegations of "politics of convenience" are bandied freely when the present official imperative is seen in tandem with the electoral alliance between the BJP and the National Conference (NC) in fighting the Jammu municipal elections a few years ago. The two parties currently share power in the municipal committee. In addition, in Kashmir the ruling NC has not been averse to the demands being voiced from time to time by secessionist groups like the People's Liberation Front and the Jamait-e-Tulba, and pro-autonomy organisations like the People's Conference.

Clearly, the communal and secessionist menace is best fought politically through the concerted efforts of all secular and democratic forces, and not by adopting repressive measures. But despite the inherent limitations of his effort, Abdullah is confident that "whatever decisions are taken in the people's interest shall be implemented. To those who raise hue and cry even when such decisions are beneficial to a common man, I say, God give them wisdom."

—GHULAM NABI KHAYAL

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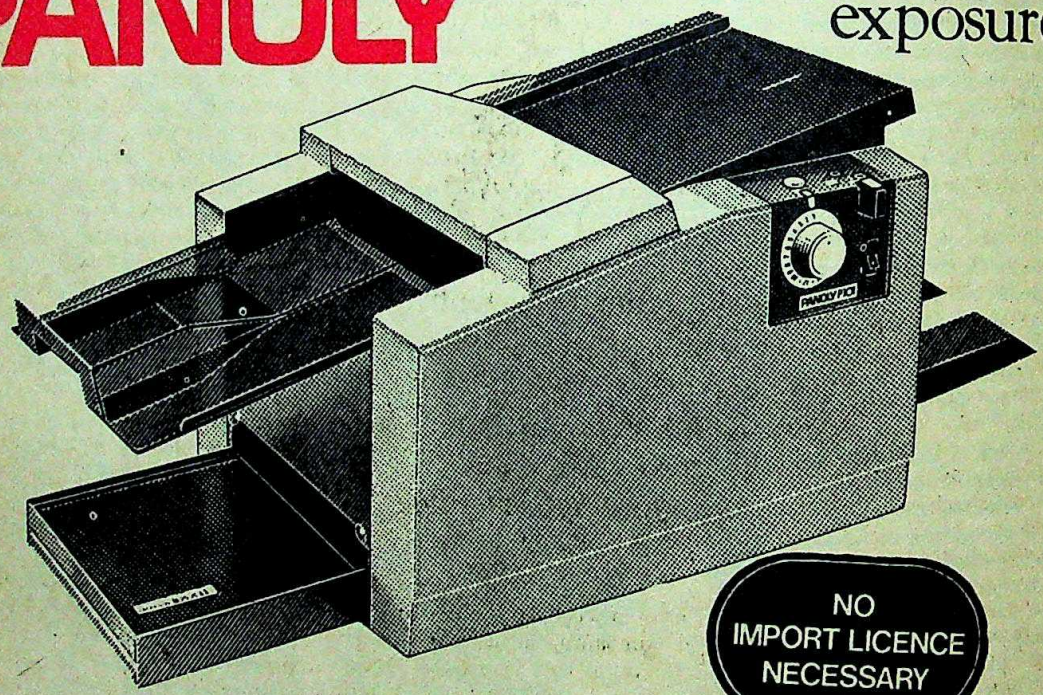

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Forests: Environmental
omes in for emphasis by aid planners in Bonn. Cautious use of resources was necessary in order to preserve the common base for the future. In a speech delivered at a celebration of the 375th anniversary of the University of Giessen, Warnke highlighted the importance of environmental conservation and the need to prevent the rapid decline of forests. He pointed out that deforestation had set in along the Himalayas and other states of northern India where trees were being felled for timber and used as a cheap source of fuel. The result was an increased pace of erosion jeopardising the water situation and impairing landscape and agriculture. Pollution and inadequate sanitation in big cities like Bombay, Calcutta and, now, Delhi which faced a heavy influx of rural population, were instrumental in the deteriorating hygienic situation. Unless an awareness for hygiene is cultivated, pollution may soon replace hunger as the number one killer.

The new policy outlined by Warnke would lay emphasis on agricultural development.... Although Indo-German cooperation is intense the Indian side had in the past favoured prestige projects whose development value was questionable.

The Germans have already done yeoman work in environmental conservation, which has received impetus with an environmentalist movement becoming an important part of the political landscape; the Germans would be glad to share their own experiences in combating the destruction of natural environments. India is the largest recipient of German aid. Financial aid commitments to India touched 360 million marks (Rs 140 crore) in 1981; 38.3 million marks (Rs 15 crore) were promised as technical assistance and yet another 56.2 million marks (Rs 21.5 crore) by way of other assistance to this country.

Bonn will be accentuating the private sector in its future aid policy. India's private sector, which has a broad industrial base, would now be eyed as the springboard for promoting bilateral cooperation. The small and medium-scale industries in India will be increasingly promoted as catalysts in developing a healthy growth of the Indian economy.

Officialdom in Bonn is quick to lavish praise on Indo-German projects carried out at the private level. One instance unceasingly cited by Bonn is the collaboration between the Continental Gummi-Werke AG of Hannover and the Modi group on the setting up of a plant near Delhi to produce tyres under licence from the German company. Continental, which was initially afraid of collaborating with an Indian company because of the high risks involved, agreed to provide the technical know-how and the Modi group took it upon itself to provide capital. The experimental balloon which was floated in 1970, "thanks to the persistence of the Indian management", as Dr Helmut Werner of the Continental Gummi-Werke states, was a success. The "Indian connection", according to the Continental management, has proved to be so lucrative for the German side that it decided to extend all-out cooperation to the Modi group in its takeover of the Firestone plant in Bombay. The biggest share of Continental's foreign royalty of 15 million marks (Rs 5.8 crore) last year came from the collaboration with the Modi group. This is but one of the success stories of Indo-German cooperation. Warnke sees in India a country with a tremendous potential for economic and industrial cooperation.

What will the new Government in Bonn expect in return from India? "Genuine non-alignment" will be the key element according to official sources. While India had in the past espoused the cause of non-alignment by keeping a certain distance from the US, its policy vis-a-vis the Soviet Union was seen as one of accommodation which, at times, irritated the West. "Genuine non-alignment", as understood in Bonn, calls for India to put into action what Prime Minister Indira Gandhi said in reply to a question from the press, last summer in Washington, that India, far from leaning towards either superpowers, "stands upright". —MANIK MEHTA in Bonn

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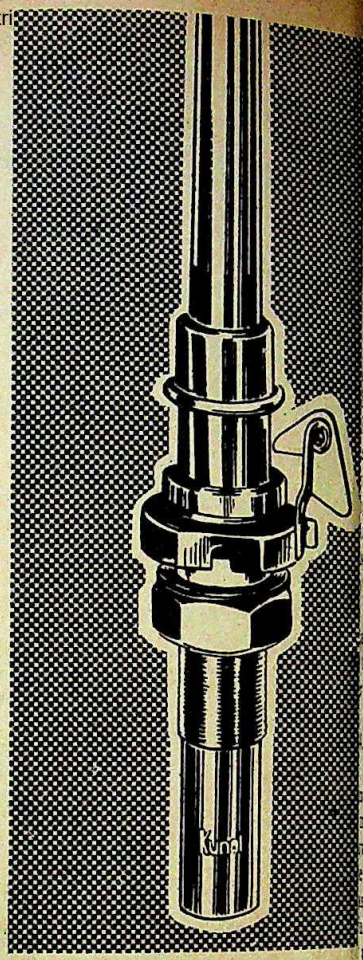
THE 'INSERT' STORY



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D C KOTHARI,
Chairman.

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Energy conservation of 9 — 13% has been shown in the studies on the shop floor using KUNAL-SMM 11 Spindle-Insert. KUNAL-SMM 11 also helps to save on oil consumption.

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Kunal has adopted the Zero-defect concept for its products. This Zero-defect programme entails a systematic approach at every stage of production.

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The INA V Draft high drafting system will soon be manufactured in India by Kunal Machinery Manufacturers Limited.

EXPANSION/ DIVERSIFICATION

The rings project is in advanced stage of completion. Commercial production is expected by December 1982.

Capital expenditure to the tune of Rs. 446 lakhs has been incurred during the year. Kunal now offers heavy duty spindles for synthetic fibre, tyre cord, woollen and worsted yarn.

THE YEAR IN RETROSPECT

Viewed in the context of the severe conditions in the Textile industry, the Company's performance is quite satisfactory. The turnover for the 15 month period ended 30th June, 1982 amounted to Rs. 745 lakhs as against Rs. 585 lakhs in the previous year. Profit before interest and depreciation increased to Rs. 198 lakhs from Rs. 110 lakhs.

DIVIDEND

A final dividend of 13% has been recommended, which together with the interim of 12% takes the to dividend for the year to 25%.

BONUS ISSUE

The Board has recommended a bonus issue of shares in the rati of 1 : 2.

EXPORTS

Exports during the year increase substantially over the previous y Further increase is anticipated in the coming years.

Highlights from the statement Mr D C Kothari, Chairman to Shareholders. Those interested the full text of the statement m write to the company for a free c

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SEIN

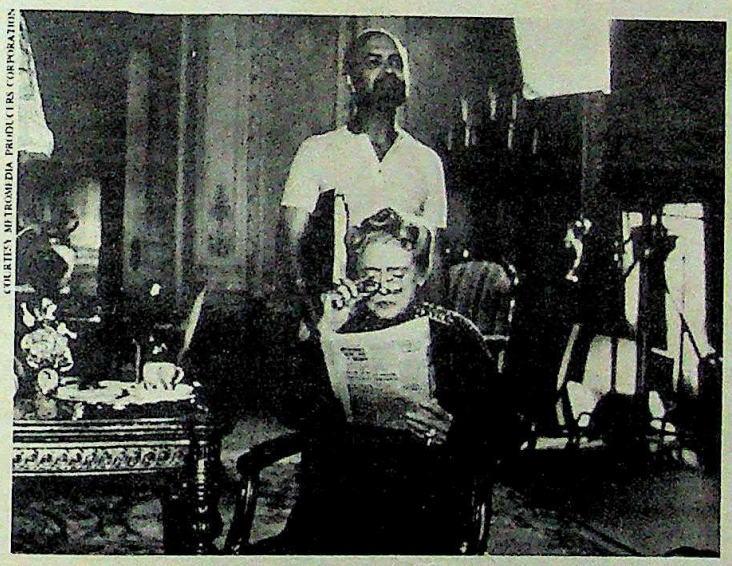
ming Home

WENTY-THREE, he was the ngest TV director at the Bri- h Broadcasting Corporation BBC) and the only Asian to ppointed a drama director, a he still holds. His six-part tele- s *Edward and Mrs Simpson* e Duke and Duchess of Wind- ed him to international fame vitable debut in the mecca of oadway, with a controversial g Coleen Dewhurst, the grande merican theatre. Success follo- with the smash hit *Little Glo- At Last*, a four-hour minise- the Vanderbilt family which demy Award winner Maureen he legendary Bette Davis and Plummer. And now, having the West, Waris is finally coming

's return to his many ways, a sent- ney—a family reu- with his ailing n attempt to make l connection with through his work. currently nego- Shashi Kapoor to al to direct a Ru- novel—an Indian that will also in- fer Kapoor and ster, film maker bibullah of *The ndhi* fame.

ce: Small-built, balding, Hussein and speaks arti- a distinct Cam- . He ascribes his precocious mixture of hard work, lucky and acknowledgement". At ready directed a play in Lon- nd, "I knew I wanted to get and direct TV plays. When I ed by the BBC, they were by my qualifications but iro- suggested that they could put Eastern Service. I impressed that being India-born had no broadcasting on the Eastern that they'd be wasting their talent. The net result of this of arrogance on my part and 'd been in all the right places s accepted!"

dging that it was a privilege to be trained by the BBC, Hussein claims, "I have never encountered prejudice in Britain because I was not in a factory—I deal with thinking people." In those early years, he directed plays by Shakespeare, Shaw and Ibsen with actors like John Gielgud and Peggy Ashcroft, Sybil Thorndike and Laurence Olivier, Elizabeth Taylor and Richard Burton. Very cleverly, he eschewed Indian subjects because "I did not want to be categorised or typecast as an Indian. Consequently, I have done a lot of very English subjects, *Edward and Mrs Simpson* being the last one." Nevertheless he has continued to be an outsider there. Recently when BBC's Omnibus programme interviewed Hussein for "British Directors on Broadway", it was the first ironic acknowledgement of him as a "Britisher."



COURTESY METROMEDIA PRODUCERS CORPORATION

Hussein directing the legendary Bette Davis: conquering the West

Like many alienated modern artists, Hussein feels strongly that "one needs a point of identity". His sister Shama Habibullah has consciously striven to make a niche for herself as a film maker in India. His mother returned for good last year because, she said, "One's encounters (in England) were fast becoming defensive and, as a result, one tended to become aggressive; one reacted or counter-reacted so that it became a disease within oneself. So I decided that now was the time to leave and return to India where my roots were after all." Hussein himself admits: "So far, my career has taken me away from India because this is the work I chose to do, rather than decide on the basis of where I was going to live. But India has become a focus for film-making since *Gandhi*. And though we have a place in England, we miss that sense of family. My roots are in India...in Lucknow. Everywhere that I identify with is in India—it's part of my background and childhood."

In fact, the passion for drama itself, he traces back to his Lucknow childhood: "It's in the blood really...I always had an instinct to play-act and mimic. I used to put on plays for my parents even as a child in India. We had a four-poster bed with curtains that I would use as a stage to put on performances—a sort of game—with my sister."

Descended from Cambridge-educated Lucknow talukdars, Hussein's father was in the British ICS at the time of Independence. Given three days to make the painful choice between India and Pakistan, he opted for the latter but returned, after a brief and disillusioning visit, to live permanently in India. On the other hand, Hussein's mother (author Attia Hussein whose *Sunlight on a Broken Column* deals with this sensitive problem) could not bring herself to become a Pakistani. She stayed on in Britain to raise her children and work in the BBC's Eastern Services. Not surprisingly then, Waris and his sister Shama were both educated at prestigious British public schools and Cambridge University.

Hussein is determined to have the right subject to direct in India, and obviously unwilling to be involved in a song-dance-superstar formula film. However, he is not reluctant to direct a Hindi film and feels that in fact "something could be gained by my participation in a venture like that". This does not come as a surprise to his US admirers—especially his leading ladies who feel that Hussein's greatest asset as a director is his "openness". He's been praised unanimously for being able to operate well on both coasts—the intellectual theatre of the East coast, as well as the glittering world of "Hollywood"—and this, after a training that is steeped in European values.

Hussein has generally chosen to work with thought-provoking scripts. *The Henderson Monster* dealt with biological hazards—experimentation in DNA and splicing of the genes—in an articulate and frightening way. *Death Penalty* explored the right to put a minor to death for committing first degree murder whereas *And Baby Makes Six* dealt with a 47-year old

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Yeah I'm a dollar-scholar in Commander

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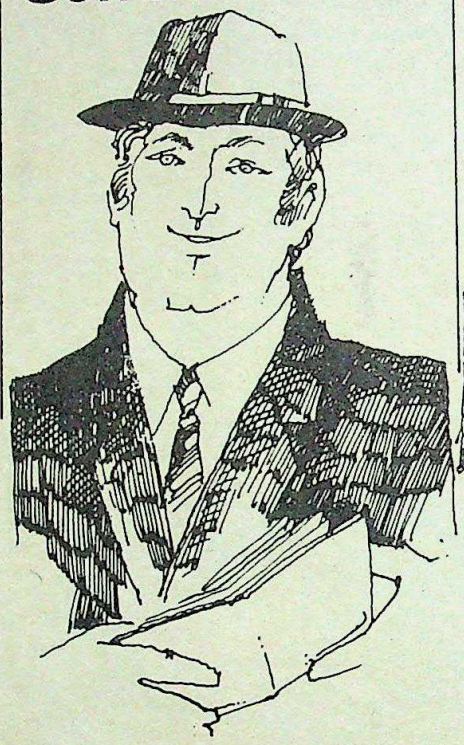

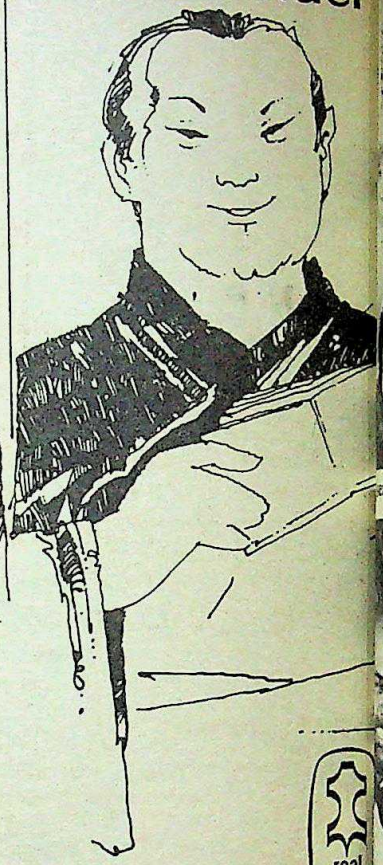

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ated on the floor at extreme right) with the cast of *Little Gloria*: smash hit

) Hussein, Cynthia Harris, Coleen Dewhurst, Edward Fox: excellent rapport

man's right to reject abortion. he works on "popular" sub- ument is not slick American: Mrs Simpson did not condone myth about "the greatest our time" by simply glamori- . Hussein's treatment made it litical tale that explored the ower and how it's used and people in power are under c scrutiny.

larly approach, the attention d the unwillingness to take reminiscent of Satyajit Ray. . Hussein has a background 's course in stage design and ondon's Slade School of Art) that he uses to visualise images and make production sketches for himself. But unlike Ray, whom he admires, Hussein's films are fast moving. "The story (in the West) has to be told fairly quickly and there is not much room for leisure." Actress Coleen Dewhurst says: "Waris is very good at working with actors. He's very fast, yet he does not choose the obvious, does not go for cardboard cutouts. He gives you the leeway to explore. In film, he always lets the first shot be yours." Despite this reputation for speed, however, Hussein's actors rejoice that he will not be rushed by TV producers with stopwatches.

Yolande Bavan is a Sri Lankan actress who worked with Hussein on the West End and says: "Waris has a wonderful eye for picking talent. Many of the unknowns he has used are now superstars. Not that he's necessarily given them their first break, but he's given them the break that has put them out there, through their work." On the other hand, he has worked with actors that were not chosen by him and made them look good through the magic of film (by cutting and camera movements).

Great Talent: Dewhurst, who is on the board of directors of New York's avant-garde theatre Circle in the Square, also remarked that Hussein has a complete lack of fear in dealing with suggestions made by his cameramen and actors. Also, "he's great with scripts which is one of the best assets a director can have. He knows where to cut and works well with the writer. He can bring the writer around to seeing where something just has to go. That's a great talent."

Although Hussein is a very private person, he also has the ability to make actors feel at home. Actress Cynthia Harris who played Mrs Simpson says: "He has the wonderful gift of talking to different actors in different ways. Two hundred actors passed through seven months of filming for *Edward and Mrs Simpson*—and we weren't all trained in the same school. Still, each group was made to feel at home."

Yet, for all these successes, *The Queen and the Rebels*, Hussein's first Broadway experience got bad reviews. (In all fairness, though, New York critics did not attack him; they faulted the choice of the play.) And the British press continually preferred to concentrate on the more sensational aspects of the problems of Indian immigrants than grant recognition to a brown-skinned "outsider".

But despite the luke-worm reviews and its lack of box-office success, *The Queen and the Rebels* has opened the door for Waris Hussein: he was offered another Broadway play that he was turned down for now. "Because of Broadway and *Little Gloria*, I'm in America in an established context. My future lies in trying to consolidate my position here in the US but I don't want to cut myself off from India."

Finally, does he have any regrets? "What I do miss is the fact that I've grown up without my own generation of Indians...I'd like to have grown up with my contemporaries in India, so that I could have some point of contact with them. Now, of course, it's a social exchange on a totally different level."

—VIBHUTI PATEL

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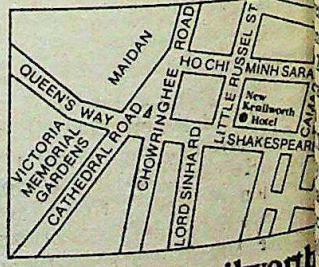

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A

awardene Digs In

ONE OF the most critical turning points in Sri Lanka's post-independence history is fast ap- the December 22 referendum. ernment wins, it will extend the e present Parliament where the itional Party (UNP) has a five- ajority till August 1989. ary elections were due before t year.

several occasions recently, Jayawardene who won a six-year ctober 20 has spoken of a "na- ernment" if the opposition par- responsive to such an idea. A ed commentator like the politi- ondent of the independent *Sun* d on possibilities for "one pa- or what he has styled "democ- torship". Colvin R. De Silva, of the Lanka Sama Samaj Party came a poor fifth at the pre- olls identifies the trend as "a on of capitalist power". happens, Sri Lanka's traditional parliamentary system is at the

etic Response: Mrs Sirimavo ike's loss of civic rights kept the October contest but she is ed from campaigning for the She is in fact leading a "com- " of several opposition parties not include the Tamil United Front (TULF) and the Janatha Peramuna (JVP). However, both ies are campaigning against dum independently and the atic move has been matched by pathetic opposition. Opposition laim somewhat optimistically erendum feeling is still under- d will surface only before 22.

dical' group in the party, iden- Mrs Bandaranaike's younger handrika and her film star hus- a Kumaratunge, had supported tion of Hector Kobbekaduwe e to the young aspirant, Anura e, MP. If Mrs Bandaranaike's not in the Kobbekaduwe cam- a's own contribution was de- y half-hearted.

t post-poll speech cleared any ubts about Anura's views on father's (and mother's party). ent cheers, Anura said that the electorate had dumped "Marxists" into the dustbin of history. All Kobbekaduwe's allies were avowed leftists although of assorted affiliations. The Communist Party daily *Athatha* (truth) now sealed under emergency regulations had campaigned for Kobbekaduwe vigorously.

In such circumstances, any hope of the mother regaining total control to make some room at the top for Anura was quite dim. The chances of Mrs Bandaranaike reasserting her matriarchal will, settling factional squabbles and repairing organisational damage were soon reduced to zero when the official media let loose a furious propaganda barrage."

Plot Uncovered: Soon after the polls,

Jayawardene, Prime Minister R. Premadasa and some ministers told the UNP parliamentary group and the House that a "Naxalite-anarchist" clique who had seized control of the SLFP had planned to unleash violence in the event of a Kobbekaduwe victory. Investigations into this plot led to several party stalwarts being interrogated, including Kobbekaduwe. Kumaratunge is now in custody.

A parallel CID inquiry concerns the publication of a bogus rice ration book, an opposition eve-of-election gimmick. Several printing presses were temporarily sealed in this connection and dozens of party activists questioned or arrested. Another investigation has led to the indictment in court of 11 prominent SLFP members, including the general secretary, the former justice minister, Ratnasiri Wickremanayake and T.B. Ilangaratne, wife of the party's deputy leader. They face 40 charges all connected with a conspiracy to provoke country-wide disturbances in September 1980 when Parliament stripped Mrs Bandaranaike of her civic rights.

Mrs Bandaranaike complains bitterly that key party officials and organisers are forced to spend all their time at police stations or in the courts. But the main opposition complaint is that the referendum is being held under Emergency. Last week Mrs Bandaranaike also protested to the election commissioner and the inspector-general of police on two separate matters. She alleged that police officers were questioning party cadres about internal SLFP affairs such as local organisation, finances and polling agents. Her allies and opposition-affiliated unions have also pointed out that the "lamp" (symbol for "yes") was on wall posters, buses and public buildings in violation of the law. The "pot" (symbol for "no") is nowhere to be seen either out of respect for the law or out of opposition lethargy.

Front-runners: An analysis of the October 20 result indicated, that at a general election held under the new system to an enlarged Parliament of 196—the present house has 168 seats—the UNP would certainly come out in front but had little chance of a two-thirds majority. The fourth amendment to the Constitution speaks of the "stability" needed to continue the development programme for which the President received a mandate in October. Plainly this stability is now equated to a two-thirds majority. Jayawardene also says that the next six years will allow the SLFP to rid itself of anti-democratic elements.

Mrs Bandaranaike is undoubtedly sore about the UNP's latest moves but she has little ground for complaint. She herself extended the parliamentary term by two years using her two-thirds majority in Parliament. A referendum is a more democratic means, says the UNP.

Last year Sri Lanka celebrated 50 years of universal franchise. If at all, the island's electorate was "over-politicised" with governments being thrown out at each contest. The Opposition's best bet is to convince the voter that he stands to lose the power to elect his own MP. "Freezing", in effect, the 1977 situation for 12 years will tend to de-politicise the Sri Lankan voter, making economics and private preoccupations more important than politics. This will put the present system in the melting pot.

—MERVYN DE SILVA in Colombo

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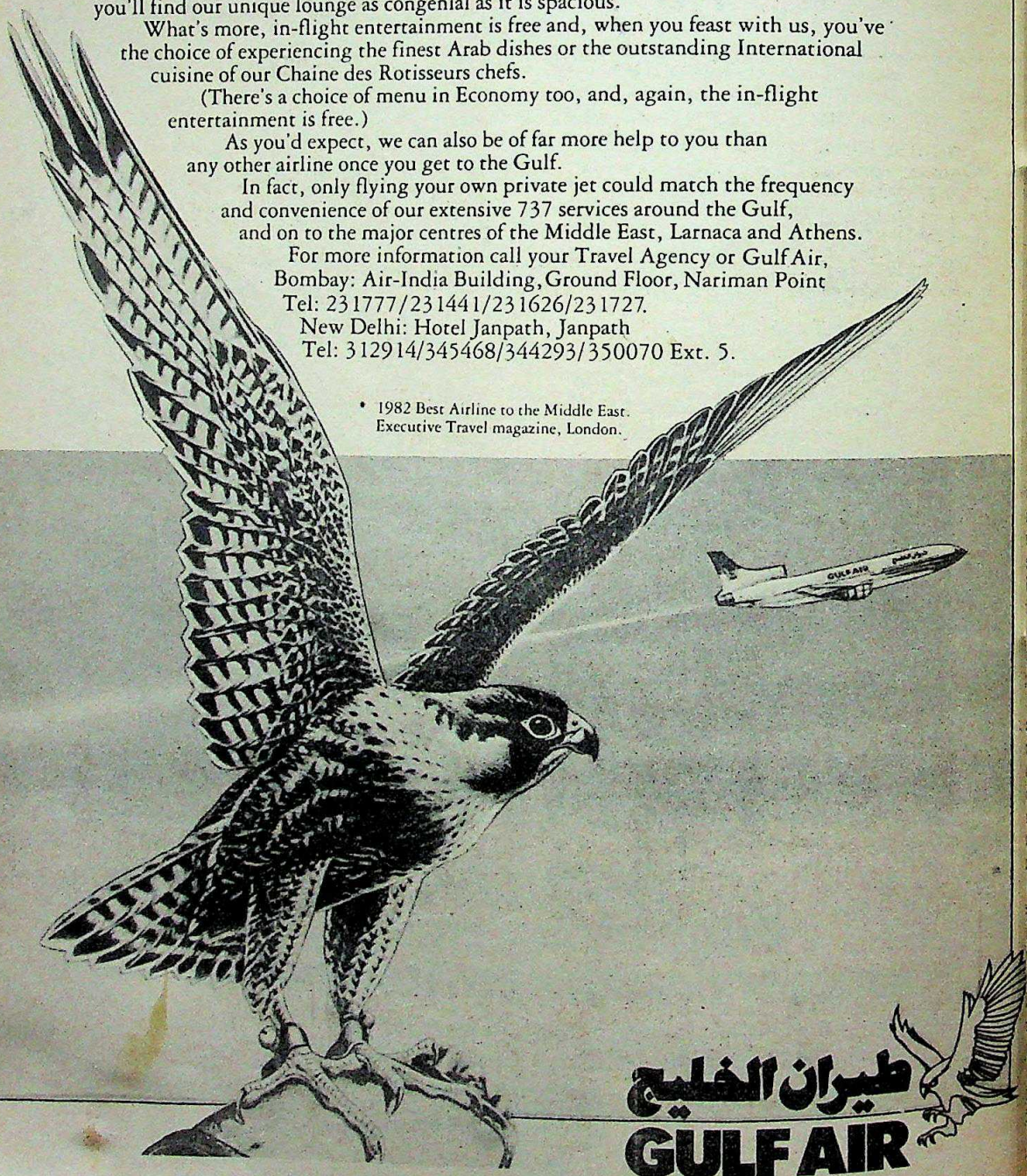
* 1982 Best Airline to the Middle East.
Executive Travel magazine, London.



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ubious Dealings

pril, addressing the delegates to Cooperative Congress, Mrs ndhi mentioned *en passant* that re was a tendency in some power- o try and control the cooperative n the country. Either the prime emark served as an inspiration ered parties, or she was expe- e of her celebrated prophetic within days of the Congress, a confidential letters and docu- ed at her office alleging ram- ption and financial fiddling at two apex cooperative bodies in —the National Cooperative Federation (NCCF).

egations, aired by an assort- 's and the NCCF employees' ted an accusing finger at the who head the organisation: Singh, an MP from Bihar the ruling party's principal in the state, and A.K. an IAS officer from the who is the NCCF's mana- r.

l: Though varied and tou- st every aspect of NCCF's the charge that raised the ows, and eventually led to g questions in Parliament, the bungling and alleged s involved in the export last 000 mt (metric tonnes) of at Rs 12 crore. The charges the export scandal included of fictitious clearing and agents and the proven fact 700 mt of rice worth Rs 50 ported "missing". What was ficant, considering Mrs atement, was the fact that ns arrived in the immediate milar scandal involving the al apex cooperative body, al Agriculture Cooperative Federation of India (NAFED) al export of a large quanti- (INDIA TODAY, August 15). AFED, NCCF was established the working of its direct af- other consumer cooperati- in the distribution of con- in rural and urban areas. the aims and objectives of tion were to safeguard the the consumers, particularly weaker sections. The NCCF ough its 20 branches in various states, apart from four zonal offices. The trading operations of NCCF (annual turnover: Rs 29 crore) include the procurement and distribution of groceries, pulses, spices, foodgrains and other agricultural products. It was also permitted to enter certain lucrative export areas, such as rice.

Apparently, the ruling party protects its underlings; because neither in the NAFED case nor in the allegations against NCCF was any action taken. On May 14, 1982, 40 members of Parliament, in a signed letter to the prime minister, drew her attention once again to "the serious corruption/malpractices being indulged in by both the chairmen of the national-level cooperative institutions, NAFED and NCCF ...resulting in huge losses worth crores of rupees..." The letter went on to state that "despite serious discussions on this important issue in successive sessions of Parliament and evasive assurances by the minister, no worthwhile inquiry has been made into the many shady deals perpetuated by the chairmen of NAFED/NCCF... ."

Even as the allegations were being aired, NCCF was implicated in a scandal that has far more serious implications, and one that has so far escaped the attention of the public-spirited MP's and even the ministries that supposedly oversee NCCF's operations

BHAWAN SINGH

Tapeshwar Singh: unanswered questions

It is, however, obvious that had the Government thought fit to institute an inquiry, at least into NCCF's dealings, it would have uncovered quite a few skeletons other than those mentioned in the letters and in Parliament. In fact, it is a measure of the self-assurance and blatant disregard for normal norms prevalent in these bodies that, even as the allegations were being aired, NCCF was implicated in a scandal that has far more serious implications, and one that has so far escaped the attention of the public-spirited MP's and even the ministries that supposedly oversee NCCF's operations. The scandal involves the clandestine smuggling out of 11,532 mt of rice worth Rs 3.5 crore, without a legal licence and against the express directives of the Government.

Discrepancies: The origins of the controversial deal can be traced back April 1981 when the Chief Controller of Imports and Exports issued export instruction No: 23/41 (a public notice), authorising various public sector organisations to export allotted quantities of rice in 1981–82. NCCF, under the terms of the order, were permitted to export 33,000 mt of non-basmati rice, a spillover quota from the previous year when they failed to fulfil their quota of 43,000 mt for 1980-81.

However, in January 1982, the Agriculture Ministry's export statistics showed that the organisation had already exported 34,772,649 mt of rice during the fiscal year 1981-82. The discrepancy did not escape the eyes of the concerned ministry. In early March, K.H. Khwaja, under secretary in the Ministry of Agriculture, wrote to the NCCF *(see photostat)* stating that since the organisation had exported more than their allotted quota, "it is regretted that the National Cooperative Consumers Federation cannot be

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allowed to export any more non-basmati rice during 1981–82..."

Meanwhile, NCCF was still claiming that it had actually exported less than its quota—but the ministry would have none of that. On March 16, 1982, Anil Kumar, under secretary in the Ministry of Commerce, wrote to Mukherjee, NCCF's managing director (*see photostat*) stating: "It may please be clarified immediately to this ministry on what grounds the NCCF has stated that it had exported only 23,363 mt vide letters of 30th December, 1981 and 5th February, 1982. An immediate reply is requested..." Kumar also stated that export statistics showed that NCCF had actually exported 34,772.649 mt of rice against its quota of 33,000 mt for the year.

Export Deal: However, no immediate explanation was forthcoming, and perhaps the whole matter would have lapsed had it not been for a still-to-be-explained event: the export ostensibly under NCCF authorisation of 11,532 mt of non-basmati rice worth Rs 3.5 crore, through the little-used port of Kakinada in Andhra Pradesh. The agent in the export deal was a private Bombay company called Regent International. The company is owned by two brothers called Yusufbhai and Champakbhai and is surprisingly modest in its operations. On its letter-head, Regent International gives its correspondence address as Post Box No. 8141, Colaba Post Office, Bombay.

The question that begs to be asked is, of course, how NCCF and Regent had got involved in the export of rice without government permission, especially when there was a ban on NCCF's exports. Further, the original letter of credit (LC) had already expired, and in any case the LC clearly stated that exports were to go through Kandla port in Gujarat, while the 11,000 mt shipment was dispatched through Kakinada to a company in the United Arab Emiates (UAE).

THE DEAL blew into the open when the customs authorities queried NCCF's Bombay office about it. On April 9, NCCF's regional manager in Bombay sent a frantic telex message referring to a shipping bill for rice for shipment to International Foodstuffs in Sharjah by NCCF's head office. The telex st they were informed about the s by the Joint Chief Controller, & Exports (JCCI & E). It makes that the Bombay office, which normally have been the picture if NCCF wa ting anything through & E, Bombay, was to the dark about the sh Says the telex: "" office not aware whet shipping bill has been Delhi office and who ordinate dispatches, e ther, shipping bill is n accepted by JCCI & E grounds that no qu mains pending by NC des all shipments of smati rice by any age been cancelled by the of Commerce..."

Smuggling: Su messages from Bomba showed that NCCF wa to explain the matter of the gravity of the s On April 15, anoth was sent from Bomba the head office for a the matter. Subsequen senior officers of the tion sent reminders to naging director (*see p*d—witho which stated: "Sir matter is serious, breach of export re and clandestine smugg of huge quantities grains from the count out proper quota an ce...it is for favour o whether we may br case to the notice of cerned ministry so clarify the stand of the matter..."

The head office, still declined to pur matter. But according TODAY's investigation rice was exported by t ping companies, K.B gote and Parikh Shingote exported 2 through shipping bil 69–71 and GR-I fro BYZ 299354 dated M 1982. The shipment patched in a vessel *Rupea*. Parikh shipped two consig totalling 9,500 mt of

No. 4-19/81-Impex
Government of India
Ministry of Agriculture

New Delhi dt. the 5th/16th March 1982

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

Subj:- Export of Non-Basmati rice.

With reference to the Ministry of Commerce letter No. 3/34-EXP/78-EP(Agri-4) dt. 18.1.1982 on the subject cited above, the undersigned is directed to say that against the spill-over quantity of 33,000 tonnes of rice allowed for export to National Cooperative Consumer's Federation of India Limited during 1981-82, a quantity of 34,777 tonnes of rice has already been exported by the said Federation as indicated by them in their letter No. NCCF/[illegible]/4/81-82 dt. 23-1-82. It is, therefore, requested that the Nat. Cooperative Consumer's Federation of India Limited cannot be allowed to export any more non-basmati rice during 1981-82.

Sd/-
(K.H. Khaudje)
Under Secretary to the Govt. of India

Ministry of Commerce
(Shri Anil Kumar, Under Secretary)
New Delhi.

Bombay 31st March 1982.

REGENT INTERNATIONAL
CABLE: INTERREGENT
TELEX NO 11-6717 RINT IN
TELE. NOS : 210050
319191 EXTN. 265
PLEASE CORRESPOND TO:
POST BOX NO. : 8141
COLABA POST OFFICE
BOMBAY-400 005

National Co operative Consumer
Federation of India Limited.,
Deepali(5th Floor)
91-Nehru Place,
NEW DELHI.

Dear Sirs,

Export of India White Long Grain Rice.

With reference to the above and our earlier correspondence with you, we are pleased to inform you that we have shipped [illegible] Metric tonnes of Rice.

We are enclosing herewith Original Export Licence duly declared by Customs for your record. Other relative papers will be forwarded to you in due course.

With regards to your service charge as agreed by us at the rate of Rs:62/-per tonne(being 2% commission on F.O.B.Value) amounting to Rs:583234.00,against which we have already paid to you Rs.100,000/-by our cheque No:7389: 15 dated 2nd March 198[illegible] For the balance we are enclosing herewith our cheques for Rs.483,234.00 being full and final settlement of Export Commission due.

Kindly acknowledge receipt of this letter and send your official stamp receipt for Rs:583,234/-.

Thanking You for the same,and we assure you our best co operation at all times.

Yours faithfully,
For Regent International,
Proprietor.

Encl:
Original Export Licence
Our cheques for Rs:483,234.00

The Ministry letter to NCCF banning exports (above) and the intriguing letter from Regent International to NCCF

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1982 via two cargo vessels. *Frasin*

pments, of course, raise some stions:

as the original LC (No. 19515) ithout the knowledge of Syndi- on which it was originally December 8, 1980, and without dge of NCCF in whose name the done?

illed up the shipping documents Investigations show that no hange has been received against the Syndicate Bank, which handled the transaction had been above board.

as the LC changed to ship the ugh Kakinada port when the clearly states Kandla?

Arguments: But perhaps the sting twist to the entire scandal n the explanations that Tapesh- and Mukherjee gave INDIA ey admitted that they were he illegal export and put the rely on Regent International. claimed that Regent Internatio- their letter-heads and all other cuments and exported the rice me. "It is a clear case of fraud," gh. But when asked how a mpany could buy and export of rice—which would entail ugh the JCCI & E, the Reserve also the bank on which the LC —without anybody smelling a ingh and Mukherjee made the egation that Regent had "bri- omehow managed" to get the eared.

also admit that the original LC d and further claim that they to know the details of the deal r. When contacted, Regent nied any irregularity and threa- ake Singh and Mukherjee to w can anybody make such an ement," said a Regent Interna- esman who gave his name only "Can anybody believe that a document can be forged so

Singh and Mukherjee admit- ey had not informed the mini- "because we were waiting for vestigations to be completed". port took place in March and s involved are mainly govern- es, it does seem ridiculous that d have taken time up to the complete their investigations. admitted that they have not ap- egent International or confron- with any evidence. This is nsidering that the company, they say, has committed a serious fraud and a breach of export regulations.

The incident provoked the NCCF employees' union to send several memoranda to ministers, including Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. They allege that the export of rice—a controlled commodity—is an unauthorised and illegal shipment by private parties who bought the rice in the open market and shipped it out of the country purporting to be part of the NCCF quota using NCCF letter-heads and documents, successfully negotiating the customs authorities in Kakinada.

The question that begs to be asked is, of course, how NCCF and Regent had got involved in the export of the rice without government permission, especially when there was a ban on NCCF's exports.

Even more intriguing is the existence of a letter addressed to NCCF purportedly from Regent International on March 31, 1981 headlined, "Export of Indian White Long Grain Rice". The letter states: "With reference to the above and our earlier correspondence with you, we are pleased to inform you that we have shipped 9,407 metric tonnes of rice. We are enclosing herewith Original Export Licence duly cleared by Customs for your record...With reference to your service charge as agreed by us at the rate of Rs 62 per tonne (being 2% commission on F.O.B. value amounting to Rs 5,83,234.00) against which we have already paid to you Rs 100,000 by our cheque No: 7389015 dated 2nd March, 1982. For the balance, we are enclosing herewith our cheque for Rs 4,83,234.00 being full and final settlement of Export Commission due..."

When talking to INDIA TODAY, Singh and Mukherjee had both claimed that they knew nothing about Regent International and were vague about having any dealings with the firm. They also stated that they had correspondence, proving that they had asked their Bombay office to conduct an investigation, and also a letter written to the ministry informing them of the case. When INDIA TODAY asked to see the correspondence they promised to produce it but had not done so by the time of printing.

Similarly, the Ministry of Civil Supplies, when asked about the scandal, feigned ignorance. T.R. Parameswaran, joint secretary in the ministry, said he knew nothing about the deal, and passed it off by saying that "such matters are not under our jurisdiction". Similarly, the JCCI & E, Bombay, P.M.A. Hakeem, also refused to discuss the matter beyond stating: "There is no question of us giving an export licence to anybody except NCCF, since NCCF is the only organisation allowed to export the rice." He refused to divulge any further details on how the deal had gone through, on the plea that he would have to obtain permission from the ministry.

Real Iron: But with the ministry turning a blind eye and NCCF trying to drag red herrings across the trail, it appears that another questionable deal will be buried from public gaze. However, the real irony lies in the fact that ultimately it is the Government that is the major loser. Of NCCF's total paid-up capital of Rs 4.7 crore, the Government's share is slightly over Rs 2 crore, or almost 50 per cent.

And, obviously the Government will want to know:

- How an export of more than 11,000 mt of rice took place through Kakinada, leading to objections from the JCC & E?
- How NCCF documentation was used ?
- What documentation—LC, permits —were used to facilitate the export ?
- Who coordinated the entire episode ?
- Why investigations were not conducted into the affair for several months in spite of the illegality of the export being known to the authorities ?
- Where the money earned on this export has been deposited ?

One person who will have to answer some of these questions is Singh, a powerful Congress (I) MP, who was earlier in the news when other allegations were made against NCCF. The official stand has been that it is an autonomous organisation and that the Government has no right to interfere in its workings. Further, Singh is also the president of the National Cooperative Union of India (NCUI), even though the Delhi Cooperative Society Act forbids a person from heading two cooperative institutions of a similar nature.

In fact, the list of allegations against Singh and Mukherjee in the letter submitted by 40 MP's to the prime minister contains 13 separate cases which call for a major inquiry into NCCF's dealings. But so far, nothing has been done. The latest scandal, however, is something which even the Government will find hard to ignore.

—DILIP BOBB

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CONGRESS(I)

Testing Time Ahead

IT IS A bit like the Derby favourite being challenged by the unpedigreed country filly. If the thoroughbred wins—which bookmakers say she will—she saunters in for the next race with confidence. If by an odd quirk of fate she loses, the heavens don't fall; only her rating falls a few points at the jackpot.

Last fortnight, fresh from her achievement of successfully hosting the IX Asiad, Mrs Gandhi promptly ordered her party's mammoth election machinery to burn up the track stretching towards the January 5 poll in the two southern states of Karnataka, and Andhra Pradesh, and the Left-ruled state of Tripura in the north-east. It was a lesson in timing; if she had waited, she would not have found the Opposition so pitifully paralysed by its own contradictions. If she had waited longer, she would have found dissidence within her own ranks forcing her into immobility.

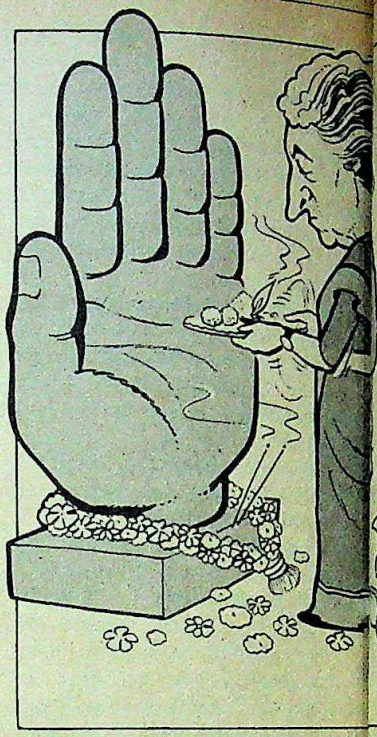
She asked for a show of hands like a professional gambler, knowing that she had less at risk than her adversaries. Nothing was at stake in Tripura, which she had lost to the Marxist-led Left Front anyway in 1977. But Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh are her two traditional bastions. If she loses either of these, she still faces the coming round of elections in Jammu and Kashmir, Delhi and Assam next year as well as the general elections due no later than 1985 with her chin up, though with her reserve of confidence diminished. If she retains both, the coast could well be clear for her all the way in rest of the country. And, more crucially, as commentator Nikhil Chakravarty wrote, the elections "will show whether Indira Gandhi's phenomenal vote-catching capacity is still intact".

Smouldering Revolts: However, as the Congress(I) electoral juggernaut trundled out last fortnight, a series of unexpected calamities began to strike the party from unforeseen quarters. A seemingly routine memorandum, submitted by 16 dissident Congress(I) leaders of Gujarat on November 20, soon gathered the speed and ferocity of a coastal tornado, and defying all attempts to tame it, left in its trail some very important desertions, including that of the Pradesh Congress Committee-I (PCC-I) president and MP Mahipat Mehta, three other MP's including former Union minister of state Maganbhai Barot, nine MLA's and 15 more district and taluka-level leaders. Since Mrs Gandhi's return to power in 1980, the party was never faced with desertion on such a big scale.

As the revolt in Gujarat smouldered on, a powderkeg turned prime in neighbouring Maharashtra where as many as 56 dissident MLA's (out of 233 Congress(I) legislators) signed a memorandum demanding the resignation of Chief Minister Babasaheb Bhosale.

On the country's other coast, in otherwise peaceful Orissa, fissures in the Congress(I) ranks were just too deep to be papered over. On December 8, Congressmen claiming the support of Chief Minister Janaki Ballabh Patnaik organised an attack on the car of Ramchandra Rath, Union minister of state for petroleum and chemicals, while he was driving down the Cuttack-Calcutta highway to address a party meeting—organised by the anti-Patnaik factions—at Bhadrak. Rath bore the brunt of the attack because he is generally identified with the anti-Patnaik opinion within the Orissa Congress.

For Mrs Gandhi as well as for Rajiv, a bitter testing time lies ahead. Either they shed their stoical indifferences to the growing restiveness in the party and replace its cynical cultism with a positive ideological content...



In Bihar, across Orissa's bor
flanking the Hindi-speaking heart
Aryavarta, a group of 25 senior
ress(I) legislators decided last fort
form a separate forum, known as
Forum, ostensibly "to pressur
Government to implement the
programme honestly". This synch
with 25 of the 31 Harijan
belonging to the Congress
ciding to sit as a separate blo
Assembly. The leader of the
Dilkeshwar Ram, a mini
state, was recently humilia
Chief Minister Jagannath
and is now readying himse
final battle, if necessary at
of defying the high command.

While they are a part
general milieu, fortunately
Congress(I), there was no ab
spate of dissidence in the two
states of Andhra Pradesh an
nataka where the elections a
In Andhra Pradesh, on the co
there were signs of the Con
closing its ranks, caused chiefly
shared threat from the dark horse
state's politics, Telugu Desam,
charismatic screen idol leader, N.T
Rao. In Karnataka, too, the Cong
which is otherwise faction-ridden, h
signs of solidarity and a willing
battle it out unitedly. "When the ch
down," said Rajendra Kumari Baj
All India Congress(I) Committee
general secretary holding the fort

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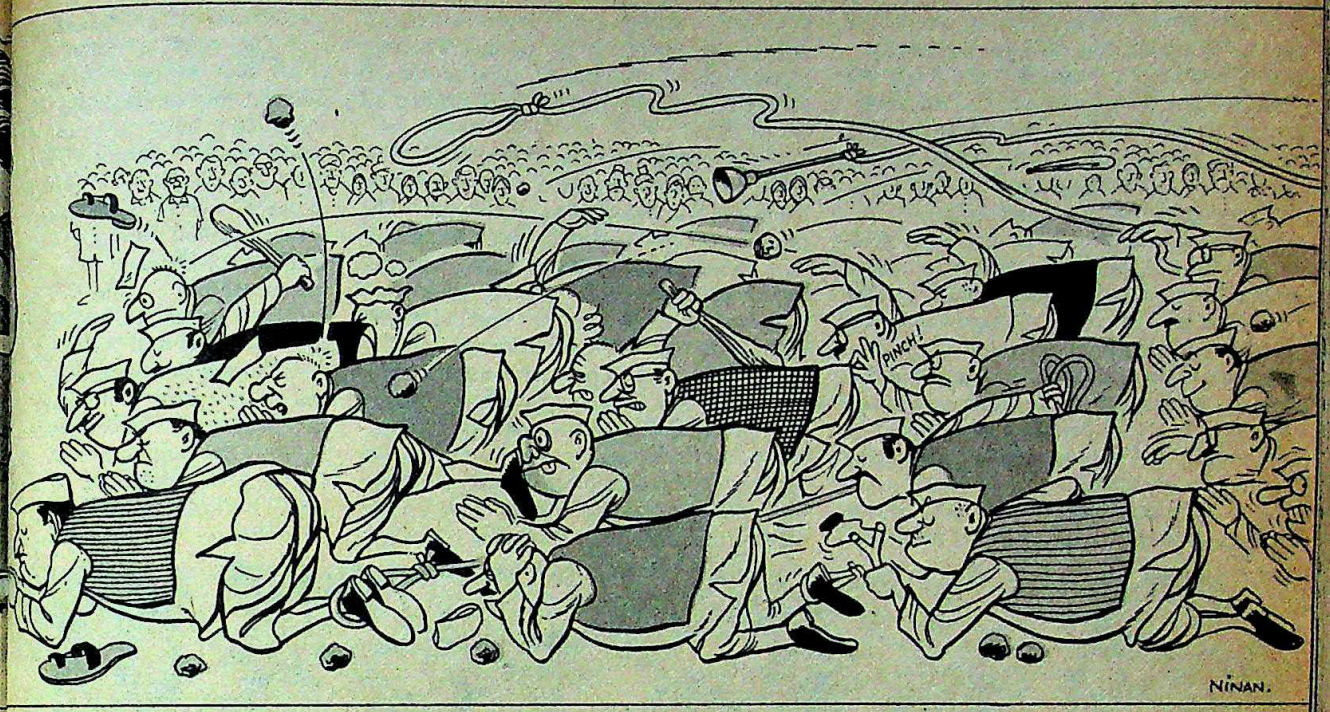

Congress ssa's bor ing heart 25 senior last fort known as pressur ent the his synch 1 Harijan Congress parate blo er of the a mini humilia gannath ng himsel ssary at command e a part tunately was no ab n the two radesh an lections a on the co the Con chiefly ark horse Desam, ader, N.T the Cong -ridden, b a willing hen the ch mari Baj mmittee the fort

ress conferences, "our party ternal differences".

harges hurled by Congressmen smen in the recent weeks were dy and increasingly belligerent; often framed with a fine dis- the laws of libel. So, during the ween Diwali and the announce- e elections on November 26, as 0 memoranda had poured in us states to the Prime Minister's The refrain of the char- e same: remove the chief

g **Charges:** It was an old t struck a new chord for me. The memoranda, this d, contained explicit th- eat to resign from the party, threat to desert the threat to go on fast, to "issue a public state- me of the Congressmen, jarat rebels, indeed began rty linen in public. And of the complaints was an ed tainting of the public arious Congress(I) minis- ders.

t Chief Minister Madhavsinh accused in March this year by own partymen, as a result of Centre had instituted an enquiry inisters were asked to quit. In a, Babasaheb Bhosale has been having "failed on all fronts". the charges against Jagannath e from being a "dictator" to "rank corruption and indulging in blatant nepotism". In Orissa, Patnaik is charged with "having failed to implement the 20-point programme" and "packing the party and the Government with his relatives, friends and corrupt cohorts".

The high command was obviously disturbed by the torrent of charges streaming in right before the polls against weighty chief ministers, the main plank of its electoral strategy not only for the January 5 battle but for the series of elections in the states leading up to the 1985 general elections. Still, it showed no signs of changing horse in mid-stream. On the contrary, Maganbhai Barot, who has all along been a critic of Solanki, was sacrificed on the altar of inner-party discipline, having been the only Gujarat "rebel" to be cashiered for the mandatory six-year period the party imposes. Taking the cue from the high command's frenetic no-nonsense mood, Bajpai again thundered in one of her press conferences: "All forms of dissidence will be ruthlessly curbed."

...Or they can draw transient comfort from stray electoral victories and complacently wait for the day when the party, like a century old banyan tree, with its trunk chewed up by white ants, crashes down with a tragic finality.

Degeneration: It is probably unfair to blame Indira Gandhi alone for this creeping malaise. The Congress has been ruling India for 35 years with only a 33-month break. Of about 33 years of Congress rule, the country's leadership had remained in the hands of Jawaharlal Nehru for 17 years and has remained in the hands of Indira Gandhi for 14 years. When she was elected prime minister in 1966, her merit lay in being a leader of consensus and preservation. In three years she split the party for the first time casting herself in the new image of a leader of reconstruction and change. A second split came in 1978 when Mrs Gandhi was once again recast in the image of preservation and restoration. Her triumphal return to the helm of Indian politics in January 1980 put her in an entirely new role: to rebuild the Congress(I) as the inheritor of the Indian National Congress, capable of carrying the country forward on the renovated track of parliamentary democracy.

In this task Mrs Gandhi has not succeeded nor is she likely to in the remaining years of her political leadership. For this failure her political style and her well-known weakness for keeping all the levers

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of power in her own hands have indeed been responsible, but only to a certain extent. Far more responsible have been the changes that have occurred in the structure of Indian society. The conflicts and cleavages which have been generated by the process of development. A decline of the challenges which contributed to the unity and cohesion of the diverse and often conflicting political, economic, social and cultural elements that made up the mainstream of the Congress party, perhaps the most remarkable and long-lived umbrella party in political history. And a steep fall in the moral and intellectal quality of people who bubbled up to the surface of Congress(I) politics and became its "leaders."

A contradictory process was set in motion soon after Mrs Gandhi took over the Congress party as well as the governance of India. The party leadership at the Centre became increasingly strong and the leadership rapidly meant only one person, Indira Gandhi. At the other end, the party leadership in the states became weaker and weaker, the chief ministers became puppets of the prime minister and the party organisation lost its rapport with grass root supporters. This contradictory process has now reached almost a point of no return.

ON ANOTHER front, the high command had unveiled a new system of distributing tickets which sought to rectify the mistakes made in the Haryana-Himachal Pradesh polls early this year, and had begun the selection process right in earnest as early as September. Early that month, both Mrs Gandhi and Rajiv Gandhi began visiting the two states of Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka. In their wake, survey teams comprising trusted MP's and MLA's from Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh and Maharashtra descended on the two southern states and scoured all the districts.

According to an AICC(I) official, over 5,000 dossiers were prepared by the survey team on the prospective candidates. The printed proforma listed the candidates' past background, financial status, local reputation, acceptability among party colleagues and loyalty to Mrs Gandhi rather than to the individual state leader.

There were other innovations. This time, the high command deviated from the past practice, laid down in the party constitution, to constitute an election panel for the nomination of candidates. Instead, both Vijayabhaskara Reddy and Gundu Rao, chief ministers of Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka, were asked to collect applications from the candidates and to forward their lists to the high command.

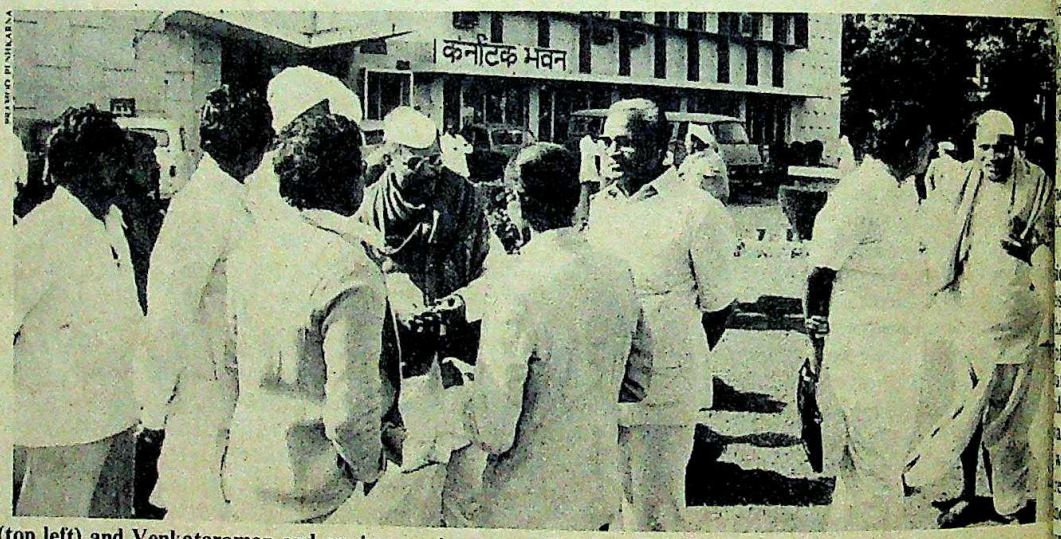
Check-points: Mrs Gandhi set up four different authorities for vetting the final list. These were: a two-member team comprising the state chief minister and the PCC(I) chief; the newly-appointed AICC(I) "observer" for each state; the AICC(I) general secretary in charge of the concerned state; and central intelligence officials.

M. Kuruppaiah Moopanar, one of the general secretaries, issued a press note on December 2 announcing the appointment of Union Industry Minister Narain Dutt Tiwari, and Minister of State for Transport Sitaram Kesari, as observers for Andhra Pradesh and Shankar Dayal Sharma, former AICC president, and K. Karunakaran, the Kerala chief minister, as observers for Karnataka. These arrangements were made in addition to the affairs of the state units being entrusted to individual AICC(I) general secretaries.

The chief ministers and the chiefs were asked to recommend th didates "not unilaterally" but afte sulting the local MP's, the Central ters from the state and other pro leaders. Further, Mrs Gandhi chos of the 11 Congress(I) Parliamentary (CPB) members—Finance Minister Mukherjee, Defence Minister Rama Venkataraman and Communi Minister Anand Prasad Sharma—t the candidates and their supporters.

Careful Screening: Closest to t top of the party's nominating ma sat two men, Venkataraman and Nehru, the high-powered MP fro Bareli who, according to an AICC icial, "represents Mrs Gandhi's in In order to help them, Rajiv Gan tailed five selected MP's from Pradesh and Karnataka to give t sessment of the candidates whose figured in the final list. It took th pists working at the Prime Mi Secretariat 20 hours of continuous to punch out a complete summary the recommendations which were to Mrs Gandhi and other members CPB. On two days, the CPB's th meeting endured till way past mi The delay was occasioned by Gund insisting on the inclusion of over 40 MLA's favourable to him; they we timately dropped by Mrs Gandhi.

Apparently there was no screen candidates at the district or even stat Congress committees. This was o from the fact that over 2,000 seeka Congress(I) tickets had converged o Delhi during the pre-nomination scre The two bhavans of Andhra Prades Karnataka were chock-a-block wit



Nehru (top left) and Venkataraman and anxious aspirants outside Karnataka Bhavan: scrambling for seats

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ere yet to be. The crowd of often spilled out into south ing houses in the Karol Bagh local Udipi restaurants made ss.

h command betrayed its char- decision in dealing with the r, the AICC(I) office had an- t the candidates should not "in any circumstance". Days announcement came along re- arlier one as Mrs Gandhi re- laints that the chief ministers ertaining all the applications. chief ministers had developed CC(I) observer described as a

Sharma, the Karnataka "obser- d Bangalore, he was put up at st house where he waited two t Gundu Rao. But there was Rao; accompanied by PCC(I) llanna, Rao had already left hi. When asked about his fun- a visibly peeved Sharma: "As my function is to observe. And asked to." Tiwari, observer for desh, was in his home state desh the day aspiring candidates

ional Scrutiny: As a matter of servers as well as the general had only a minor role to per- f forwarding the names to the thorities, Venkataraman and d an aide of Mrs Gandhi: as left to chance this time. The was to take on board people ecords and unflinching loyalty ndhi." At the end of the day, greed that Venkataraman had key role, sifting the list of can- an open mind and trying to e conflicting interests in a pa- h subterranean pulls. This fact guished the January 5 polls rocess of nomination for the achal Pradesh elections ear- when only persons beholden ndhi had called all the shots.

he new selection method was y the lower and middle level was opposed by some party eir traditional clout was being in the past, DCC(I)'s and responsible for the initial sc- the parliamentary board was y in the final vetting. Also, in e list forwarded by the state mittee was invariably ap- old system, too, had its draw- endent, honest workers un- local satraps were usually left d. But now the senior leaders centration of authority will lead to an erosion of the PCC(I)'s authority and the chief minister and PCC(I) chiefs will find it difficult to enforce discipline. This could worsen the habit of dissidence when MLA's and MP's rush to Delhi to settle scores instead trying to iron out difficulties with the state leadership.

MRS GANDHI'S major problem is that Congress(I) dissidence is worsening. Right now, her main headache is along the western coast, in the two states of Gujarat and Maharashtra,

Antulay and Bhosale: rowing in public

Barot and Solanki: a bitter personal feud

Lenka and Patnaik: settling old scores

but there are clear indications of the isolated actions of defiance joining up as in a jigsaw puzzle to assume mutinous dimensions—in case Mrs Gandhi receives a setback in either of the two southern states.

Though there is general uniformity about dissidence in the Congress(I), it assumes various forms in different states. At one level, the name of the game is purely a scramble for power, such as the paroxysms in Maharashtra now. The 87 legislators who responded to a call by Balasaheb Pawar, the PCC(I) vice-president, to gripe publicly against Chief Minister Bhosale, had set only one goal for themselves: to oust Bhosale at all cost.

Even A.R. Antulay, who plays his cards close to his chest, threw caution overboard this time round and fulminated against Bhosale in public. There were dissidents of at least three denominations: pro-Antulay elements, late-comers loyal to Y.B. Chavan, and hard core Marathas owing allegiance to Vasantdada Patil Probably each group had a chosen chief minister in mind. But their interests converged on one point—dislodging Bhosale.

Private Scores: While discontent in Maharashtra is a collective phenomenon, the saga of Maganbhai Barot in Gujarat represents an entirely different story. Barot had a long personal battle with Chief Minister Solanki and carries a chip on his shoulder. So does Kanhu Charan Lenka, the former Orissa finance minister, who has a private score to settle with Patnaik; and former AICC(I) general secretary, Shyam Sunder Mahapatra, for whom too Patnaik is anathema. All of them had held important offices earlier and were dislodged, having lost out in the gamble.

In another category of dissidence, discontent grew along caste lines. A prime example is the sullenness of the Thakurs with the exit of Vishwanath Pratap Singh, the former Uttar Pradesh chief minister. Singh resigned in August and was replaced by Sripat Mishra, a Brahmin, who is yet to feel the ground under his feet. On the contrary, Singh has a clean image. Plus he has the backing of his fellow Thakurs who smart under the insult of having lost out in the race to a Brahmin. Singh is gradually turning into a force to reckon with and is a potential headache for the high command. Last fortnight, he emerged out of a self-imposed four-month-long silence hold public meetings without waiting for the approval of the state PCC(I).

Honest Dissenters: There is still a broad stratum of serious and committed dissenters who sincerely feel that the party has indeed been going haywire and there are more constructive ways of running it than playing court to the chief minister of the day. Some of the Gujarat dissidents, like Mahipat Mehta, former GPCC(I) president and Ratubhai Adani, also a former GPCC(I) chief, fall into this category.

The two old men, both of whom had stuck by Mrs Gandhi not only in 1978 but as early as the 1969 split (when most of the Gujarat Congress remained with Morarji Desai), were bitter about Solanki from the very beginning. Their final exit from the party, accompanied by a modest sliver of Congress(I) legislators, marks a new chapter in dissidence, Congress style. Says an influential newspaper tycoon in Ahmedabad: "Here we have not only a

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threat, but a willingness to translate it into action. The Congress(I) is like a gilded cage; the bird in it is never sure if it can fly on its own. But once it is set free it finds that it can fly on its own."

Adani and Mehta may actually take months to "fly" on their own, but they are enthusiastically going ahead with their plan to hold a convention at Ahmedabad's Nawroji Hall on December 26. It is the same venue where pro-Mrs Gandhi elements had assembled during the Janata period to pledge their support to her. Said Mehta: "Everyone thinks we have committed political suicide. But we have received messages from various political personalities in the Congress(I) congratulating us. Watch out for nation-wide developments. We are bent on ensuring that the Congress(I) is forced to respect values and norms which originally existed." Solanki's own explanation of the dissident phenomenon is that "the dissidents are there because they have got no posts of power." But Health Minister Manoharsinh Jadeja is concerned that "the action of the dissidents will result in the erosion of the party in Gujarat," and feels that "the differences must be patched up."

Inevitable Step: Although the dissidents deny it, it is obvious that they had little choice. For over two and a half years Adani had been lying virtually dormant. With the appointment of Mahant Vijay Dasji as the GPCC(I) president, both Adani and Mehta realised their uselessness in the party and became restive. Mehta, on his part, was energetically lobbying for the setting up of the Kutch Development Board of which he was to be the head. But Solanki put his foot down on the proposal. Left with no powers to shuffle around, Mehta could not but end the checkmate by just calling it a day.

AN OFFSHOOT of such convulsions within the party was the decent burial given to a plan, announced earlier, to hold party elections in all states by January 20. According to the original plan, scrutiny of all primary membership rolls would have been completed by December 10. But Bajpai announced last fortnight that scrutiny was incomplete in as many as 12 state units, including such gargantuan states as Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat and Maharashtra. Moopanar issued another conflicting statement a day later saying that party elections would not be postponed "in all states."

But it was obvious that the situation was not favourable for holding party elections in any state. The majority of 24 Pradesh Returning Officers (PRO) appointed by the AICC(I) had also reported their inability to hold elections. Said Ajit Kumar Panja, a Bengali barrister and PRO for Punjab and Chandigarh: "It is next to impossible to hold party elections in Punjab now. The organisation is disturbed, unstable and nobody knows who is a member and who is not."

In Uttar Pradesh, PCC(I) chief Sukhdeo Prasad came up with an excuse which could hardly cut ice. He said party polls could not be held because workers were busy with the state's by-elections. As a matter of fact, there were only two by-elections in the state's 425 constituencies. The real reason lay in the fact that three former PCC(I) chiefs, Mohsina Kidwai, Dharam Vir and Bishambhar Nath Pandey, were vying with each other to grab membership forms and pack the organisation with their own followers. Similarly, in the Delhi unit, PCC(I) chief H.K.L. Bhagat, and Delhi Youth Congress(I) President Jagdish Tytler, arch rivals, were enrolling members in competition with each other.

RAGHU RAI

Mrs Gandhi and Rajiv: unperturbed by rising dissidence

The party's inability to elect its executive had a side-effect which apparently disturbed Mrs Gandhi most: it interfered with a general plan to get Rajiv elected the president of the party through legitimate elections. As a matter of fact, no posting in the Congress(I) is legitimate in the true sense, because no elections were held in the party since 1971.

Cool Attitude: While dissidence rages on, the high command curiously maintains its aplomb, and seldom reaches for the panic button. The general attitude is one of stoical aloofness, as if nothing is amiss. In private conversation, high-powe cupants of the top seats of power refer to the dissidence in the p "shocks within tolerance limit"; v protest no longer make them sit search within their own soul.

Said H.N. Bahuguna, chairma Democratic Socialist Party (DSP) Congress(I) leaders calculate dissid way businessmen calculate profits ses. They never enquire into the the substance of a charge. They to figure out what it means in power politics." This negativis amply illustrated by Moopanar w INDIA TODAY: "What is new in dis When a chief minister is appoint assumed that there will be mer coming in from the state. It is so like Newton's third law of Unofficially, Moopar the unenviable distinc being the AICC(I) gen retary "in charge dence", because prote by Congressmen agai colleagues are genera warded to him.

The Congress(I) calls itself the mant of the Indian Nationa ress (INC), is a combin crippling inadequacies of "functioning anar talks of policies a grammes and "isms" main "policy" is th nality of Mrs Gandhi This, in fact, has main strength, and dissension or term polls or not, she is for the ti sufficient to see the party through when the next general elections are

That year has an additional importance: it is the 100th annive the founding of the INC and it clearly be the party's intention to the centenary with pomp and stance, in power, firmly in con with a sprawling organisation. In may be, and it may exercise con boast a huge if formless organisat the way things are going, it will cult for the party to make the cen gala affair. For it faces an unusua cult testing time for its ability to tact and afloat.

The party, in spite of victori hustings and its huge membership some time been in a state of decl body knows if the malaise is term a collapse could come at the en politically effective lifetime of Indi dhi. The reason is not hard to s Gandhi fashioned the party in

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t was Friday. A deadly shade of Friday.
ould feel the devil rattling in my bones. Black it was.
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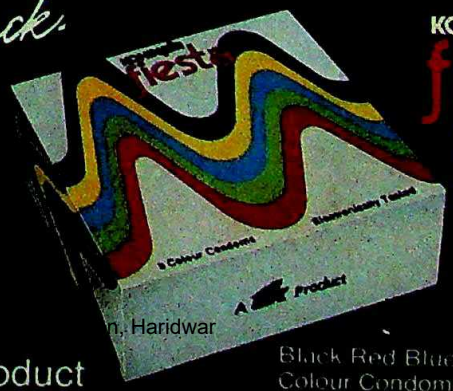
t she understood.



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And no two moments will ever be the same

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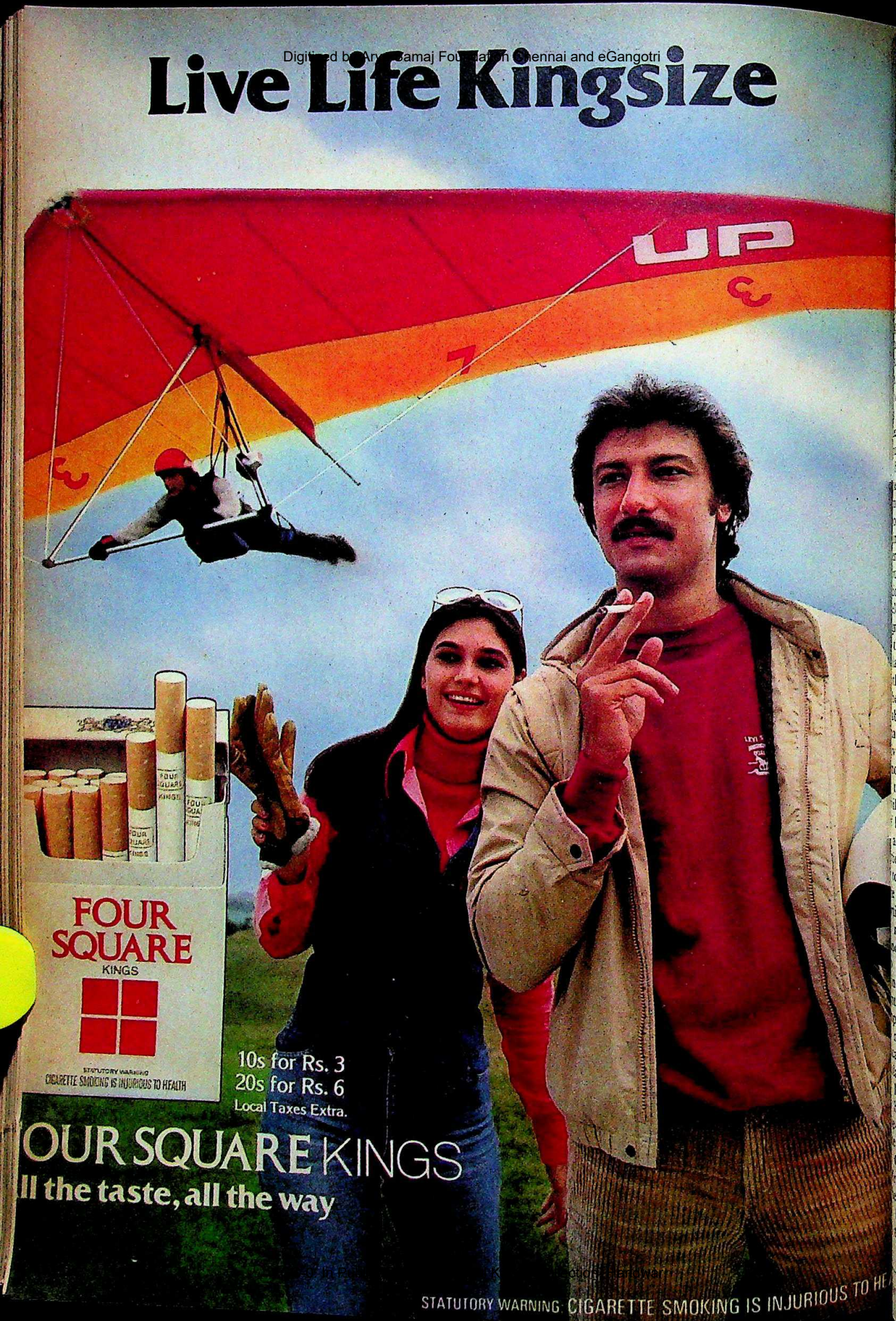

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control or near-control of the in instrument that has come to re and more on her rather than party structure which can carry y forward even in her absence. sonally supreme, the avuncular manifestation of her political

sing Structure: But several key e missing. The party no longer edible high command in New deed the phrase, which is still e of the many euphemisms that to the Indian political voca- deed, Mrs Gandhi is served by a mand"; men and women largely inadequacies who only know or o know how to carry out her or even vaguely signalled wishes. tions run the risk of clashes merous aspiring groups. In no e party's membership roll not avily with bogus names of non- dividuals.

thing is done, the party could to collapse at the state level. re are Congress(I) state govern- t there is no effective party on in most of them. Winning the ections is one thing; restoring ress(I) as a party in the states the polls or in the eight or nine ged by problems would be her.

e case of Mrs Gandhi's retire- bsence from Indian politics what ins of her party will probably Gandhi as the leader. However, ot require much political to predict that the Cong- ll split into a confused local organisations or will as a loose federation of es. Many of them will not o coalesce with factions now described as oppo- ies.

ruling classes in India— d rural—have not only innumerable highly com- terest groups, they have how to align themselves peting political factions in more powerfully influence al process. Meanwhile, the arisation that is taking India between the 20-30 aves and the 70-80 per -nots is also rapidly in- political process.

Gambit: Elections are of s Gandhi's forte, and she r aura riding the crest of Under her tutelage, Rajiv o learn the intricacies of leading a campaign, of winning polls within a set of given parameters. The people helping the mother-and-son team are also geared to find methods of perpetuating power by winning polls, and that too strictly within the parameters. But the party is plagued by a clear void between the duo and their immediate associates and the vast rank and file of the party. No organisation can function without an effective second rank leadership, and the Congress(I)'s is notoriously insufficient. With the exception of encouraging a handful of young party men and a clutch of veterans, there is little evidence of conscious effort to build up a second rung, whether it is in executive jobs or in the organisation.

The reference point of the Congress(I)'s election drive is only one: the popularity of Mrs Gandhi. She is the party's only legal tender, and its only manifesto. In fact the entire organisation, from Rajiv down to the ordinary worker at the taluka level, basks in Mrs Gandhi's reflected glory. So endemic is the party's reliance on her that the entire organisation, from the AICC(I) downwards, has simply withered out of existence. The Congressman today is quite different from the familiar concept of a political being. He does not live in the interconnected labyrinth of an organisation, nor does he have a party life as such. He simply hangs from the top with thousands of others. He has no role to play and no policies to implement, because the party indeed has no policy. Nor does he have a code of conduct to follow, because the party's only code is: stay loyal to Mrs Gandhi.

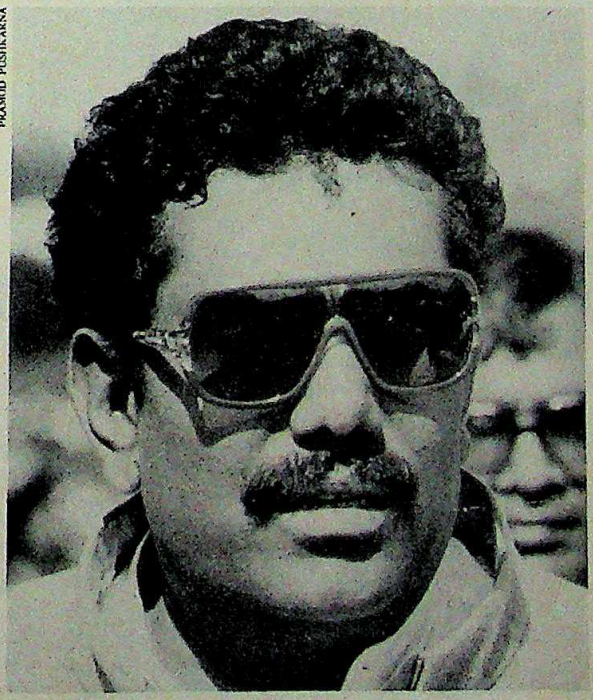
For Mrs Gandhi as well as for Rajiv, a bitter testing time lies ahead. Either they can shed their stoical indifference to the growing restiveness in the party and replace its cynical cultism with a positive ideological content. Or they can draw transient comfort from stray electoral victories and complacently wait for the day when the party, like a century-old banyan tree, with its trunk chewed up by white ants, crashes down with a tragic finality.

—PRABHU CHAWLA and SUMIT MITRA with bureau reports

KARNATAKA

The Fruits Of Loyalty

WHEN the Congress(I) Parliamentary Board (CPB) finally announced the party's list of candidates for the Karnataka Assembly poll after two weeks of hectic discussion and chaotic lobbying, the honours were more or less divided between all the powerful groups in the state. "Every Congressman must be happy," was Chief Minister Gundu Rao's way of putting it at his midnight press conference on December 9 when he returned from Delhi clutching the approved names in his hands. Rao was being too sanguine, for the truth lay closer to what a lower level party worker later said, "There were no winners or losers, only survivors."



PRAMOD PUSHKARNA

Gundu Rao: holding the fort

The CPB seems to have played it safe in its bid to strike a "perfect balance" between the various factions and castes in the party, and did not deviate from the legacy handed down by the late Devraj Urs, former chief minister, who broke the backbone of the two major communities in the state, the Lingayats and the Vokkaligas, and brought the backward classes to the forefront. In fact, the caste-wise distribution of tickets fits closely to the pattern worked out by Urs when the Congress(I) retained power in the 1978 elections by winning 149 seats out of 224.

Delicate Balance: The Lingayats with 43 tickets and the Vokkaligas with 40 were kept at bay accounting for hardly 35 per cent, a share which

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contrasted sharply with the 40 per cent in the pre-Urs days. The backward classes and the minorities took care of more than two-thirds of the tickets with the break up being: Muslims 18, Brahmins 14 (Gundu Rao's new buffer against the major communities), Harijans and other scheduled groups 35, and the listed backward classes 66. Within this broad spectrum the party took care to nominate candidates from castes which had shown a winning streak in certain constituencies. Said a Karnataka Pradesh Congress(I) Committee (KPCC-I) functionary: "Though it is against the democratic system to select candidates on caste lines, these are election compulsions where one has to strike a delicate balance."

In fact, Gundu Rao did a thorough job of researching his state for the best possible line-up. He ordered some 200 intelligence operatives led by Deputy Inspector General of the Criminal Investigation Department (CID), M. Kartikeyan, to spend more than two months collecting such details as the caste composition of the electorate, the reputation of candidates, the strength of the ruling and opposition parties, financial standing of candidates and the problems the party faced. The information was scientifically processed and analysed by professional sociologists and computer experts—and the team came up with its own version of potential candidates, listing two per constituency.

Gundu Rao thus came to Delhi last fortnight equipped with some 50 boxes of files and consulted them frequently during discussions. Surprisingly, his names matched those chosen by the party's central command—who had not used such intensive research techniques—in all but about 30 constituencies, and the list was eventually finalised with Gundu Rao getting his way by and large, except in the matter of his own supporters: instead of the 200 he had hoped for, only about 150 of his own men were given tickets.

More interesting was the party's approach to the perennial issue of defectors versus loyalists—those who came to it in 1980, and those who stood by it in its wilderness days after the Emergency. Even as the issue of tickets was being discussed, both sides were busy with appeals and memoranda to the high command. Of the state's 20 district level committees, 13 sent representations urging Mrs Gandhi to replace defectors with loyalists. Said one memorandum sent on December 5: "In 1980, the loyalists were not happy with your de-

Khan and Patil: emerging in stronger positions

cision to form the Government with the help of MLA's who had defected. Now our request is that you should not neglect the party workers who had worked hard." The opposite camp also made its appeals, but the eventual outcome was revealing.

Strong Action: In a forceful move, the party denied seats to as many as 81 sitting MLA's belonging to the defector group which constituted 142 members of the total of 185 Congress(I) MLA's in the state. In contrast, all 43 MLA's who had stuck by Gundu Rao when Urs split with Mrs Gandhi were rewarded for their unstinted loyalty with tickets. But this does not necessarily represent a victory for the loyalists. For, several powerful defector leaders such as H.C. Srikantiah, S.M. Yahya, H.T. Krishnappa, B.M. Patil, and Mallikarjuna were also given tickets. The notable exceptions were Subbiah Shetty, and K.H. Srinivas, two of Urs's ministers; B. Bhaskar Shetty, the former chief whip of the Assembly; and B.K. Bhasker Naidu, a powerful MLA from Bellary constituency.

The Congress(I) has given tickets to many MLA's and ministers who have inquiries pending into their alleged irregularities... Clearly, the party is unconcerned by the Opposition's efforts to dub the Government as corrupt

When the CPB began its meeting, several groups tried to jockey for power. But Gundu Rao and KPCC(I) President K. Mallanna, working together, were able to neutralise them. Finance Minister Veerappa Moily's move to emerge as the second most powerful leader in the decision-making process was blocked. Moily, who has steadily been making friends in the high command and was backed by Union Finance Minister Pranab Mukherjee, fell out with the chief minister over the selection of candidates, and was in Delhi with his own list. But he succeeded in getting nominees only in his own district wh knocked out two powerful defectors, biah Shetty and Bhaskar Shetty, wh made a strong claim.

The CPB (I) was able to stymie th orts of some leaders to get tickets for relations. It, however, conceded two to two prominent personalities in state—K.B. Krishnamurthy, the s Karnataka Chief Justice K.Bhimaiah given a ticket from Pavagada re constituency in Tumkur. The son o mer vice-president B.D. Jatti was al lected for the Jamakhandi seat in Bi district. The PCC (I) had recomm another candidate but he was super when Jatti flew down personally to Delhi to ensure that his son was chos

The biggest winners have bee pro-Gundu Rao faction. This ha derstandably upset the other faction feel that their loyalty has not been due reward. It is an ominous porte the party that they have already be make their protest heard. Twelve sent a memorandum to Mrs Gand delegation has also met Venkata claiming that "by rejecting the loyal favour of opportunists and de Gundu Rao has insulted genuine workers."

Another group leader, Jaffer Sh Union minister of state for railway Gundu Rao's strongest c tor, was unable to ful ambition of emerging most powerful leader minorities in the state. H effectively thwarted by Rao's bosom friend, Khan, who flew all th from New York where part of the Indian dele to the United Nations G Assembly session, and lised Sharief. But, then high command allowed him a tick B.M. Adyanthaya, state Indian Na Trade Union Congress president, a friend of Khan's. The balance be Sharief and Khan was also maintain giving tickets to their respective support J. George and B.K. Hariprasad, both Yquth Congress(I) leaders who are quarrelling with each other.

ONE MAN who appeared to gained from the whole exercis Veerendra Patil, who head Lingayat group in the party. Patil see have manoeuvred himself to promin adroitly. He campaigned for the 43 lists and in the process got tickets fo the 13 MLA's who had defected from

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ty to the Congress(I) along with efore the Lok Sabha elections of on Health Minister B. Shankara- represents the backward classes e, made good headway and not he get many of his supporters he endeared himself to the de- lending support to their leader

igh this balancing act, the high has ensured that no leader particular community is likely to -powerful. Delhi will therefore e freedom to decide on who l the shots. Gundu Rao's intelli- orts told him that the Congress- very safe" in 46 constituencies, 120, "uncertain" in 32 and "to- e" in 26. Said the report: "If the idates are chosen, who enjoy the f a maximum number of Con- orkers, the ruling party can win 34 seats" compared with the 189 he present Assembly.

nteresting feature has been the Congress(I) has given tickets to s and ministers who have inqui- ng into their alleged irregulari- ble among these has been C.M. who was recently indicted by the ureau of Investigation (CBI) for a scandal. Also back is Renuka who resigned under a cloud g charge-sheeted for accepting a 00 bribe. Srikantiah too has a charges levelled against him by in the party and is facing seve- ies into his alleged misdeeds. he party is unconcerned by sition's efforts to dub the ent as corrupt.

cing Trick: With the party balancing trick, there are f some rebellion within its rticularly in the districts of and Hassan where the loya- been ignored, and in Bella- aichur where the defectors ked out. Mallanna says: n't expect an exodus," here can they go?" But it y possible that if local okers fail to campaign in candidates, their chances poorer for it. Yet, even if a few defectors, they are o influence the party's pro- ch depend largely on Mrs charisma to sweep back to d Mallanna: "Our main uld be a Congress(I) as a party headed by Mrs

Party has produced three d a ten-minute drama en- treating the electorate to vote for it. Around 3,000 cassettes are expected to be recorded and distributed in the constituencies. The party seems supremely confident even as the Opposition bungles its unity moves. Said an enthusiastic Gundu Rao: "We are going to win not less than 200 seats. It is going to be parliamentary history."

What has considerably weakened the Opposition's chances of coming to power is its failure to reach a seat adjustment. The BJP is fighting the polls on its own even though the Janata Party and the Karnataka Kranti Ranga headed by Congress-(I) rebel S. Bangarappa have formed a joint front and will fight under the same symbol, platform and manifesto. The front has already worked out seat adjustments with the Communist Party of India (CPI) and the CPI-M, giving the Janata Party 112 seats, Kranti Ranga 90, CPI 7 and CPI-M 5.

The Opposition's main strategy is to attack the Congress(I) on a wide front, on issues such as frequent police firings which have resulted in the death of more than 120 people; the party's failure to fulfil its promises to farmers; the alleged rampant corruption and the numerous inquiries against leading Congress(I) leaders; inefficient administration and its inability to settle the 70-days-old public sector strike headed by the Joint Action Front of union leaders.

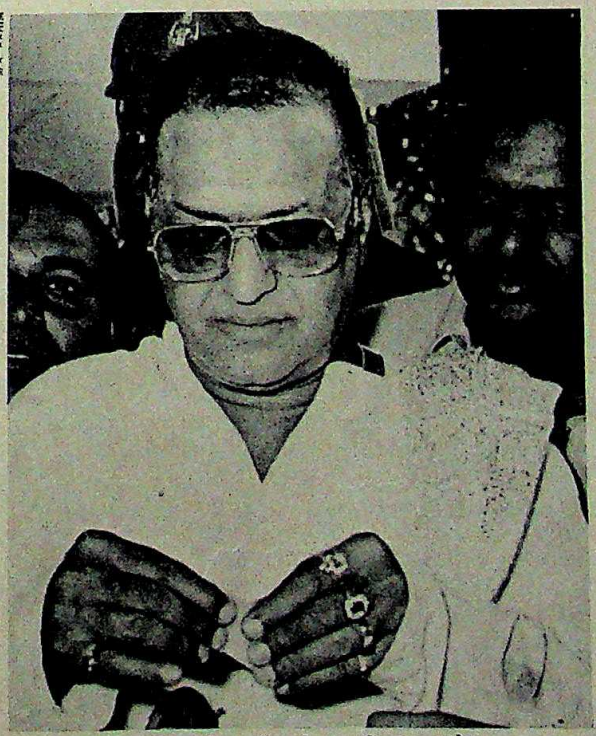
With the decision of the farmers, leaders not to support any party the Opposition has lost valuable potential support. Gundu Rao has also accepted the plea to give Kannada the status of the sole first language in the state's education system, defusing another opposition plank—the language agitation. Yet the Opposition is far from giving up hope. It hopes to make its main gains in the old Mysore area—of Kolar, Bangalore, Tumkur, Mandya, Mysore, Hassan, Shimoga and Chikamagalur. It is also banking on the urban population which has shied from the Congress party. But it is an uphill task all the way.

—RAJ CHENGAPPA

ANDHRA PRADESH

Beating The Challenge

AMMA versus Anna. That's how it is in Andhra Pradesh three weeks before the voters go to the polls. The Amma, of course, is Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, for whom the state has been a durable bastion, standing firm even against the great Janata tide of 1977. The Anna is Nandamuri Taraka Rama Rao, (NTR) film star turned politician, whose Telugu Desam party, less than a year old, is threatening to storm Amma's fortress. The other opposition parties are the lesser lights, as always, rushing frantically in and out of alliances in the now legendary—and persistently elusive—search for unity.



M.A. RAHIM

NTR: throwing down the gauntlet

As the curtain rises on the Assembly general election of 1983, only one thing is clear: the Congress(I) cannot take victory for granted. The state has gone through four chief ministers in two years, factionalism in the party is rampant, to say the least, and the regional challenge of NTR's Telugu Desam, with the actor's populist calls to Telugu pride and power, have combined to make 'Election '83' an unsure proposition for Amma.

Careful Selection: The debt of NTR on the political stage has undoubtedly given the Congress(I) the jitters. This is evident from the care it took to select its candidates. The one consideration which reigned supreme with the high command was whether a candidate could hold his seat or not. The result of this careful sifting was that 90 sitting MLA's were refused tickets. In sharp contrast to

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what is happening in neighbouring Karnataka, the issue of loyalists and defectors was largely ignored—of the 90 who were sent packing, 39 were loyalists who had contested on the Congress(I) ticket in 1978, 16 had joined the Congress(I) before 1980 which is taken as a cut-off year for the loyalty test.

The biggest changes have come in the coastal districts from where NTR draws strength, and consequently where the Congress(I) is most endangered. In Nellore, East Godavari, Vishakhapatnam and Krishna districts, 31 of the 56 sitting MLA's have been shunted out. All India Congress Committee(I) sources say that this action was the result of adverse reports filed by observers sent to these districts by Rajiv Gandhi in August and September.

The changes have also served another purpose besides weeding out unwanted individuals. The caste composition of the party has also been slightly altered, making room for the disgruntled Kamma community to which NTR belongs and which he is trying to rally to his cause. There are 35 Kammas in the new list. The Reddys who always dominated the Congress(I) in Andhra Pradesh have, in consequence, suffered losses and while 81 were given tickets in 1978 only 69 have been selected this time.

Factions Placated: All this is not to suggest that the factional bosses have not been allowed their say. The Andhra Pradesh Congress(I) is a house bitterly divided and every faction must be placated to prevent differences showing during election time. From the moment elections were announced prominent state leaders like Union Cabinet ministers, P.V. Narasimha Rao and P. Shiv Shankar, and aspirants for the chief ministership like Kona Prabhakar Rao and N. Janardan Reddy have been lobbying energetically for their men. Also staking a claim from his distant exile has been Punjab Governor M. Channa Reddy.

There is no doubt that these leaders have been able to prevail upon the high command. This was partly because they all come from districts in which the Reddys and backward classes hold sway, where the Congress(I) has relatively little to fear from the Telugu Desam. In Medak constituency, Mrs Gandhi saw to it that only one of the nine sitting MLA's has been dropped. Narasimha Rao, likewise, made sure that all the five sitting MLA's in his parliamentary constituency, Hanamkonda were retained while Shiv Shankar ensured

Narashimha Rao and Shiv Shankar: energetic lobbying

that seven of the eight sitting MLA's in the district were dropped. The only districts where the balance between the factions was not carefully maintained was in Cuddapah and Chittoor where NTR's son-in-law N. Chandra Babu Naidu and a local tycoon Y.S. Rajashekhara Reddy, both state ministers were allowed to have their say.

While the political situation in the state is still fluid there is no doubt that the tactic of holding early elections has cut some of the ground from under NTR's feet. Only a few months ago he was the odds on favourite of nearly all political pollsters in Hyderabad. Now he seems to have slipped somewhat in their estimation even though he still magnetically attracts colossal crowds wherever he goes.

It is now being acknowledged that no amount of screen charisma can build a political party in such a short time. Observers point out that even Tamil Nadu Chief Minister M.G. Ramachandran had the traditions and the entrenched strength of the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam and the Dravida Kazhagam to draw upon. NTR by contrast is trying to fashion a political party in the short space of a few months. Says state Labour Minister K.Kesava Rao: "Voters can easily see through the make up of a film star. They know Mrs Gandhi is always on the side of the poor."

The battle of the ballot is boiling down to a straight caste duel. The Kammas who have always been deprived of political power by the Congress(I) are expected to lend support to NTR.

Appealing Programmes: Strangely enough the accepted wisdom now is that it is not NTR's personality that is likely to attract voters but his party's programmes. Professor B.A.V. Sharma of Osmania University says that a state-wide survey conducted by the Department of Po Science shows that voters have bee tracted by NTR's suggestions lik midday meal scheme and his promi sell rice at a subsidised price.

These two proposals apart, Telugu Desam is trying to capitali the widespread allegations corruptio have been hurled against over a state ministers in the last few m NTR is also trying to make a major of the fact that the Congress(I) has ged four chief ministers in the short of 25 months. Says the Resident Edi the *Indian Express* Hyderabad G.S. gava: "Telugu Desam has made an i as Mrs Gandhi changed chief minist if she were changing sarees."

In the final analysis the battle ballot in Andhra Pradesh is boiling to a straight caste duel. The Kamma have always been deprived of po power by the Congress(I) are expec lend support to NTR. But NTR als to labour under the disability of branded a Kamma party. Says A chief G. Venkataswamy: "It is not A vs Anna but Amma vs Kamma." NTR gathers enough votes from communities he cannot expect to the seats he needs to become chief m on his own strength.

He is labouring under another cap since he has determi go it alone. The sudde noucement of election caught the opposition flat-footed. The Telugu am has stuck to its deter tion to go it alone, so have enough MLA's to f government on its own two-month old Prog Democratic Front (PD apart almost as soon as el were announced on the of seat allocation. Bo Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) an Lok Dal had pitched their demand and blamed each other for the up. Within a day of the PDF splitti another coalition had formed exc the Communist Party of India (M the BJP and the Congress(S).

More conservatively the Centra dership estimates that the ruling pa very safe in only 37 constituencies an in 154. The ruling party also estimate NTR will only end up with 35 seats of this is election-eve posturing and is no doubt that the Congress Andhra Pradesh is bracing itself for the likes of which it has never before.

—AMARNATH K. M

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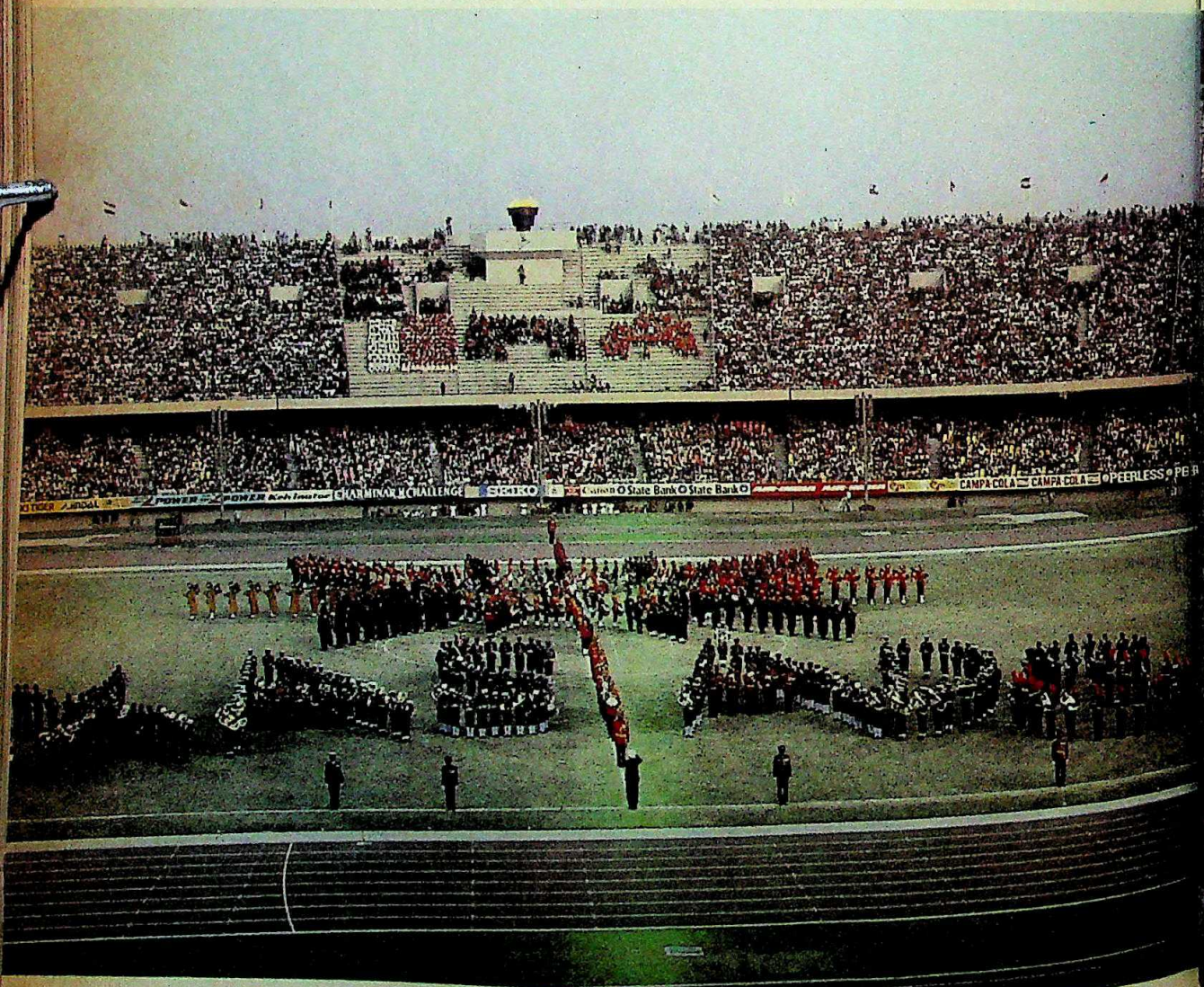
IX ASIAD

The Triumphs And The Tragedies

FOR SIXTEEN drama-filled days, it had occupied centre-stage in the vast Asian continent, dominating headlines in 33 countries and overshadowing the election of a prime minister (in Japan) and the state visit of the French President (to India). And finally, it was over. When the giant flame atop Jawaharlal Nehru Stadium in the heart of New Delhi flickered out for the last time, it was meant to symbolise the final curtain on Asiad '82. But it also symbolised something much more—the end, and even perhaps the beginning, of a glorious chapter in Asian sport. Never had the Asiad flame burned brighter and never had the gap between Asian performances and that of the best in the world been narrower.

If Asiad '82 was a triumph for Indian crisis-ma ment, it was overshadowed by the dramatic perfor of the participants. In just 14 days of competition, credible 74 Asian Games and Asian records shattered. If the pixie-like Chinese gymnast Wu Jiani wa centre-piece in the first week of Asiad, by the end of the se she had been dislodged from her perch of prominence by a 10 other participants whose individual performances bla meteoric trail across the tartan tracks and synthetic surfa the New Delhi Games.



The massed combined services band spells out 'IX ASIAD '82' during the emotional closing ceremony

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the history books will fail to record the real triumph of 82. For, in the end, the New Delhi Games were not just inter-continental sporting meet but a spectacular celebra- cept for one ugly incident during the football tournament), never had the spirit of sport manifested itself so power-

Forgettable Spectacle: At the emotion-charged closing ce- the sight of 5,000 athletes linking arms regardless of or political ideology and waving gaily to the 70,000 spec- will not be easily forgotten. Nor will the impulsive gesture smartly-clad Japanese athletes, who broke away from the on the track to toss their white panama hats into the s if in acknowledgement of their unrecorded contribution uccess of the Games.

d, as the sun slowly set on Asiad '82, there were moments ched out and touched even the stoniest of spectators. At ing ceremony, when the Asiad high started coming down, ere at least two occasions that epitomised Asiad theatre at poignant.

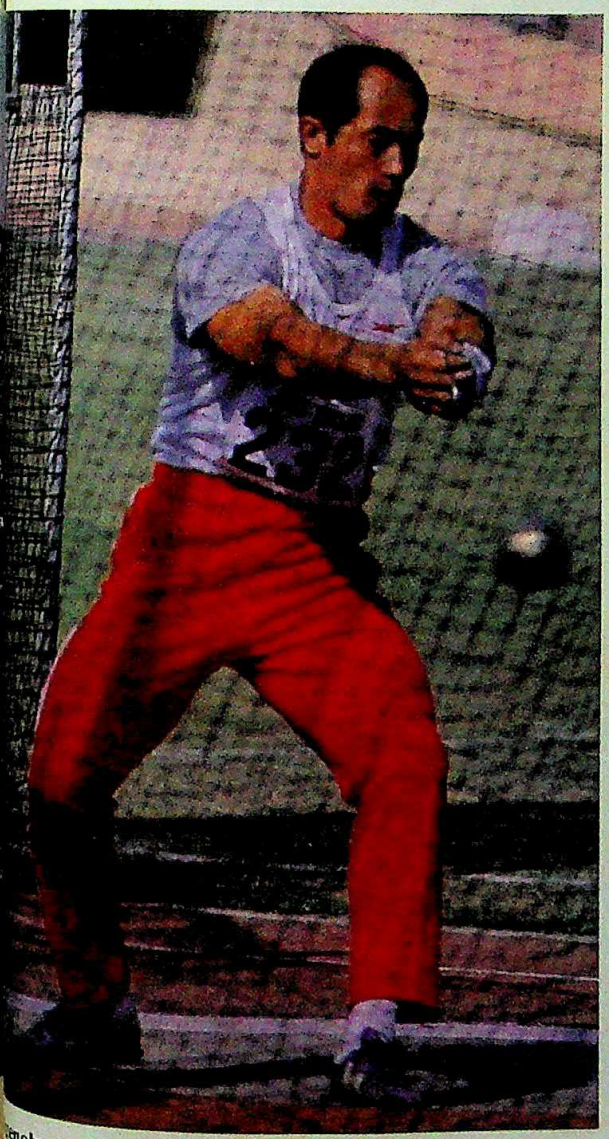
was when the floral Appu, the lovable mascot of the made his last bow and disappeared into the bowels of the for the last time and the scoreboard flickered an electro-

nic farewell. An object of much derision when the Games starte owing to the needless controversy about a live mascot, by th time Asiad ended Appu had come to symbolise all that is stil elevating about an event like this.

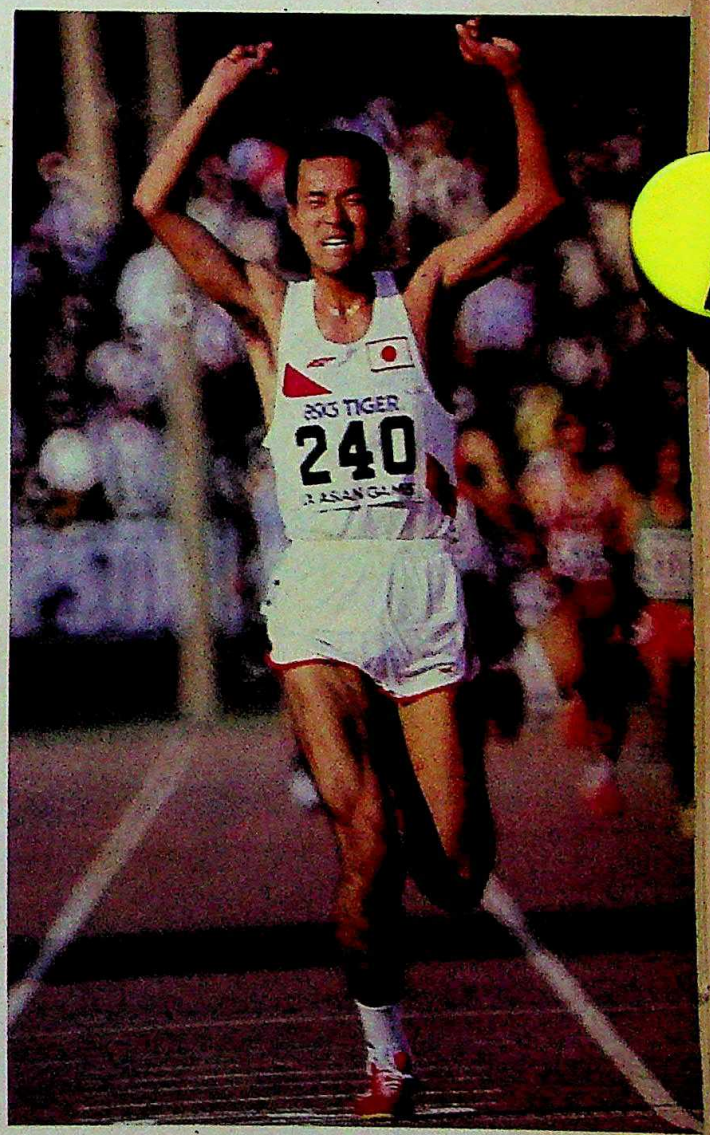
The other was when the massed services bands played th hauntingly beautiful hymn *Abide With Me*. There could not hav been a more appropriate and emotional end to the astonishingl successful Games than that one perfectly-rendered melody tha lingered on in the mist-laden air long after the last member of th audience had left.

POSTERITY, however, will record only the performance but even those were inspiring enough. Ironically enough, th most-coveted victor's laurel wreath went to the sportsma who was the most advanced in age, at least on the athletic fiel Shigenobu Morofushi, at 38, was old enough to be considered veteran, but his incredible performance set almost impossibl standards for the rest.

Built like a Sumo wrestler, the balding Japanese sports in structor created Asiad history when he continued his amazin gold streak by winning the hammer throw—for the fourth Asia in succession. He had won in Bangkok (1970), Teheran (1974



enobu Morofushi, Japan's hammer throw gold medallist



Japan's Masanari Shintaku after his record-breaking 5,000 m ru

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India's gold-medal grappler Satpal Singh in action during his final bout

Heavyweight pugilist Kaur Singh, India's solitary gold medallist in the boxing tournament, weaves away from his opponent in the fina

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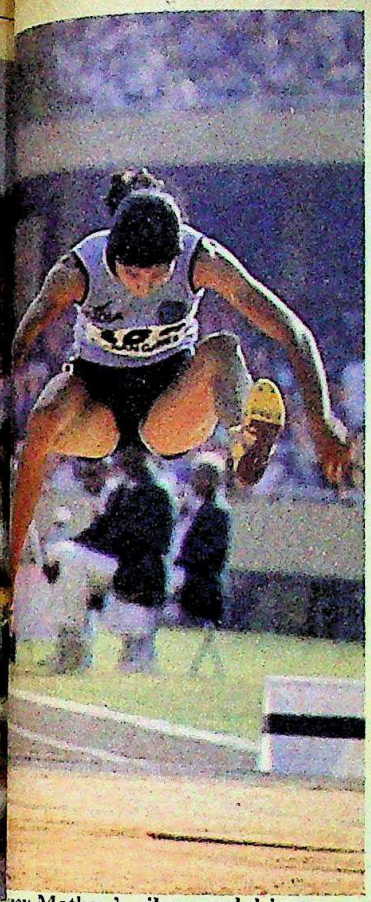
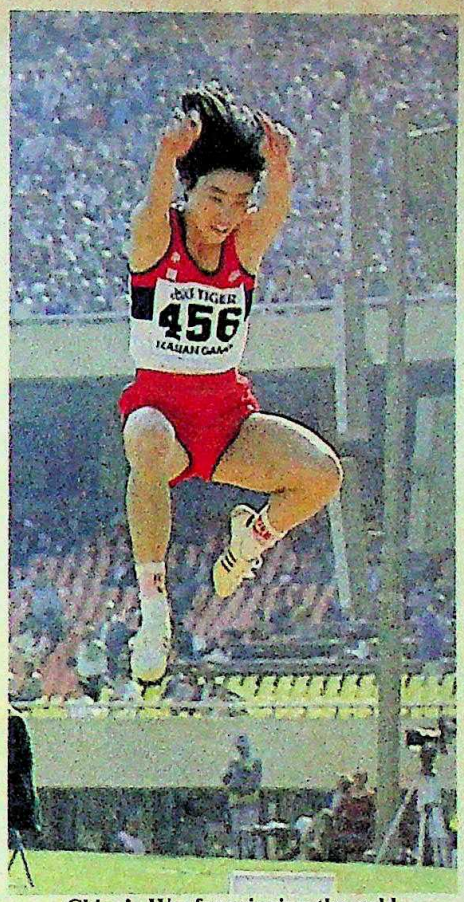
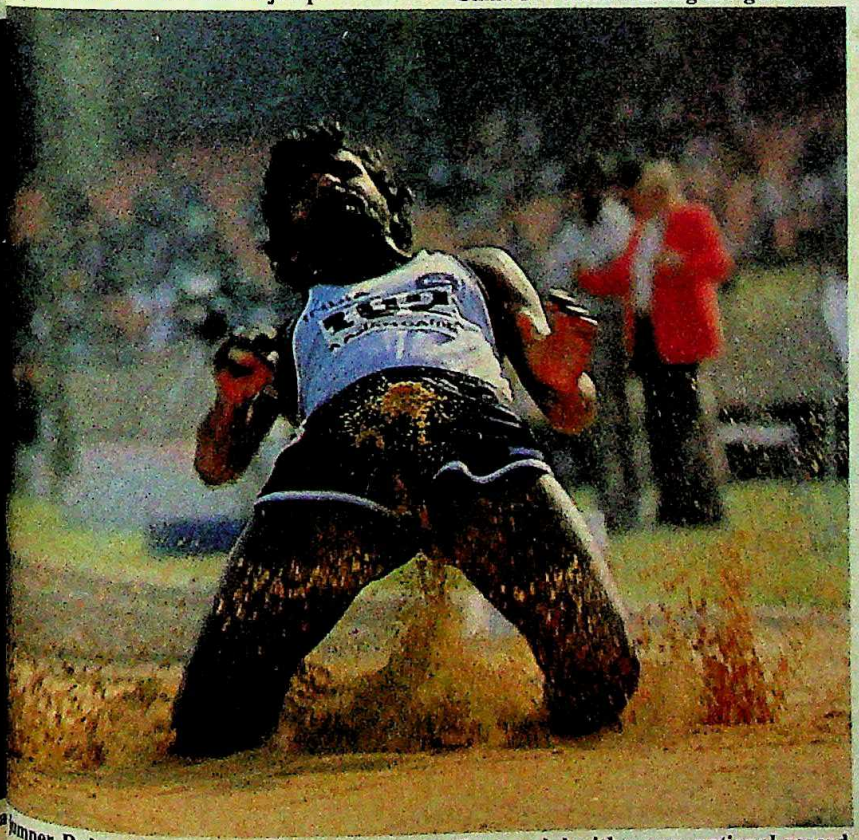


acy Mathew's silver medal jump



China's Wenfen winning the gold



umper Balasubramaniam winning a surprise silver medal with a new national record

Bangkok (1978) and now New Delhi. I fact, Morofushi was participating in hi fifth Asiad, having settled for a silver a the 1966 Bangkok Games at the age of 22 He obliterated his own previous Asia Games record of 68.26 m with his thir effort which saw the spherical "hammer hit the dust at an incredible 71.14 m. Th throw fetched him not just the gold meda but the cup for the best sportsman of th Games, a distinction that could only hav gone to him.

Either he is a surprisingly mode man or his string of victories have mad him blasé about the whole thing. Imme diately after his record-breaking perfo mance, he closeted himself with his Rume nian wife, Serafina, in their Village roor for a private celebration. But there wer obviously other Morofushis waiting in th wings, notably the highly intelligent lon distance runner Masanari Shintaku. Th talented Japanese ran a brilliantly-plotte race in the 5,000 m to canter home i 13:53.7 for a new Asian Games record.

ATHLETICS, in fact, set the competit ve tone of the Games which. predicta bly enough, boiled down to the tradition battle for supremacy between Japan an China. Though in overall performance an drive there was very little to choose b tween the two, China's medal-hungry atl letes created history by toppling Japa from the top of the medals table for th first time. For the spectators, at least, th Japanese and Chinese national anthem eventually became as well-known as th Indian, so often were they played.

Japan's early lead, established with i splurge of swimming medals, was gradua ly whittled down until it became obvio that the deciding factor lay in the trac and field events. The China-Japan batt and that of the two Koreas who dogg their heels diligently, provided addition flavour for what always is the glamo event of an international sporting mee The result was some outstanding perfo mances which had the surprisingly kno ledgeable Indian crowd glued to the fibreglass seats.

Out of 39 events where new recor were possible, no less than 27 Asi Games records were shattered as comp red to a mere 12 in the last Asiad at Ban kok. There were at least three world cla athletes on display and many more wl would be by the time the 1984 Olympi came around. China's star high jump Zhou Jianhua had the entire 60,000-stro audience holding their collective breath he made his go-for-broke bid to break tl world record. He failed by the proverbi whisker but his mark of 2.33 m made

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mockery of the old Games record of 2. m, eclipsed his own Asian best of 2.30 set last year and was tantalisingly close the world mark of 2.36 m.

Great Effort: The real star perf mance at the Games came from the Indi athletics contingent, which picked up total of 21 medals to finish third af Japan and China in the track and fi tally. M.D. Valsamma's record-breaki 400 m hurdles effort and the equa outstanding performance by 800 m g medallist Charles Borromeo earned, course, the pride of place but anot outstanding performance was long jump Mercy Mathew who picked up a surpr silver in the event with a best ever jump 6.2 m.

In fact, Mathew's best jump was 6 m which would have beaten the event gold medal winner Liao Wenfen of C na's record mark of 6.42 m but was cal a foul jump. Mathew, in fact, inexplica fouled four of her six jumps and was

China's high jump stars Zhou Jianhua (top) who just missed the world record, and Zhong Dazhen's gold medal jump

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surprise medal in the jumps
Balasubramaniam who igno-
esome reputation of Zhou
come up with a remarkable
of 16.14 m to pick up the
jump not only won him a
it also set a new national
as never crossed 16 m before
ly attributed his performance
pport. "Their cheering really
added distance," he said

ggest upset in the jumps,
s that of Japan's Hisayo Fuki-
ad beaten world record holder
of Italy and holds the Asian
93 m in the women's high
time, however, she looked
form and was beaten to the
na's Zheng Dazhen who esta-

India's Negi helplessly watches another goal being scored, while (top) the crowd go delirious after India score first

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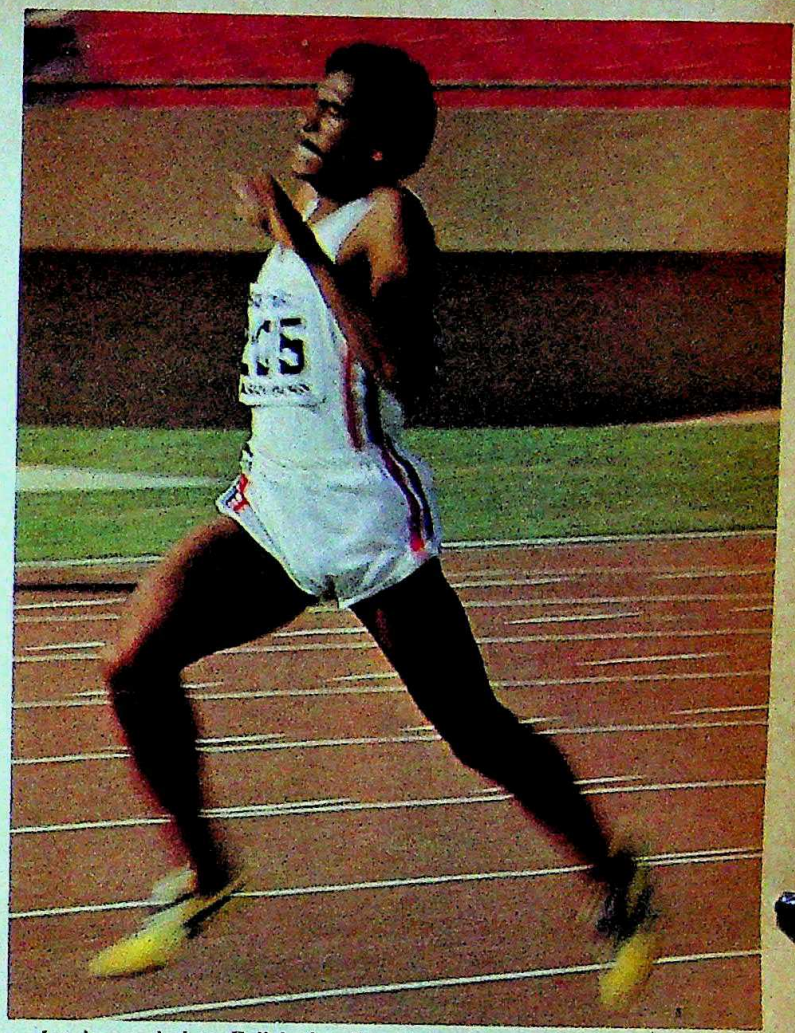
gold medallist Yang Kon Kim of South Korea ...ses in the arms of his coach after the race



Iraq's wonderboy Falleh Jaralla storms into the final lap for his record-breaking 1,500 m run

...ted Iraqi team after winning the football final against fancied Kuwait

blished a new Asian Games record by clearing 1.89 m.

AS FAR as India was concerned, the spirit-dampening and humiliating defeat at the hands of Pakistan in the hockey finals (*page 97*) was more than offset by the overall performance of the Indian contingent which wound up with the largest number of medals ever won by the country in the Asian Games—57, more than double their 1978 Bangkok tally of 28. Their 13 gold medals was also the highest recorded since the 1951 Asiad in which only six countries participated. In fact, in total medals won, India finished the Games in fourth position behind China, Japan and South Korea, but with North Korea having won more golds, was officially listed as fifth.

In fact, India would have fared even better were it not for the fact that the medal hopes in the wrestling and boxing events failed to bring home the expected bacon. Apart from Kaur Singh who retai-

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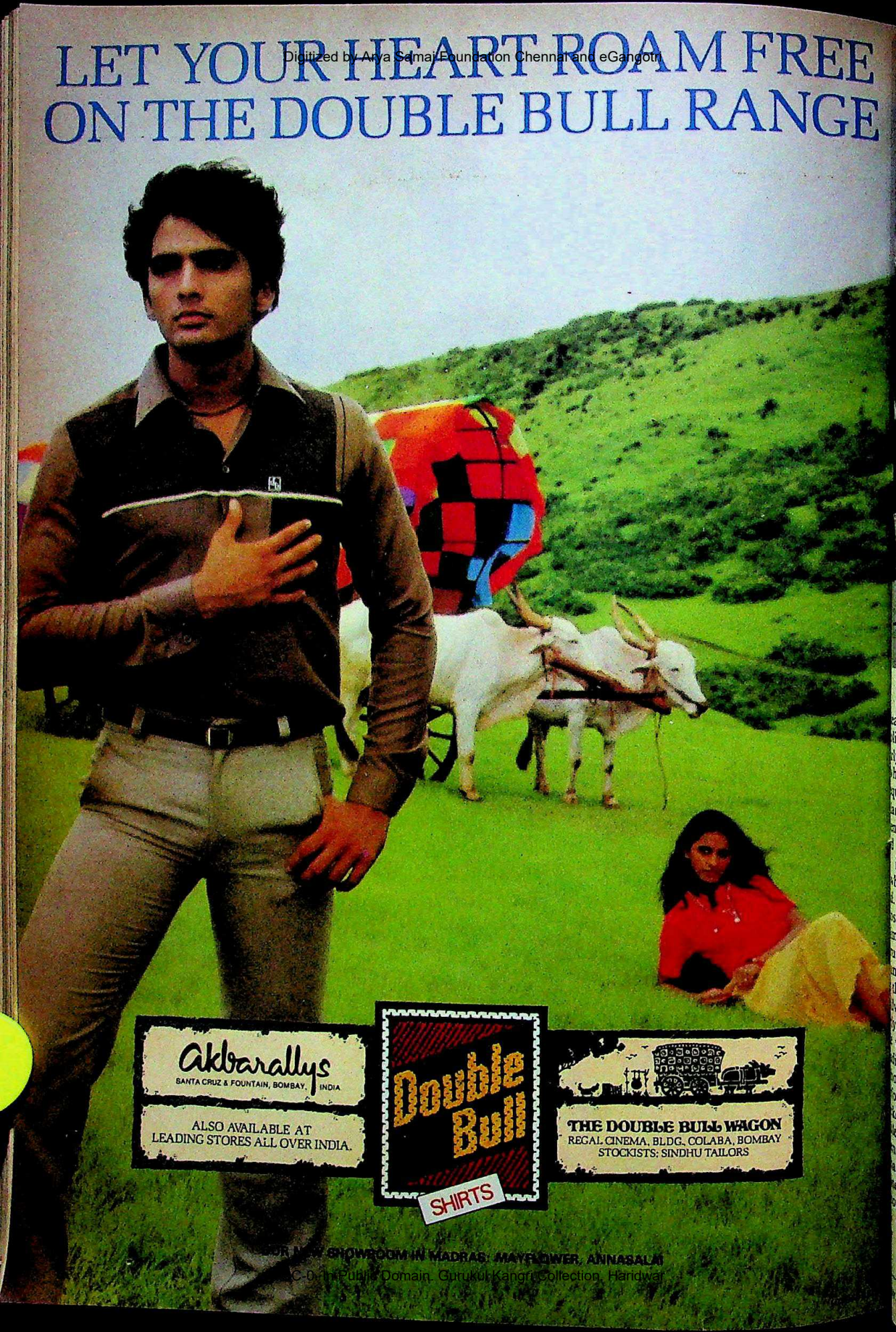

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The fumble that cost India the gold in the 4 × 400 m relay for women

eavyweight crown and grappler Satpal Singh who won litary wrestling gold, the other boxers and wrestlers ly outclassed, as they were in the weightlifting com- here nine new Asian Games records were established qualled in a total of 10 events.

arly, India lost a certain medal in the men's 4400 m n the last two runners in the Indian team, Pavittar d Premachandran fumbled with the baton and finally it at a crucial hen India were well The women's relay st met the same fate milar fumble by the unners lost the lead mma's fantastic lap them and wound up lver.

, Asiad '82 belon- women, at least as dia was concerned. oria at the gold ormance by the wo- key team continued etic stadium where bettered no less ational records and e medals. Valsam- ous 400 m hurdles new Asian record the pick of the bunch and she picked up another silver in the 400 m relay.

Another double-medal winner was Geeta Zutshi, the painfully shy middle-distance runner from Haryana. Zutshi failed narrowly to pick up golds in the 800 m and the 1,500 m but she rewrote the national record books with timings of 2:5.77 and 4:19.33 respectively in what appears to be her last Asian Games. P.T. Usha, the scrawny-looking sprint queen also picked up two medals in the 100 m and 200 m, clocking a personal best of 24.28 secs in the latter during the heats.

The giant scoreboard flickers out its last message

THE HONOURS clearly belonged to the two giants, China and Japan, and the two Koreas—an overt indication of the priority and care given to the development of sport in those countries. Equally encouraging was the obvious improvement in standards among the Middle East countries. Their dominance in the football tournament was absolute with Iraq, Kuwait and Saudi Arabia taking the three top spots, but their performance in other arenas was a clear indication that they will no longer settle for being also-rans.

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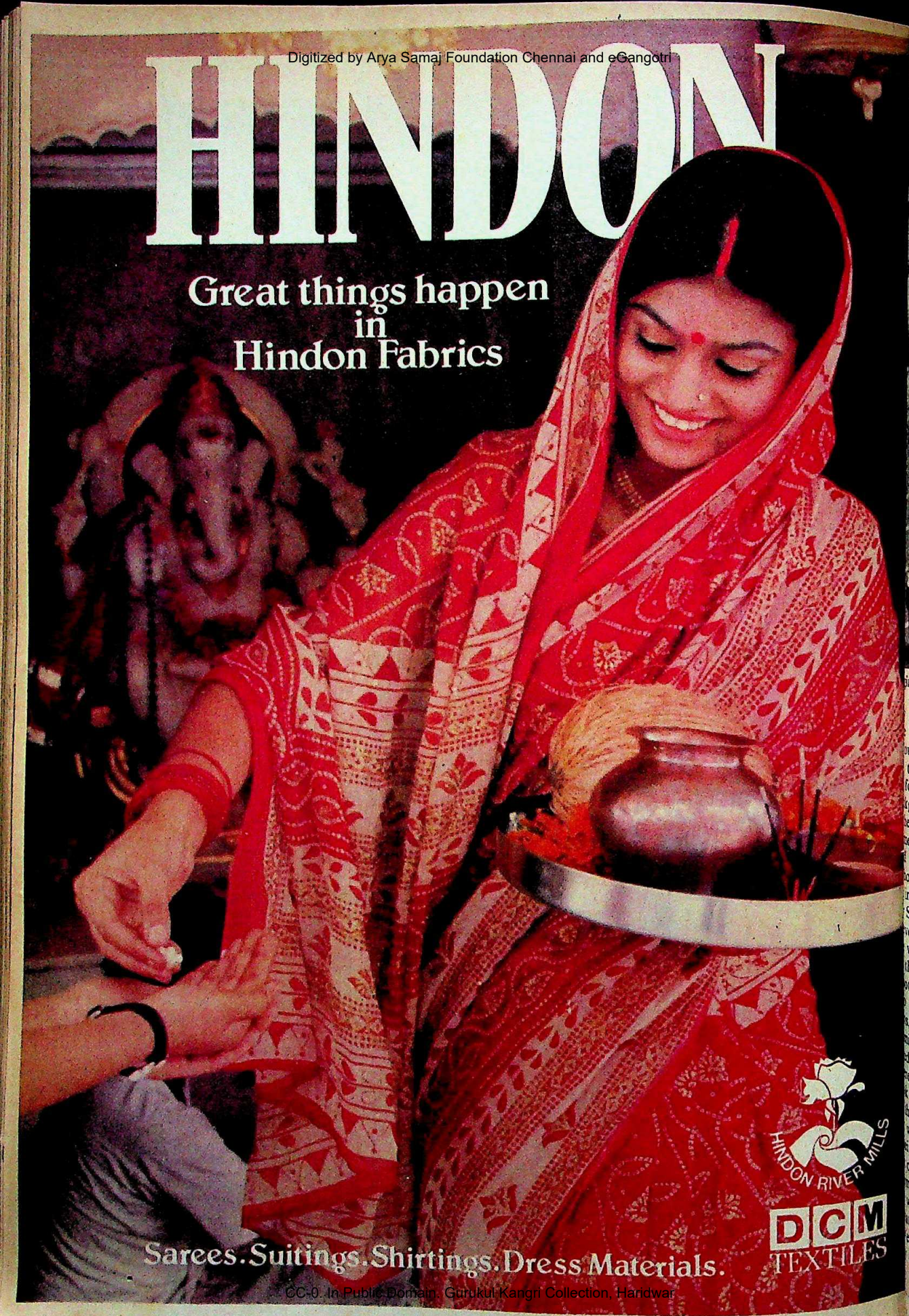

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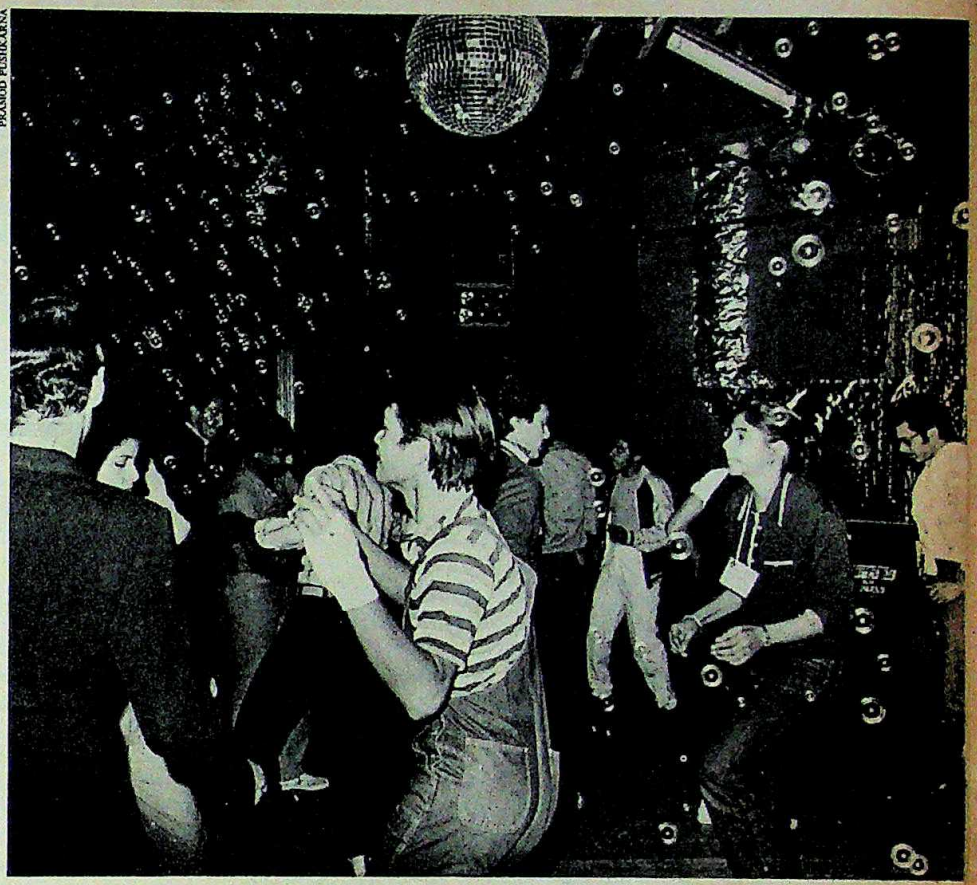
rl Lydia de Vega: 100 m winner

PRAMOD PUSHKARNA



Asiad athletes relaxing in the village disotheque during the Games

the most outstanding individual performance from Middle East contingents was the breathtaking run by urful middle-distance runner Faleh Jaralla. Jaralla's the quarter-mile had virtually put him out of the for the 1,500 m finals but he ran a dream race, staying ground till the last round and then powering his way e final lap in an astonishing 55.4 secs to smash the es record with a time of 3:43.49. But the loudest cheer for the marathon man, Kim Yang Kon of South barely managed to finish the gruelling race before nto the arms of his coach.

Stars: Tragically, because of the glamour of the track ents, the real stars of the Games were virtually unno- was Gil Man So, the North Korean marksman who the highest number of individual gold medals—four— ting competition. But for a man who won the most was also the most taciturn. When asked about his , he put it in a single word: "Olympics".

ing, as usual, produced its own superstars, as would considering that no less than 25 Asian Games e demolished. Japan predictably ruled the pool while the diving honours but the swimming show was he two Choi sisters of South Korea, Youn Hee and who between them won seven medals out of the 12 r country's swimming contingent. Youn Hee, in fact, only swimmer to win three individual golds, a remark- nance by any standards.

were other images that, as usual, will outlive the pe- tistics. There was the glamour girl of the Games, ga of the Philippines, the 100 m gold medallist, being autograph hunters by day and boogeying away in the Village discotheque by night; and the indestructible Han Jian, China's badminton gold medallist displaying nerves of steel to destroy the fancied Indonesian Liem Swie King.

SURPRISINGLY, host country India picked up most glory outside the athletics stadium, and registered dramatic improvements in almost every competition. On the badminton courts, minus star player Prakash Padukone, the Indians picked up five bronze medals which signifies their best-ever performance in the Asian Games. The volleyball team's fourth placing was again nothing to be sneezed at, while the most creditable improvement came in swimming where, though the Indians failed to pick up a medal, they had swimmers in almost every final where their performances saw them smashing national records by unbelievable margins.

Sanjiv Chakravorty clipped 1.33 secs off the national record in the 100 m freestyle finals with a time of 55.77 secs. Bula Choudhury sliced Anita Sood's 100 m butterfly record by 0.86 secs, T.J. Jacob reduced his own national record for the 400 m individual medley by 3.02 secs while in the women's event, Persis Madan fared even better by chopping the national record by a creditable 5.48 secs. Similarly, in the 200 m breaststroke, Gita Anand chopped 6.59 secs off the national record. But the most outstanding performance was by 200 m butterfly champions Khazan Singh and Bula Choudhury who reduced the national records by 8.43 secs and 11.64 secs respectively.

Brigadier D.N. Devine-Jones, secretary of the Indian Boxing Federation, points to an equally improved performance by the Indian boxing team. In 1974, India won three silvers and two bronzes while in 1978 the tally was just one silver and two bronzes. This time, the final count was one gold, two silvers and three

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bronzes. Mantu Debnath, coach of the Indian gymnastics team, was quite content with the fifth position secured by the men's team in the competition after China, Japan and the two Koreas, since it represents the best Asiad performance to date. In weight-lifting, the absence of any significant medal contribution was no indication of the vast improvement in performances. In fact, Indian lifters have bettered national records an incredible 69 times in 1982, a tribute to the planned training programme they have been on in recent months.

THE COUNTERPOINT to the encouraging overall improvement of Indian sporting standards was the question that loomed large in the aftermath of the Games—how long will the tempo continue? Obviously, India's performance stems from the build-up to the Asiad over the last two years where no expense was spared to get the best equipment and the best coaches available. But in international terms, there is still a long way to go looking at the manner in which other Asian countries are nurturing sport within a well-planned long-term perspective.

The Philippines has one of the most interesting sports programmes going called Gintong Alay (Offering of Gold) with the ultimate objective of producing world-class athletes. Baguio City, a hill-station some 250 km north of Manila, is the hub of the national sports training programme which was started in December 1979. The money for the programme comes from a foundation set up by President Ferdinand Marcos with the equivalent of Rs 2,000 crore.

Talent scouts travel the country looking for promising athletes in their early teens. They are brought to Baguio City where there are adequate educational facilities so that schooling is not disrupted. Says Gintong Alay's Chief Coach, Australian Anthony Benson: "Everything is provided free and a small allowance given to the athletes. It is important to have them throughout the year so that training is continuous to build up endurance. This is how Filipino athletes have bettered national performances 70 times since the project started (Lydia de Vega is a Gintong Alay find). We have blueprinted our training schedule towards one goal—the 1984 Olympics."

Massive Drive: In South Korea, which will host the 1988 Olympics as well as the 1986 Asiad, an even more ambitious project is in the works. Says Jong Yul Kim, chef de mission of the South Korean contingent to the New Delhi Games: "The task of preparing for the Olympics has already started. Six million children underwent an initial screening for fitness of whom 100,000 were selected. After some more tests, 10,000 children aged around 12 or 13 years have been selected. Next month, a final screening will take place and 5,000 children will be picked and they will form the core of the Korean challenge in the 1988 Olympics."

Similarly, China's current success stems from the solid foundations laid down through the years. Wu Zhongyuan, one of the four deputy leaders of the Chinese contingent, revealed that there are three aspects to China's sports programme: "The first is the state commission for physical culture and sports which is a government body charged with the finance, planning and development of sports and infrastructure. The second is the all-China sports federation to which are affiliated the various associations. This is an autonomous body that looks after coaching of both athletes and coaches. The third body is the Chinese Olympic Committee which organises all the major meets."

Zhongyuan also says that China has 13 sports institutes and about 3,000 gymnasiums, stadia and running tracks. There are also schools of physical culture all over the country which train youngsters between the ages of 15 and 18 years. There is one school for each province and 90 per cent of China's athletes come from these schools. He also attributes China's success to the fact that sports exchanges with other countries and participati international meets has increased tremendously in recent yea

WHICH, of course, throws up the crucial questions: c sudden interest in sports in India be sustained and w Government and the newly-formed Sports Ministry keep promises of giving Indian sport the long-awaited boost? The astic interest generated all over the country by Asiad '82 ar fabulous stadia and equipment conjured up for the Games that there has never been a more opportune moment tha for giving Indian sport a massive boost. On current for signs are hardly optimistic. Says Gursewak Singh, chef de ion of the Indian contingent for the Delhi Asiad and treas the Indian Olympic Association (IOA): "If the Governmen rious about proper usage of the facilities, a sports authority lar to the Trade Fair Authority, will have to be create Sports Ministry does not have the experience to maintain dia. The federations have conducted the Games flawlessly a authority, if it is created, must include people from them."

Gymnastics coach Debnath feels that it is unlikely t progress made in the sport over the past few months maintained, unless a superhuman effort is made. "The cost hibitive," he says. "Even Indian gymnastics sets, which poor quality, cost over Rs 50,000 and safety equipment available. Where can a learner practise? I think the Asian have done a lot for gymnastics in that people all over the are suddenly aware of this sport. That is great but maxim nefit of this new awareness can only be got if new facili provided. Otherwise all will be lost."

Gautam Kaul, chief administrator of the Indra Indoor Stadium, echoes Debnath's views. "Indian gym standards are on the rise," he says, "but the main problem enormous lack of good coaches. There are states that ha

Japan's Kaori Yanase after her record-breaking spurt in the free style final

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stics coach and there are only about 50 for the whole

s: At the most vital level, the actual participants, there angible air of distrust and apprehension of the future. a member of the Indian table tennis team, says that Korean coach who trained the team for a year before helped them improve their technique a great deal but e shortly and then they will be back to their old coa- m. Says she spiritedly: "In the leading sports nations, ts to the top as part of a larger programme. An Indian here only by virtue of his individual effort to get to the dly, their coaching starts much earlier than ours."

oes on to say: "There is an enormous paucity of coa- e never been coached till now except by my father who -level player and at the few coaching camps that are he biggest problem is that of space to practise. We ap- he schools but it is like begging. The one great advant- ad would be if they let us have the Hall of States for et's see what happens." Adds Eliza Nelson, captain of ous women's hockey team: "It's great to see the enthu- will it last?"

ately, it is that air of uncertainty that pervades the cur- Asiad atmosphere. Says Devine-Jones: "I am doubtful and other pressures will ease after the Asiad. But with ministry, there is reason for at least some optimism." manager of the Indian volleyball team, is equally cau- the future: "We'll have to wait and cross our fingers. ds on what is decided in the coming months."

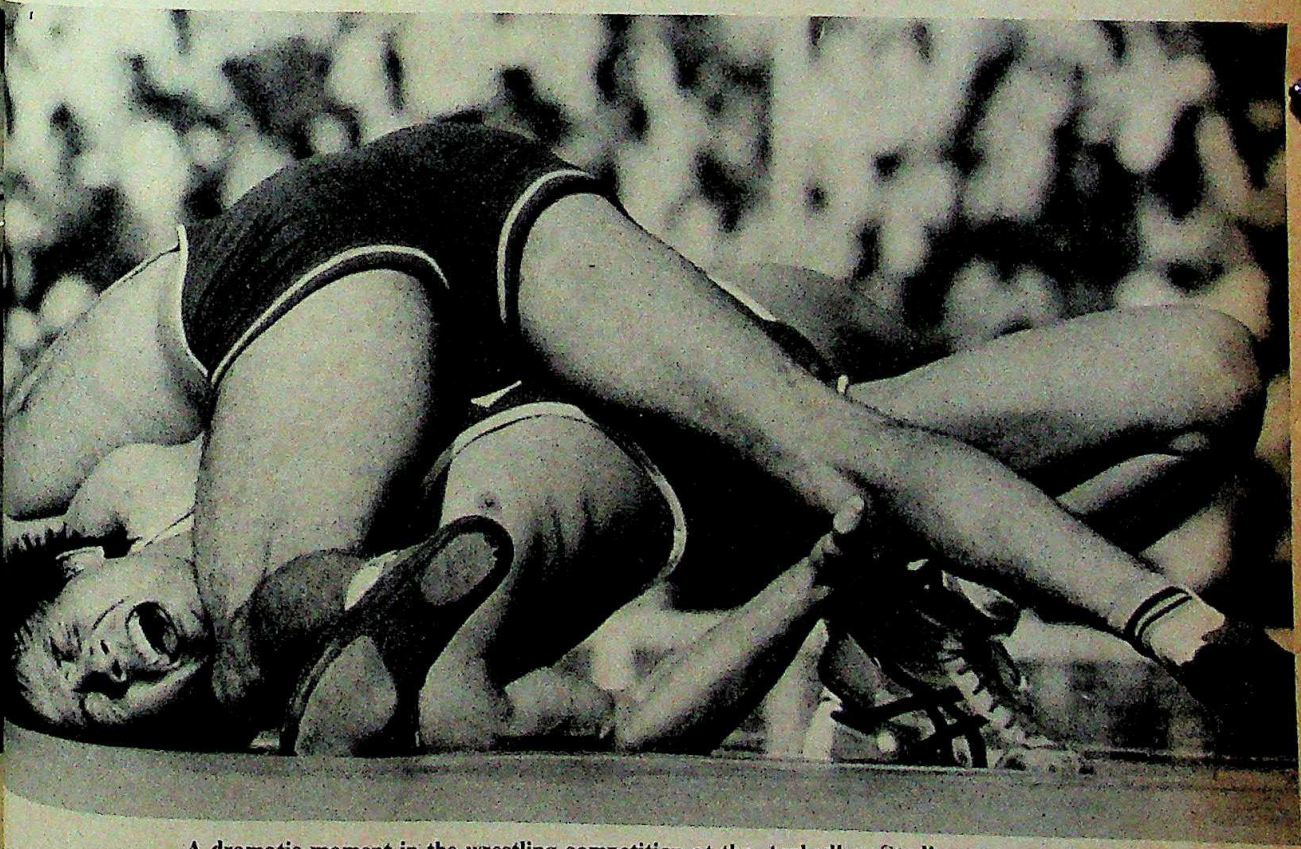
ism: There lies the rub. So far, Sports Minister Buta been content to bask in the Asiad glory without concrete promises for the future. "We are working al sports policy," he says. "Once that is finalised, we ad with our plans." But what exactly those plans are he is not willing to comment on just yet. Similarly, India's ambitious plans to host international meets, including the 1992 Olympics, are mere straws in the wind as yet. The only certainty so far is next year's Afro-Asian Games; the myriad world championships that were bid for during the Asiad euphoria are unlikely to materialise unless a major concentrated effort is made.

However, Raja Bhalindra Singh, president of the IOA, is quite optimistic of India's sporting future. "Delhi stands a good chance of getting the Olympics," he says. "The International Olympic Committee (IOC) will be meeting for the first time in March 1983, when it will decide whether to give India the Olympic Games." Singh adds that what is needed is massive promotion of sports which can help in building up the sports industry so that high-quality equipment is available in India.

BUT DISCUSSIONS with various federation heads, coaches and athletes reveal that in their opinion a huge gap has to be bridged before India can achieve results and take on the image of a leading sporting country:

► In a situation where the average age of athletes in every sport is gradually decreasing, it is of vital importance to introduce a 'catch-them-young' policy like East Germany has. This is the basic level where India loses out. Devine-Jones says that he gets boxers to train after they have joined the army, which gives them just a couple of years of international competition. In the sports-conscious countries, talent is picked up between the ages of nine and 13 and scholarships, free facilities and expert coaching combine to make them into world class prospects. In India, the lack of incentive or financial gain in sports means that the people who take to it seriously are sorely limited.

► The future of any sports programme rests in the broadness of the base that can be provided and this, again, is where India lags far behind. The lack of sports consciousness means that In-



A dramatic moment in the wrestling competition at the Ambedkar Stadium

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dia's base, from where future sportsmen can be nurtured, is tragically narrow. Even in schools, the emphasis is usually on educational distinction rather than sports. Rural India, with 75 per cent of the population, is virtually non-existent as far as sports facilities and sportsmen are concerned.

► Another major drawback is in the process of selection which all too often is riven by parochial conflicts and regional divisions. Eventually, the end result is hardly conducive to the betterment of sport.

► The lack of adequate competition is one of the most significant reasons for Indian sport being in limbo. It is impossible to improve performances if the competition is only as good as you are. Apart from cricket and hockey, the international exposure that Indian sportsmen are provided with is severely limited.

► Poor spectator response leads to poor finances. Apart from the glamour sports like cricket and in some places, football, the spectator turn-out at most sporting events hardly makes up the cost of staging the event. A professional approach to the selling of sport and the involvement of more private commercial could go a long way in increasing gate receipts at sp fixtures.

► Lack of experienced and expert coaches is obviously the more serious defects in the system. Again, this require international exposure so that Indian coaches can keep u modern developments. One of the main reasons that India so creditably in the Games was the unprecedented presenc large number of expert foreign coaches who brought with modern techniques and training methods.

► Finally, there are the facilities. If the Asiad faciliti stadia are going to be wrapped up in cocoons and only tak of moth-balls for major international meets, that leaves sportsmen still woefully short of practice facilities. Table players have nowhere to practise, tennis players find balls pensive, gymnasts have no proper equipment. There is a related question of high-protein diets for the sportsmen—t of which has certainly contributed to the stunted gro

ASIAD VILLAGE

Crying Wolf

ONE OF the more sensational sidelights of the Asiad spectacle was the report appearing in a national newspaper just after the Games concluded, that "15 to 20 cases of rape or attempted rape" had been committed since the Asiad Village opened for business on November 9. The irony lay in the fact that the report had appeared in the official newspaper of the Special Organising Committee (SOC), the *Asiad Chronicle*. Though the paper hastily issued a denial the next day, the damage had been done and the flock of attractive guides and protocol officers at the Village were up in arms demanding a public apology and an official statement by the Government. It was, unfortunately, too late for that.

A view of the Asiad Village reception centre: focus of controversy

Khalid Ansari, the editor of the *Chronicle* was unavailable and left Delhi immediately after the Games ended and the Government left it to Air Vice-Marshal H.L. Kapur, the man in charge of the Village, to issue a press note denying that the girls had been molested. Investigations, however, prove that the rape story was totally unproved. Said Anuradha Bakshi, director, protocol, at the Village: "The whole story is so absurd, 20 girls who the *Chronicle* alleges were raped makes up 25 per cent of the girls working in protocol. If anything had happened, I would have been the first to know about it."

Clearly, however, the Government should have taken a firmer stand on the issue. Said one pert college student who worked at the Village: "If the authorities do not hold an inquiry, we will take up the matter ourselves. Free press does not mean you can print garbage and get away with it." They are now contemplating legal action against the *Chronicle* and the SOC.

Their agitation was understandable. Ever since the story appeared in the paper, the entire city has been buzzing with rumours about the rapes and the next day's denal only put additional focus on the story. What motivated the *Chronicle* to print the story is unclear but it certainly cast a serious slur on the girls who did so much to make the Village an outstanding success. The possible origin for the story, which was obviously blown out of proportion by the *Chronicle* reporter, was probably a lover's tiff between one of the protocol girls and her fiance. In her words: "My fiance and I had a tiff on the day the so-called rape took place. I was dist bed and in tears and accidentally w ked into a wall and bumped my he There was a big bruise and one of girls took me to the dispensary wh the doctor was not available and so went to the main medical cen Obviously, the reporter saw me cry and being consoled by another girl a put two and two together to make fi How he figured it as a case of rape unbelievable."

So far, the only positive act is in the form of a letter signed several of the girls demanding an quiry. The letter was handed over Rajiv Gandhi who has promised look into the entire sorry affair. But that happens, all the girls who work at the Asiad Village, most of them c lege students, will remain under *Chronicle* cloud.

—ASOKA RA

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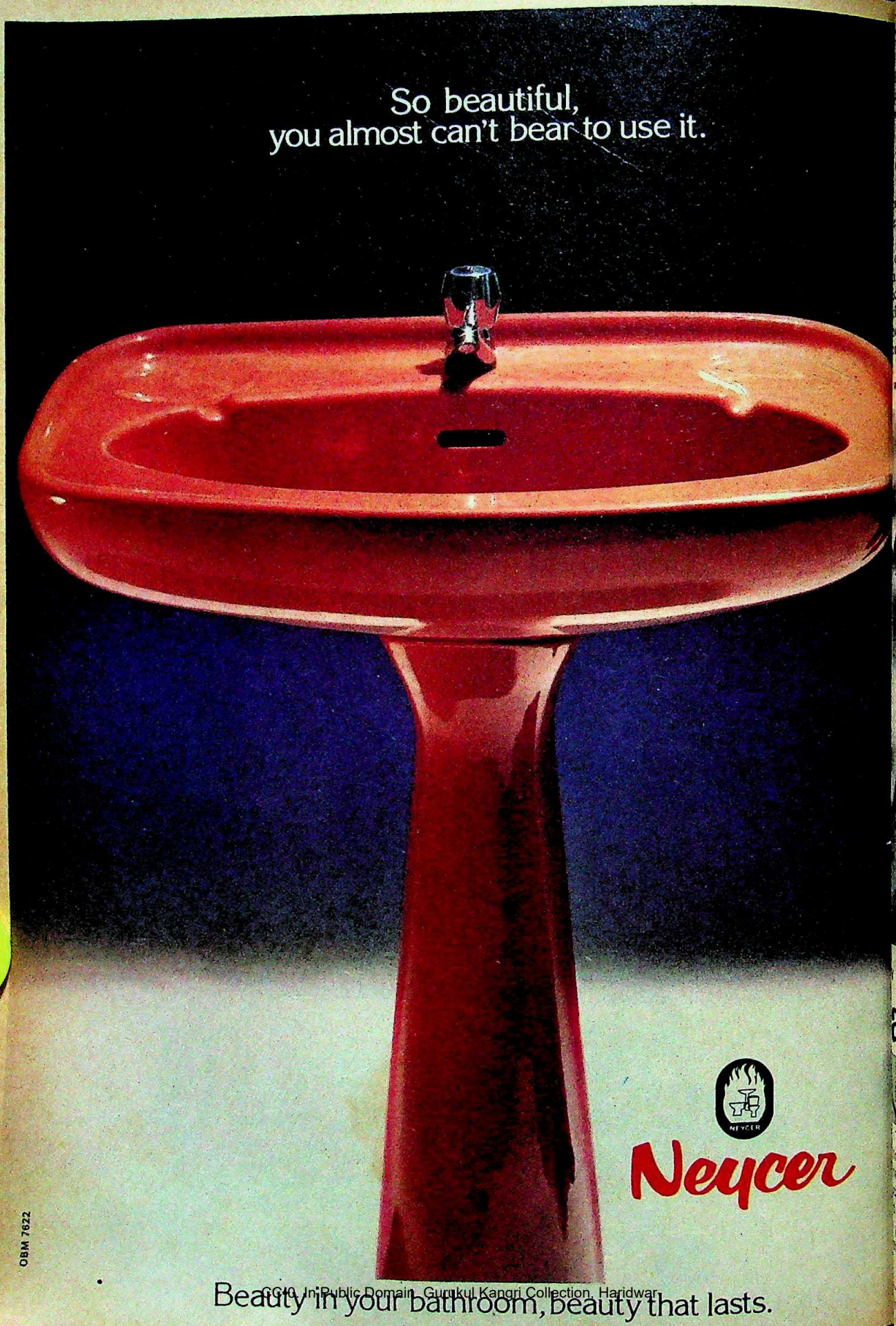

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ndia over the decades.

st fortnight, however, there were indications that the Asiad facilities had been settled. According to Shanka- secretary-general, SOC, it has been tentatively decided to sports corporation which will be an autonomous body with looking after the Asiad facilities, promotion of India and also come up with proposals to use the avai- space profitably. By the end of the year, the Govern- xpected to constitute a board which will draw up the for the sports corporation.

decision has not been welcomed in some quarters. Says Singh: "The Village is to be retained for international ons, although this has upset the DDA (Delhi Develop- hority) who had hoped to recover their money from the e flats." Meanwhile, the Government plans to lease the r intermediate durations so that they are available when

with the plans still in the melting pot, a number of alternative proposals have come up. One is to sell the houses to non-resident Indians while Mohammad Yunus, chairman of the Trade Fair Authority of India has his own proposal. "These houses could be used by public sector officials who are posted to Delhi and find it difficult to pay the exorbitant rents," he says.

Simultaneously, hoteliers have also submitted a proposal which would include the Village complex in a total package for tourists visiting New Delhi. They opine that a sports-cum-tourism body could better utilise the facilities. But the Government, according to available information, is in no great hurry to make a final decision and will only do so after the sports corporation Board is set up and their findings are presented.

All these are encouraging signs but it is only the next few months that can really indicate which way the wind will blow for Indian sport: a gentle breeze or a gale of sufficient force to put India firmly on the international sporting map.

—DILIP BOBB with SREEKANT KHANDEKAR and AMARNATH K. MENON

Pakistani players hug Hassan Sardar after he had scored the team's fourth goal

ack Wednesday

NEVER had defeat seemed blacker. On a perfect winter's afternoon, before more than 25,000 spectators in the renovated National Stadium, and millions more in front of TV sets, the sun stopped shining for Indian The match of the IX Asiad, the final of the Asiad ournament on December 1 between India and Pakistan, ut to be cruelly one-sided: 70 minutes of stickwork on ong green astroturf and the green-shirted Pakistanis the boards of the Indian goal an incredible seven times old medal. For India there was just the silver lining s of 'shame!' from the crowd. As a depressed team member moaned in his room at the Asian Games Village after the catastrophe: "The humiliation lies not so much in the defeat as in the margin. The entire nation was keyed up and we let them down."

It had not seemed that way when play began punctually under a crisp sky with thousands of paper Indian flags fluttering in the stands. Captain Zafar Iqbal pushed a penalty stroke past Pakistani goalkeeper Shahid Ali to put India up 1-0 four minutes after the bully-off. But that solitary goal looked more and more pathetic as the seconds ticked by. Pakistan are, according to legend, taught to play with an imaginary two-goal handicap at the back of their minds, and their forward line demonstrated the ultimate in marauding opportunism, getting past an Indian defence that might not have been there for all the good it did.

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and goalkeeper Ranjan Negi who had a l for being yards out of his preserve just wh opposing forward was in it.

Goal Rush: First Kalimullah levelled with a brilliant run that left Negi stranded top of the 'D'. Then Hanif found the net deflection off a Kalimullah shot. Before time, Manzoor Jr beat Negi again. Afte teams changed sides, the great Hassan S nursing a strained thigh, scored off a Sam pass. Manzoor Sr heftily converted a p corner. Kalimullah drove the last nail in coffin when he flicked a penalty stroke past the hapless Negi.

Even as the Indians wilted rapidly und Pakistani thrust, the gloom spread to the h places. Mrs Gandhi reportedly sent aide Dhawan to Rajiv Gandhi, asking him something about the goalkeeper—the scor was 4-1. Rajiv retorted that such change the prerogative of the captain, the manag the coach. Just then, another spectator cl remarked that Haryana Chief Minister B Lal, with his flair for horse-trading, ought asked to try and ask the Pakistanis to defe

As the jubilant Pakistanis received gold medals from Vice-President M. Hida lah, they were cheered lustily by the crow Indians, meanwhile, were picking ove bones; Gursewak Singh, the chef de miss the Indian Asiad squad, summed up the w the disaster: "First, our defence could no tain their attack: at times they fell too far at other times, when the ball was in the 'D' were up front. The astroturf is very fas they should have remembered that. Mo our goalkeeper appeared to have been oked—he was having a very bad matc should have been changed—he was too ralised to put up any fight later. Of ou wards, Mohammed Shahid and Zafar Iqba well-marked and could do little.

All the explanations could not, ho wipe out the sorrow. Two days after the feeling of utter despair hung over the camp at the Asian Games Village. Coach Singh Jr would say nothing beyond rep "nothing fails like failure" over and over Manager Balbir Singh Sr asked bi "What's the point in saying anything? will ask what right we have to comment losing in such a shameful manner." A said: "Our full backs simply weren't there often ended up facing the Pakistani for alone."

Markedly Inferior: The defeat was p larly galling for a team that had score Pakistan 5-4 at Amsterdam only six month Even attack and defence statistics poi Pakistani superiority on that black Wedn Pakistan converted their only penalty s India missed one out of two. Pakistan co ed one of their seven penalty corners; India

Kalimullah's run that left Negi stranded

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out of 10. Pakistani forwards shot nine times at the and scored on five occasions; the Indians made 11 the goal: one went wide, goalkeeper Shahid stopped Gursewak Singh: "Our attack was good until the top of but then it invariably broke up—we just couldn't make

ni Kumar, former head of the Indian Hockey (IHF) is emphatic that the Indians lost through no heir own. According to Kumar, the Indians' 5-3-2 on left the defence weak, and was ill-suited to astroturf xtremely fast and where—because it slopes on all four elp drainage—the shots curved slightly, disorienting s so that they fumbled with their interceptions.

e other hand, the Pakistanis played the 4-2-3-1 array, e them man-to-man marking in the defence and a orward line. Says Kumar: "Negi was not to blame. rs shot the ball in front of him 31 times that day; his e not there, and the Indian inside forwards were tired ng back and forth to help the defence. The margin 7-1 ble. We can win if we change tactics."

e the humiliation felt by every Indian at the ground or on television that gloomy day, the IHF kept nd tradition of Indian sports bodies by not offering pology. The executive committee of the IHF held a s than 24 hours after the final and only one member that they should resign *en masse*: this was not ap- t heads did roll in the team: Negi out, Neel Kamal in; Kumar out, Jalaluddin in. The IHF decided not to call p to Melbourne starting December 6 for the Esanda nament and the manager and coach retained their

resident Inder Mohan Mahajan, who has been pre- two years now, had no excuses. He said: "It simply ia's day—every player from the forwards to the goal- s off colour." He adds, however: "I wouldn't say that nis played extraordinarily well—they played their nor- and took full advantage of our lapses. However, there is no excuse for our display." Mahajan brushed aside reports that politics played a part in selection: "We can't possibly select every hopeful. Every time we select one of two, the rejected player accuses us of politicking. What can we do?"

Tactics Problems: The speed of the game on the astroturf was, according to the pundits, what caught the Indians off guard, although they have been practising on it for six months now. Mahajan says that tactics might have to be changed to some extent for the fast surface. Says he: "Two full backs cannot cope with a fast attack and like the Europeans we too may have to introduce a sweeper to help them." He adds: "I have full faith in our boys, though they are very disappointed just now. I'm sure they will do well soon."

As the gloom of December 1 lifted slightly, officials were convincing themselves that the Pakistanis were not really all that superior. Said Gursewak Singh: "The 7-1 score is misleading in that there is not so much difference in the two teams—normally, there would be a difference of one or two goals. Ours was a much younger side and the Pakistanis were more seasoned. In fact, their age average is much higher and there was serious talk of making big changes in their team, but now I suppose they will postpone it." He asserts that there is not much difference in selection or training but says that the one advantage the Pakistanis have is that nearly all hockey players are from a region between Lahore and Gujranwala—a distance of 120 km. "Therefore," says Singh, "they are normally more well-knit while our disparities of region work as a handicap sometimes."

The Asiad agony will be long in the soothing. Last fortnight, the Indian team flew to Australia. Days before they left, a player remarked: "We can beat Pakistan all right, but when will we get a chance to beat them in front of our home crowds?" Another commented wryly: "Since the Amsterdam defeat Pakistan made only one change—they got another goalkeeper. We have done the same. Let's see if that changes fortunes for us as it did for them." It did: 10 days after the December 1 defeat, the Indians wiped away some of the shame by beating Pakistan 2-1 at Melbourne.

—SREEKANT KHANDEKAR

l Play

FOOTBALL attracted easily the largest crowds at last fortnight's Asian Games, and understandably so. For a vast majority of the spectators, it was their first exposure to international teams and standards, dominance of Bengalis testified to the fact that a large Calcutta's soccer-crazy fans had made the journey ake of the football feast. In a statistical sense it proved ric occasion with the top three placings all going to West tries. Iraq, Kuwait and Saudi Arabia, however, were e first countries from the same region to take all three represented the first football medal to be won by the ies—an obvious result of the massive injection of perto- has gone into the sport.

, however, will remember the Asian Games football for a reason far removed from Arab dominance—the t that soured not just the semi-final clash between a and Kuwait but the smooth running of the Games. iately after the name of the referee was announced e day, the chef de mission of the North Korean cont- Chong Son, had lodged a protest and demanded a eeree. Said Chong: "I personally approached Alvarez, vice-president of the Asian Football Federation, and the person in charge of the referee appointing committee in the morning that my country was willing to play under any referee but Vijit (of Thailand) as we had no confidence in him. He is known to have taken money in the past. But our plea was not even heard. We then appealed to the Asian Games Special Organising Committee (AGSOC), but even they turned down our request saying it was for the Asian Football Confederation (AFC) to decide."

Stiff Competition: North Korea—officially known as the Democratic People's Republic (DPR) of Korea—had as much at stake in the match as Kuwait did. As joint-holders of the football title at the last Asiad in Bangkok, they were one of the favourites when the tournament started; while Kuwait, being the first Asian country to enter the World Cup tournament earlier this year, were equally determined to maintain their reputation. The crowd, somehow sensing the tension, had turned out in full force, with at least 60,000 people in the Jawaharlal Nehru Stadium.

Right from the kick-off, the competitive edge in the match was far greater than at any of the previous ones. Korea drew first blood and, despite a penalty kick awarded to Kuwait by referee G. Vijit in the first half, were leading 1-0 with just 12 minutes left for the final whistle. Then came the controversial decision that turned the match into a fiasco. Kuwait's nimble left-winger Moaied sprinted down the left flank with the ball but lost control of it just outside the penalty area. The Korean stopper, Fo Young Nam, made a sliding tackle and cleared the ball. To the

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60,000 spectators, it was clear that the tackle was a fair one. But Moaied, like many players were wont to do, fell writhing to the ground in a bit of professional play-acting. The referee had no hesitation in pointing to the penalty spot—a decision that was hotly contested by not just the Korean players but the 60,000 spectators as well. Vijit, however, stuck to his ground and the resulting penalty brought the equaliser.

When the final whistle went, the teams were locked one-all but extra time saw the Kuwaitis inch ahead 3-2. But it was, at best, a dubious victory and the crowd obviously thought so. Spurred on by the cries of "replay" and "referee *murd* from the crowd, the Korean players went berserk an fore the 10-man police force sent to escort the referee field could react, they had swamped Vijit under a flurry and boots.

Riotous Reaction: Police reinforcements and Korean a who jumped over the wall separating the participants' from the field, then raced each other to the site and uglier followed. The police were obviously under orders not to the athletes, but eventually they had no choice. The Korea

MEDAL TALLY ASIAD 82

EVENTS	CHINA G	CHINA S	CHINA B	JAPAN G	JAPAN S	JAPAN B	S. KOREA G	S. KOREA S	S. KOREA B	N. KOREA G	N. KOREA S	N. KOREA B	INDIA G	INDIA S	INDIA B	INDONESIA G	INDONESIA S	INDONESIA B	IRAN G	IRAN S	IRAN B	PAKISTAN G	PAKISTAN S	PAKISTAN B	MONGOLIA G	MONGOLIA S
ARCHERY	0	0	2	1	0	1	2	1	0	1	2	1	—			0	1	0	—			—			—	
ATHLETICS	12	11	11	15	12	10	3	3	4	3	1	2	4	9	8	—			—			—			—	
BADMINTON	4	2	2	0	1	2	1	1	4	—			0	0	5	2	3	0	—			—			—	
BASKETBALL	1	1	0	0	0	2	1	1	0	—			—			—			—			—			—	
BOXING	—			0	0	3	7	2	3	3	1	3	1	2	3	—			—			0	2	5	0	0
CYCLING	0	0	1	5	3	0	2	3	1	—			—			—			0	0	2	—			—	
EQUESTRIAN EVENTS	—			0	1	0	—			—			3	1	1	—			—			0	1	0	—	
FOOTBALL	—			—			—			—			—			—			—			—			—	
GYMNASTICS	12	9	3	2	4	3	0	0	2	3	4	1	—			0	0	1	—			—			—	
GOLF	—			0	0	2	0	1	0	—			2	1	0	—			—			—			—	
HANDBALL	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	—			—			—			—			—			—	
HOCKEY	—			—			0	1	0	—			1	1	0	—			—			1	0	0	—	
ROWING	4	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	3	0	1	0	0	0	1	—			—			—			—	
SHOOTING	8	7	4	3	4	6	3	3	4	7	4	3	0	2	1	—			—			—			1	1
SWIMMING	8	14	9	21	13	10	3	4	5	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	5	—			—			—	
TABLE TENNIS	6	3	2	1	2	2	0	2	3	0	0	5	—			—			—			—			—	
LAWN TENNIS	0	1	3	1	2	1	4	3	0	—			0	1	0	2	0	0	—			—			—	
VOLLEYBALL	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	2	—			—			—			—			—			—	
WEIGHTLIFTING	4	2	3	2	2	0	2	0	1	0	3	2	0	0	2	—			1	2	0	—			—	
WRESTLING	—			4	1	1	0	2	3	0	1	2	1	1	2	0	0	1	3	2	2	—			2	1
YACHTING	—			1	2	1	—			—			1	1	1	—			—			2	0	0	—	
1982 ASIAD TOTAL ●●●	61	51	41	57	52	44	28	28	37	17	19	20	13	19	25	4	4	7	4	4	4	3	3	5	3	3
1982 ASIAD TOTAL ●	153			153			93			56			57			15			12			11			7	
1978 ASIAD TOTAL ●●●	51	54	46	70	59	49	18	20	31	15	13	15	11	11	6	8	7	18	—			4	4	9	1	3
1978 ASIAD TOTAL ●	151			178			69			43			27			33			—			17			9	

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y girl gymnasts, armed with placards, chairs and any they could lay their hands on, attacked the police in a o the referee and finally a lathi-charge resulted.

ay was saved only by the intervention of the specially-t-jacketed commando unit who had hovered in the d right through and emerged into the public eye for the The man who saved the situation was G.S. Goraya of Tibetan border force. Goraya, a tall, well-built six-footer, his way through the melee and grabbed Vijit in one e in the other he produced what proved the main deterrent—a deadly-looking pistol. The pistol and the look of determination on Goraya's face was enough to stop the blood-thirsty Koreans in their tracks. Still holding the pistol in open view, Goraya walked coolly through the crowd with a bleeding and terrified Vijit hanging on to his camouflage jacket. He was rushed to hospital in a serious condition.

Inevitably, the controversial match immediately took on major diplomatic overtones. The Koreans claimed publicly that Vijit had been bribed and the penalty decision was a totally biased one. Said the Korean skipper Alwang Soe Ho: "The refe-

	KUWAIT			MALAYSIA			SINGAPORE			SYRIA			LEBANON			AFGHANISTAN			HONGKONG			VIETNAM			BAHRAIN			QATAR			SAUDI ARABIA		
B	G	S	B	G	S	B	G	S	B	G	S	B	G	S	B	G	S	B	G	S	B	G	S	B	G	S	B	G	S	B	G	S	B
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SANTOSH GHOSH/ASIAD CHRONICLE

The scene that marred Asiad: Referee Vijit bleeding and battered, being escorted to safety by gun-wielding commando Goray

ree blew his whistle for a penalty before the Kuwaiti player fell down." To drive home the point, the Koreans repeatedly showed a video recording of the disputed tackle to the pressmen present, which clearly showed that the Korean back had tackled the ball and not the man. But even so, it hardly justified the ugly incident that the Koreans instigated. Even the crowd sympathy, which favoured the Koreans while the game was in progress, ceased the moment violence took over.

Korean Threat: The Koreans also threatened to boycott the Games, but a personal appeal by Buta Singh and Rajiv Gandhi saw better sense prevail. The scene then shifted to the Asian Football Confederation (AFC) meeting held on December 3, which took a unilateral decision to "suspend the DPR Korea Football Association from tournaments organised by the Asian Football Confederation for two years."

The Korean reaction was predictable. They made the rather preposterous claim that the AFC was hostage to Arab money and have threatened to spearhead a breakaway movement from the AFC. In a written statement, the Korean chef de mission said: "We sternly state that if the AFC Executive Committee does not realise our just demands it is warned to take entire responsibility for all consequences springing from it."

Evidently, the repercussions of the match are bound to acquire diplomatic overtones as well as jeopardise the future of Asian football. Thailand are already busy drafting out a protest of their own which will recommend that India not be granted any international football tournaments in the future as they failed to guarantee the safety of an international referee. Asiad is likely to snowball into a major sporting crisis not just for Asian football, but for the conduct of the next Asiad in Seoul, South Korea, a country with which DPR Korea's relations are not exactly a model of international goodwill.

HOTELS

Empty Promises

IT WAS bureaucratic bungling on a grand sc the tumult of the IX Asian Games subsided la night it became vividly clear that the Asian Special Organising Committee (AGSOC) never knew how many guests it would have to put up. As a resu of the rooms it booked were not used. In the private hote with special concessions for the Asiad only 160 rooms ou 872 kept aside for AGSOC guests were actually used. T public sector India Tourism Development Corporation (IT tels which received preferential treatment from AGSOC were what luckier—AGSOC used 523 out of the 576 rooms it bo ITDC's newly-constructed hotels.

The AGSOC had reckoned that it would be needin rooms in all for Asiad but in the event it needed only 1,400 in all the hotels.

Wild Estimates: On the face of it, there was little exc AGSOC officials getting their estimates so wildly wrong. AGS under an obligation to provide shelter for certain categ guests, ranging from technical delegates, sports officials, troupes, the foreign press and VIPs. These were all peop would have planned their journeys in advance—not tripp made plans on the spur of the moment. In the normal co events, AGSOC should have known how many people to Admits Jitendra Bhargava, AGSOC's officer-on-special du commodation): "Our demand was based on the estimate by the technical directorate of AGSOC which fell short by c per cent."

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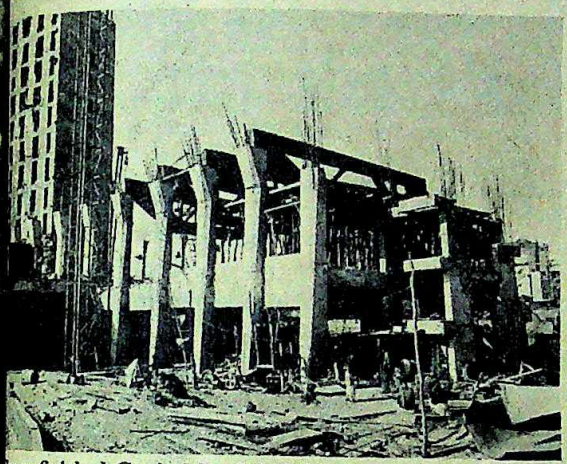
officials, blame a combination of factors, ranging rse publicity about dengue fever and the Akali agit- plain bad marketing, the inability of travel agents to roups and uncertainty about the completion of hotel pt people away. Says Tarlochan Singh, director (pub- oc: "Till the last moment we were not sure about the m availability, and foreign guests wanted confirmed

sm: Understandably, private hoteliers were extremely Says Narinder Suri, 39, executive director, finance, of tel: "We have been badly let down by the AGSOC. They



e unfinished Capital Park hotel in central Delhi

g that they would be sending us guests who never was with great difficulty that we were able to organise rooms for the Asiad." Adds Om Munjal, executive f Siddhartha Hotels in a similar vein: "We are terribly ted with AGSOC. Some of the bookings they gave us at minute finally never turned up." Officials counter ments on the plea that many of the privately run re far from ready to entertain guests. Some guests m the Surya Sofitel, Hyatt Regency and Hotel Centaur he facilities were hopelessly incomplete. Says K.P. chairman of the Asian Games Accommodation : "We would have flooded all the hotels with guests unately there were no takers for some of the hotels. selling on the part of my boys didn't work." Adds "People who came for the Asiad didn't want to stay mi-finished hotels with limited number of five-star

is little doubt that on this score at least AGSOC officials ground. Most private hotels opened temporarily only adverse publicity and the penalty clauses that the nt might have imposed had they not been ready. Even Meridien and Bharat, which made it in the nick of e to the AGSOC saying that they were in a position to 0 rooms each. Technically they may have been right ps of mud and machinery that were lying at both sites y calculated to help provide a congenial atmosphere

, it is no secret that the hotels were obliged to honour itments, even if symbolically, because they had re- rential treatment in the matter of loans from financial allotment of cement, foreign exchange and speedy their other needs. Admits a senior official of the inistry: "By writing a letter to AGSOC that a certain rooms were ready for Asiad, some of these hoteliers able to escape public criticism. It's another matter that they have no guests for their rooms."

Unreal Estimates: Ultimately, the blame for the hotel fiasco must be shared by AGSOC and Tourism Ministry which made hopelessly unreal estimates about the number of additional tourists who would be attracted to India by the Asiad. Six months ago, the then tourism minister, A.P. Sharma told Parliament that Delhi would need 2,500 hotel rooms beyond the 3,801 already in existence. He also said that the 12 new hotels under construction would add 2,650 rooms in time for the Asiad. However, only 1,448 rooms were actually ready in time; but this did not prevent the ministry from recommending preferential treatment for the hotel projects.

As the Asiad loomed closer, ministry officials soon realised that they had been over optimistic in their estimates. In May 1982, AGSOC had booked 2,800 rooms. By mid-October the booking was scaled down to 2,100. In the end, AGSOC actually used only 1,180 rooms in the ITDC hotels and slashed their bookings with private hotels to just 300 from an original 1,150.

Now that the Asiad is over, most of the private hotels have abandoned pretences and gone back to being the construction sites that they really are. Admits Subir Bhowmick, the general manager of the Taj Palace: "We are closed for renovation. To meet Asiad requirements, the rooms were temporarily done up." Adds Mrs Suri of Surya: "We will resume our business only after two months." The rooms in other hotels were being offered at less than 30 per cent of the actual room tariff of Rs 600.

As and when the new hotels do open, it seems only too likely that Delhi's new innkeepers will have trouble keeping their noses above water. The actual turn of events during the Asiad appears to indicate that there will never be any real need for so many new hotels in Delhi. More than 80 per cent of the Asiad rush was accommodated in existing hotels or the projects which were started before 1980.

And when all the 4,300 rooms are ready by 1984 there will be more than 7,000 rooms available in Delhi. Unless the number of tourists arriving in Delhi rises by at least 50 per cent, occupancy rates are likely to tumble to around 40 per cent. But as the hotel owners try to figure out how to make their great stone edifices paying propositions, the bureaucrats who once foresaw a roaring trade are busy thinking up explanations for having spent Rs 250 crore on projects which now hardly seem necessary.

—PRABHU CHAWLA

MEDIA

Flying Colours

IT WAS an acid test. The spectacular opening and the closing ceremony of the Asiad was the crucible, the country's first Asia-wide telecast, in which the Government's crash project on colour TV would be tested. If the disastrously amateurish coverage of the Trial Games in September was anything to go by, it meant certain doom, said the critics. Could Doordarshan do it? They did, much to the disbelief of many, and with flying colours. Doordarshan opened a new chapter last month, by transmitting a daily average of eight hours of colour coverage for the duration of the just concluded Asian Games. The technical quality of the transmission—give or take a blurred image or an unsteady camera here and there—was closely matched by the unexpected efficiency of the presentation, with Doordarshan coming of age in colour as announcers and sports commentators handled masses of sports timings, records and tongue-twisting names with a proficiency unheard and unseen in India.

Doordarshan's surprisingly successful showing was only a

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part of the Asiad media story. At no other time have so many mediamen assembled in India for any event—4,000 all told, including 2,000 Indian pressmen, radiomen and television people. There were about 350 TV and film crews from all over the world. Thirty countries, members of the Asian Pacific Broadcasting Union and the Arab State Broadcasting Union were receiving direct telecasts of the Games through Intelsat which was being fed for 22 hours every day. The others were the usual crowd of representatives from news agencies, newspapers, journals and mass of photographers.

But the most riveting attention was claimed by Doordarshan, and for once the viewers' strident chorus of complaints seemed subdued. As millions of viewers all across the country sat glued to their television sets, in some areas there were over a hundred viewers to a set. Behind Doordarshan's big-time debut was a massive hardware transfusion costing Rs 18 crore. Elements of Doordarshan's upgrading programme were:

► 20 new transmitters added to the existing 21, in Patna, Shillong, Bhopal, Bhubaneswar, Imphal, the Andaman Islands to name only a few;

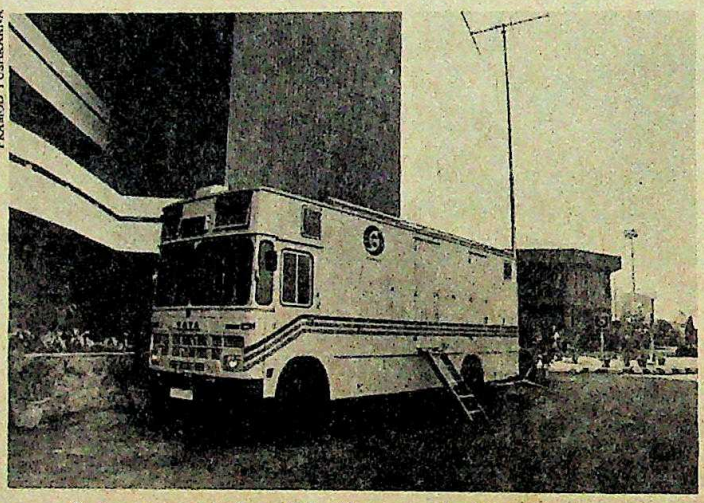
► four outstation broadcasting (OB) vans to transmit in colour, bringing the total complement to nine, including five existing black-and-white ones;

► 20 electronic news gathering (ENG) units;

► 16 ENG edit machines; and

► 23 one-inch video tape recorders (VTR's).

Besides the hardware, Doordarshan made equally intensive investments in software: 67 commentators were chosen specially for the Asiad and underwent intensive voice training in a crash course. Surajit Sen, veteran newscaster and commentator of All India Radio (AIR) who was controller of sports for Doordarshan during the Games, said: "We had to bring in BBC's Denis Monger who gave them tremendous guidance." The commentators performed very well, considering that their training was crammed into six to eight months and that the BBC itself takes nearly five years to train its commentators.



PRAMOD PUSHKARNA

Colour transmission of the Games: splendid achievement

Apart from the commentators, 400-odd producers were tutored by two expert television producers and media planners from West Germany: Horst Seifart and Claus Beissner were invited by the Government to whip the Doordarshan production team into shape. Although the results were acceptable, as Beissner said: "By going on crash courses like this one, they will not gain experience. They still have a long way to go before they are anywhere near acceptable standards of producing for the Olympic Games." The technicians who handled the equipment were also given extensive training, both at home stations and sports centres as well as in studios and sports sites in Germany, England and Malaysia.

Limited Goal: Looking back at the frenetic preparations, Doordarshan Director-General Shailendra Shankar mused: "I had no doubt we would rise to the occasion. In spite of initial hurdles, like the strike by our employees, it is a real achievement to have done this all on our own." Doordarshan's limited goal to provide a simple and direct coverage of the Games seemed to have succeeded despite constant complaints of poor colour transmission, painful delays and interruptions, unsteady camer bbly logos, embarrassingly executed animation sequence amateurish interviews of gold medal winners.

Besides feeding the domestic network, Doordarshan a ected transmission abroad, via Intelsat. The satellite was by the organisation for the duration of the Games although the countries receiving the telecast which were paying—R for the first 10 minutes and Rs 330 for the subsequer minute transmissions. Most countries were taking the day' lights, while a few settled for events in which they were cipating. Doordarshan also provided dubbing facilities.

However, the foreign media had complaints about t the Games were handled. Said Seifart: "People here h sense of timing. They tell us that they cannot start a pa game on time because they are waiting for some bigwig t Do they realise that it costs other countries a lot of money t a satellite?" Said Tong Chul Choi, a reporter for the Broadcasting Services: "Important events like swimming a letics were scheduled at the same time. We had to dec minute what to take and what to leave. Often adequate mation was not a regarding events and tim

But for Door there were accolades not only from people country but also from Jean Roberts, a corres for *Arab Times*, a l based English daily a of the directors of Ku commented in the pa have been in TV for years and I must ap what Doordarshan ha for the Asiad. The sele programmes was wel and daily programme didly produced." received more than o of transmission daily c satellite during the Ga

If there were brickbats for the handling of media at they came from the print media. In spite of an enormous up which involved the creation of 18 press centres, 2,000 the Nehru Stadium press enclosure, 100 telex connectio local teleprinter and 212 local telephones, the organise simply not able to distribute results quickly enough. Said correspondent Francis Daniel: "The result system was in It just wasn't working and for the first few days of the ga received some results the day after the events took pla fault was a powerful Rs 3 crore computer used for the fir

An indication of the awesome task was reflected results that were computed after the Games finished. Ove overseas telephone calls were put through from the pub phones provided for the Asiad. About 1,000 telegram booked from the stadia and the Village out of which 3 press telegrams. The Overseas Communication Service ha booking for nearly 200 television and 346 radio programm handled over 2,000 overseas telex calls and nearly 1,20 photo telegrams during the duration of the Games.

In retrospect, however, the experience gained by the facilities unit was invaluable, specially if it eventually turns be a dress rehearsal for the Afro-Asian Games next year the Indian Government's optimism does not prove unfo even the Olympics in 1992.

—ANIT

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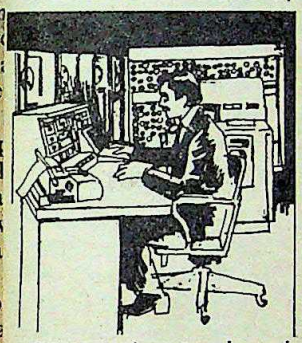
her testimony to Usha's world class* performance

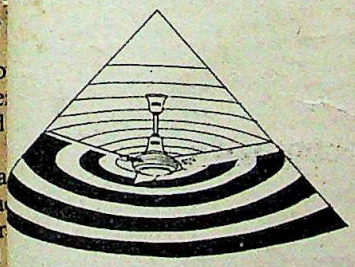
Usha—now, the Official Suppliers of Fans to the IX Asian Games.

Every Asiad stadium fitted with Usha fans!

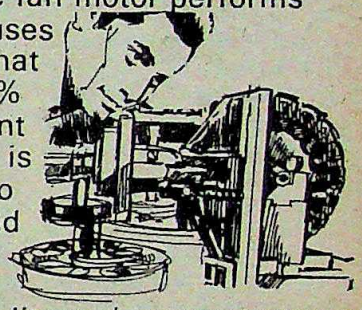
A natural choice, considering the number of hotels, airports, hospitals and public buildings that have seen years of trouble-free service from Usha.



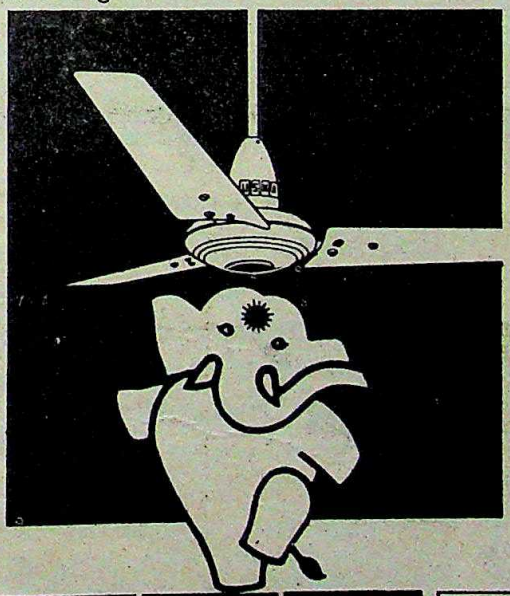
In fact, Usha uses advanced computer technology to design its fans. The fan blades are perfectly angled to ensure maximum air displacement.



To ensure that the fan motor performs faultlessly, Usha uses copper windings that are at least 99.96% pure. Even the paint on every Usha fan is specially sprayed to resist corrosion and chipping.



A dedication to quality and an awareness of the consumer's needs have made Usha the market leader. No. 1 in sales. No. 1 in exports. It really comes as no surprise that Usha should be selected for the Asiad team.



After all, quality always emerges the winner.

USHA

OFFICIAL SUPPLIERS: IX ASIAN GAMES

JEW-7582 R D

...ted to over 70 countries

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SUBHABRATA BASU

Comrade Papa's Capitalist Son

THE SON smokes English cigarettes and likes golf. The father likes to play political games. The son spends his evenings watching American movies on video, sipping Scotch whisky on the rocks, and attending endless cocktail parties. The father is glued to his big oval desk in the evenings, reading files in his office at Writers' Building, the state secretariat. The son is clad in the typical businessman's uniform—a smartly-cut safari suit or a pin-stripe three-piece. The father sports his trade-mark dhoti and kurta. The old man's Bible is *Das Kapital*. The younger man is a fast-blossoming capitalist.

At 30, Subhabrata Basu, alias Chandan, the lean and tall only child of Jyoti Basu, the Marxist chief minister of West Bengal, is poised to become one of the archetypes of Left demonology—a self-made businessman. With only three years in full-time business, Chandan now heads three separate companies with an annual turnover of over Rs 2 crore. Last fortnight, his third and latest company, Eastern Snackfood, was strongly recommended by his banker, Punjab National Bank, for a Rs 15-lakh term loan from the West Bengal Financial Corporation (WBFC). The loan will enable him to set up his second biscuit factory, a Rs 38-lakh project, after the Eastern Biscuits Company Private Limited (EBCO), set up in 1980, Eastern Snackfood, together with the two units at EBCO, will roll out 9,600 tonnes of biscuits every year, thus placing the group at the number two position in West Bengal after Britannia, the multinational giant, whose Calcutta unit makes 18,000 tonnes annually.

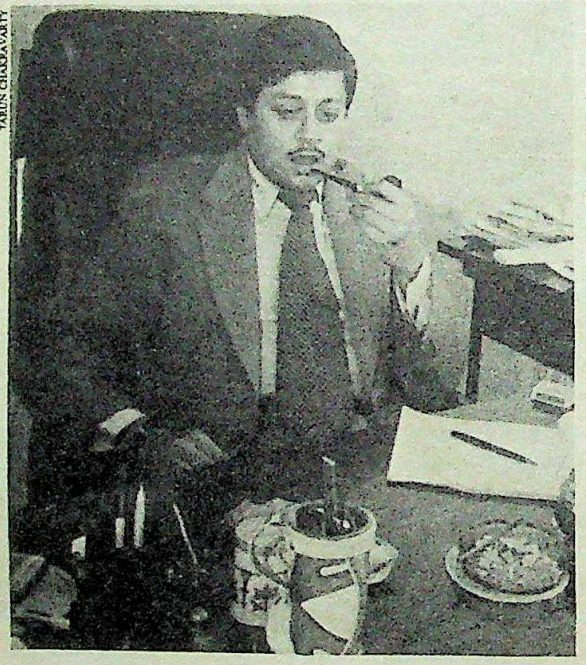
Chandan's other venture, Eastern Bulk Carriers (EBC), a trucking agency, has also achieved startling gains in recent months, having bagged lucrative diesel-carrying contracts from prestigious companies like Tata Iron and Steel Company (TISCO), the Birla-owned Texmaco Limited, and Hindustan Lever, the soap and ghee giant. The EBC, which was started with only two old tankers, is now on its way to acquire eight more vehicles. In addition, the fledgling entrepreneur is hoping to set up a mini-cement factory in Madhya Pradesh, "away from the daunting labour situation in West Bengal".

Important Relationships: Though the son of a fire-eating Marxist, Chandan has, over the years built up an excellent rapport with industrialists and politicians of the Congress(I) ilk. His mentors and friends include Jit Paul, the owner of Park Hotel in Calcutta, Capital Park Hotel in New Delhi, the helmsman of the Aminchand Pyarelal group, and a professed supporter of Mrs Gandhi; Kamal Nath, the Congress(I) MP from Chhindwara; and Subrata Mukherjee, the powerful Congress(I) MLA from Calcutta. Last July, he moved into his new flat (61, Queen's Mansion) which is rented in the name of Flury's Swiss Confectioners, a Jit Paul-owned company. Says he: "I needed a flat but, believe me, in Calcutta nobody would let out a flat to the chief m son, fearing that eviction would possible. So uncle Jit Paul appoi the bakery consultant to Flury here I am."

Kamal Nath is so enamo Chandan that he makes it a point him each time he visits Calcutta, h town. Said Nath: "Chandan is different from the breed of Rams and Kanti Desais. H more sensible than his fathe of Chandan's co-directors and his co-partner both in Eastern Snackfood, Nandla was a Youth Congress activ ing the Emergency, and was Nath. The dark and stout Sh who was himself a transp agent, helped Chandan tide liquidity crisis in the initial of EBCO.

Despite such *bonhomie* Congress(I) brass, Chandan is periodically dragged into ly debates by the opposition lators, who mostly cavil fo Suniti Chattoraj, a Congress accused Basu of "nepotism the WBFC, owned by his gove sanctioned a Rs 18-lakh EBCO. Said Somen Mitra, ress(I) MLA from Sealdah cutta: "It is an undeniable Chandan Basu is being favo the state Government in mar He got one of the best in plots allotted to him at Du and the allotment was mad cord time. And the Marxis also helped the chief ministe I don't think it to be a pure dence that two big bisucit units in the state were shu following labour trouble a as EBCO entered the market."

Mitra was referring to prominent West Bengal makers, Lily Biscuit Company and Biscuits, whose factories were loc in 1980. Kolay (assets: Rs 4 crore under lock-out, and the West Ben vernment has recently put up a p to take it over. Lily's managem taken over by the state Governm late 1980. Despite a Rs 60-lakh as from the Centrally-owned Industr construction Corporation of India Lily is still limping with an outpu


TARUN CHAKRAVARTY

"I don't throw my weight about. I don't ask bureaucrats to do this or that... my father feels safe with me. He knows I'll never use any extra constitutional authority."
—SUBHABRATA (CHANDAN) BASU

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its plant capacity.

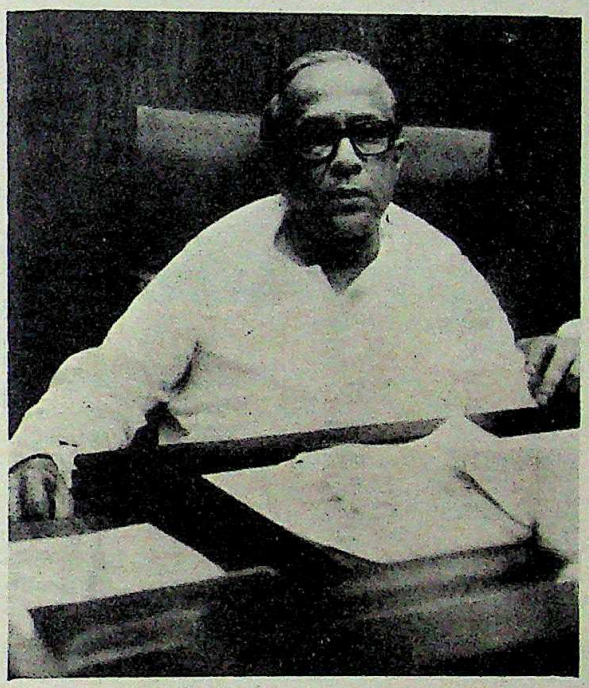
toadyism-prone Indian society, he son of a political bigwig is he same as flirting with the de-orruption. Says Chandan: "Just ather had become the chief min-s came my way in droves. In tain property shark, supposedly the Left Front, and enquired if flat. I refused the offer because seemed too low. Instead, I r a plot of land at Salt Lake he normal channel, and got gh the normal channel. of the industrialists I do ith came up with highly ffers. But I insisted on es. The point is, there are would put up a crore of but would be the first to mmission of enquiry when loses power. I'm just too hem."

an's childhood milieu is irely Bengali middle class proverbial apathy to bu-d independent vocation. s shown remarkable ad-to the aggressive, high life-style of modern busi-His office on Bondel Road s. well-lit and neatly up-with not a trace of the that is normally associa-Bengali concern. Once a travels to the factory at in his Ambassador car, ctual about his appoint-vels put him off. He pre-une magazine, thrillers s, in that order. Surpris-ather too is a fan of thril-awestruck comrades often hind closed doors that indeed seen their great browsing through Le ad of Engels on Sundays. e his inexperience. Chandan ite fast in business. The WBFC the loan to EBCO in October the factory went on stream as November 1980. Working only it sold products worth Rs 1.15 81. "This is an amazing feat for scuit factory anywhere," said erjee, the managing director of

erial Hurdles: EBCO produced d lost heavily. Last fortnight, lated losses stood at a stagger-lakh, having lost Rs 12 lakh in first year of its production. rationalised that the reason for bedded in the "amateurishness of the team that had started it", adding that "we're growing out of it, mercifully."

There were management problems too, mostly caused by Chandan's differences with his brother-in-law and co-director, Shishir Wahi, 35, a former merchant mariner. Last July, after a protracted feud, Wahi resigned from EBCO as well as EBC. "It was a painful parting, but it was inevitable," says Chandan, adding that "neither of us could grow if we'd clung to each other."

After Wahi's departure, even the trucking unit has grown fast. It now carries half of the 230-tonne monthly requirement of light diesel oil of the two Hindustan Lever plants in West Bengal, and almost all of the diesel oil required by the Jamadoba iron ore mines of TISCO. Besides, it has recently been awarded the carrying contract for light diesel oil by Texmaco.



"I don't expect Chandan to inherit his father's Marxism."
—JYOTI BASU

BORN in 1952, when his father was away in prison, Chandan had, in his own words, "a miserable childhood". As Basu wove in and out of jail, the boy became a headache for the family, specially for his mother, Kamala, "who is very loving but has rather old-fashioned ideas about rearing children." Still, the mother was the most powerful member of the family by virtue of being the owner of the Basus' ancestral house on Hindusthan Park. Basu's father, the late Nishikanta Basu, had disinherited his communist son and bequeathed the house to his daughter-in-law where the chief minister now lives as a "guest".

Chandan went to the upper class South Point School but could not pass his class four examination. He later went to a grimy, almost Dickensian boarding school on Amherst Street where, says he: "I picked up all possible vices." In 1971, he finished school and was sent to Srinagar where G.M. Sadiq, the former Jammu and Kashmir chief minister, helped him secure a seat in the pre-medical course at S.P. College.

At Srinagar, Chandan put up with the family of Maimoona Sultana, who is now the joint general secretary of the All India Congress(I) Committee and a "family friend". Chandan says he spent some of his best months in Kashmir and "for the first time, I tried to study". But Sadiq was replaced by Mir Qasim, and the new Government, says Chandan, "pulled strings so that I could not qualify for the medical course". He came back to Calcutta, "as just another Ballygunj loafer". Later, he graduated in commerce from Calcutta's St Xavier's College, the old red-brick Jesuit institution where his father had been a student.

Early Days: "I know the pangs of joblessness firsthand. For four years I was one of the city's millions of jobless youth, shooting applications in the dark, gatecrashing into offices in search of a living. Some of the big fellows who refused to meet me then now flash friendly smiles at me at cocktails and dinners," he reminisces with sadness but no rancour.

In 1974, Chandan landed a job with Bengal Lamp, the owners of which are his distant relatives. The West Bengal unit of the company was at that time plagued with labour problems, caused mostly by its Marxist union; however Chandan's appointment was, as he says, "of no help to the owners." In 1977, he was confirmed in the company's management cadre, and the same year he got married to Dolly, the stunningly beautiful daughter of the late Omkar Mohan Wahi, a Delhi Khatri who had made Calcutta his home and owned a printing press and an advertising agency. Chandan met Dolly at the South India Club in Ballygunj and courted her for four years. "From the day I met her I knew I had to do something in my life. I realised

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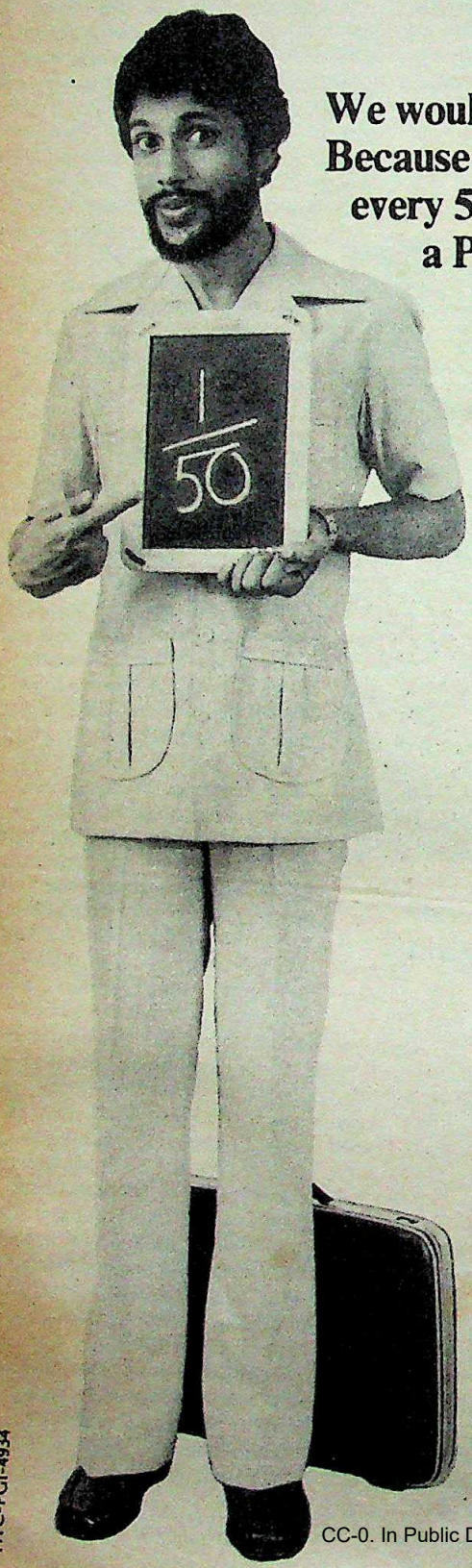

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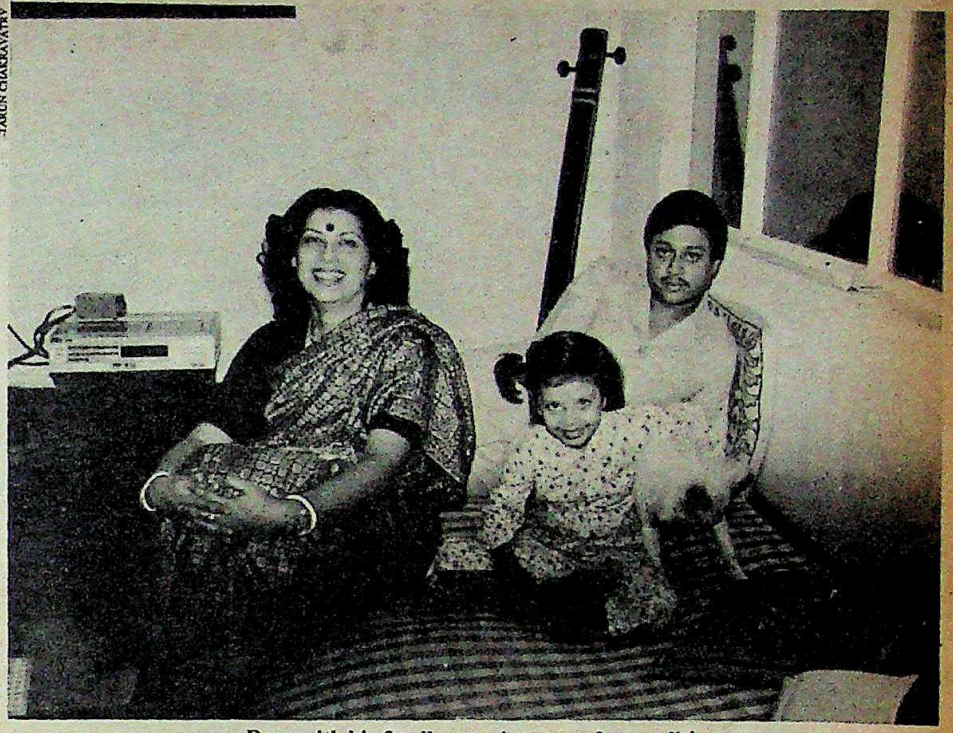
d not afford to fritter away my d.

working for Bengal Lamp he bs, like helping out Amal Datta. MP, in his construction business nce of Rs 250 a month. As late hen his father was sworn in as minister of West Bengal, as walking from shop to shop, 50-paisa exercise books. Later J Wahi met Gopal Bagree, the Calcutta's largest wholesale ba-ee Market, and rented a shop e they launched their maiden venture, Omkar Trading

Business: The company se-ibutorship of Everest Biscuits, abad firm, and was initiated cky and fiercely competitive do-ling biscuits in the large Bengal counting for 35 per cent of the et biscuit sale. Omkar Trading ed the prize distributorship of iscuits in the Murshidabad dis-st Bengal, and the EBCO factory ally envisioned as Britannia's at. Later, there were changes at top brass and it cooled off to-EBCO project. Chandan and ed to go ahead on their own.

an coolly shrugs off the oft-arge that the state Government him undue favour. "I challenge prove it," says he. Rather than company, he feels the state t, "and its callous, mindless y", have created innumerable s "for entrepreneurs like us, age, ready to struggle and instance, flour, which is 75 per e raw material needed in the stry, has to be bought by the ers from the open market at 25 ra price. The food and supplies the earlier Basu Cabinet, mar, turned down an EBCO pro-custom-milling flour, which e saved the company 10 per raw material cost. On March Chandan made a representation r, "the honourable chief minis-titlement of levy-free flour. The ter's office is yet to acknow-tter.

ally weighted down by the fact and always struggling to live image of being the chief on, Chandan has both his ho-ckles up when he is confronted sman. "You see, being a chief ion finds me some publicity d badly because I can't afford rtising campaign right now." wary of being dragged into


TARUN CHAKRAVARTY

Basu with his family: staying away from politics

political arguments. "I am not a particularly well-read person. I don't even know what Marxism is," he says with an almost trader-like humility. "Still," he adds, "I am just as politically conscious as a businessman is expected to be." Without mincing his words, he observes: "The Emergency wasn't a good experience. But it had a lot of good effects. The Government employees came to work on time. The babus kept their desks clean."

Communist Acquaintances: Chandan's acquaintances in the Communist Party of India-Marxist (CPI-M) are limited to only a few. "Politicians are hardly good companions," he says with an ill-concealed contempt for the tribe to which his father belongs. The only "politician" with whom he had emotional ties is the late Jyotirmoy Bosu, the veteran CPI-M parliamentarian. Says he: "After my marriage I felt it would be easier for us to stay away from my mother's house. But there was no place to stay. Only Bosu offered us a suite in his hotel. We lived there for three years." He refers to Bosu as a "very warm human being" and a "rare specimen" in politics.

What does he think of the younger generation of politicians in the country—Marxist or otherwise? "Mostly selfish, and quite incapable of doing anything for the country," replies Chandan sharply. He maintains that these people joined politics because "they proved to be incapable of doing anything for themselves".

The relationship between Chandan and his father is warm and human. Basu dotes on his grandchildren, Payel, 5, and Koyel, 3, the two cherub-faced sisters. Taking an hour off from his busy schedule, he drops in at his son's flat for lunch every day. He tells many of his friends: "I don't expect Chandan to inherit his father's Marxism." Chandan, in his turn, says: "I never ring up a police station. I don't throw my weight about. I don't ask bureaucrats to do this or that, though I know many of them socially. I play golf with some of them. My father feels safe with me. He knows I'll never use any extra-constitutional authority."

There is no doubt that Basu feels safe with his son, unless the muffled questions about the spectacular strides made by Chandan's various business enterprises gather momentum and cause embarrassment for him. Till then, every day the residents of Queen's Mansion are sure to witness, with bemused curiosity, the sight of a white government car—with outriders and all—threading its way through the lanes and stopping at the door of flat 61. The 68-year-old, grey-haired, bespectacled *bhadralok* alighting from the air-conditioned Toyota is not the stiff-collared Marxist chief minister, but an affectionate father longing for the company of his son, grandchildren and the daughter-in-law who, with an impish sense of humour, calls him "Hitler".

—SUMIT MITRA in Calcutta

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SMUGGLING

The Skin Trade

WHEN Bangalore Railway Police prised open 13 Madras-bound gunny sacks marked 'goatskins' last fortnight they found to their utter surprise 6,000 cobra and rat-snake skins valued at Rs 5 lakh. Further investigations revealed that the consignment was booked at Bageshpur, a tiny railway station in Karnataka, to a fictitious party in Madras and till last week the police had not been able to trace either the sender or the receiver.

A week before in Madras the forest protection squad of the Tamil Nadu Forest Department seized 500 skins from a tannery in the suburbs of the city. This was only a fraction of the 12,406 skins they confiscated when they raided five other tanneries in late October. So far this year they have seized 23,439 skins and K. Shanmuganathan, additional chief conservator of forests, wildlife, said: "The snakeskin trade in the country is still to be brought under control. It is proving to be dangerous and detrimental to the ecological balance." Reduction in the snake population leads to growth of the rodent menace to food crops.

Anxious Observers: The snakeskin trade flourishes in the country despite the Central Government prohibiting the catching and killing of snakes by passing the Wildlife Protection Act way back in 1972 and then banning the export of snakeskins in 1976. The problem worried the snake specialist group of the International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN) when it met for the first time in Madras last month. As Romulus Whitaker, director, Madras Snake Park, put it: "There seems to be a quiet but steady stream of smuggled skins." Presenting a paper at the seminar, Anne Joseph, a member of the World Wildlife Fund, India, estimated that snakeskins worth $60 million (Rs 57 crore) were being smuggled out of India, making it one of the world's largest exporters of snakeskins.

Tamil Nadu and West Bengal are the two major centres for snakeskin trade in the country. And the key points are Madras and Calcutta where a larg ber of tanneries exist. The hilly terr the flat plains of Tamil Nadu are a in snakes and according to forest the main collection centres for sne are Dindigul, Salem, Sankaree Ramanathapuram and Chingleput.

The Irula tribals, numbering 10,000 in Tamil Nadu, who are hu tradition, are expert snake catch they are exploited by middlemen trade who are their only contact commercial world. The Irulas are identify snake species from tracks pings and shed skins. Using only stick to pin the head of the snake, to dig it out of the burrows and sack to put it in, the Irulas roam t sts and fields, expertly catching five big snakes a day at times. Th their own herbal remedies for snak

Modus Operandi: The meth skinning a snake is an art that th have perfected. They first stun it blow on the head taking care no mage the skin or the body as an could detract from its value. The then slit under the throat and smooth action right down to t along the centre of the belly sca skin on the tail is then freed and sharp jerk the entire skin is pe from the flesh. Salt is applied on t of the skin to preserve it and it stored in a pot till it is sold. Pr skins vary according to seasons. mer, when snakes are difficult to skin of rat-snakes fetches from R Rs 18 and that of a cobra from F Rs 16. During monsoons when sn in plenty the prices dip to Rs 8 fo snake and Rs 5 for a cobra skin.

In West Bengal the countrysi ing from the marshy Sunderbans south to the hilly terrain of the no provides an excellent breeding gro snakes. The catching operation is out through a huge network with at the bottom who kill the snal bring them to agents based at th trading centres in the Beldan Murshidabad districts. The Santha mainly catch rat-snakes, cobras, vipers and banded kraits. Muslims bals are the main snake catchers i in Midnapur district whi Murshidabad the potters—kno 'patua'—catch snakes. Snakeskins portedly openly sold on certain day Mayapur market.

The actual smuggling of the done by a host of dealers and co tanneries which sell it to Europea kets like France, Spain, German and Switzerland where a huge dem

Tamil Nadu police with seized snakeskins: thriving racket

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Many of the skins are used purses, shoes and belts which high prices in these countries. mbay and Madras customs re- n the past three years they have ny seizures of snakeskins being out of the country. Calcutta to be the hub of the illegal

ear customs has so far seized snakeskins worth Rs 60 lakh, haul in the past four years. customs was able to seize only valued at Rs 1.26 lakh. Skins ed over air, sea and land routes usually sent out in containers xtiles'. Recently, customs found the 26 cases marked 'papads' Dubai contained 21,000 snake- d at Rs 8.65 lakh.

tocks: Much of the problem use after the ban on exports ed in 1976 several licensed de- hold huge stocks of snakeskins claim to have bought before nment order. Two years ago a nd that 34 licensed dealers in ld a total of 28.24 lakh snakes- in Madras the 27 licensed de- 27.74 lakh skins. In Delhi too, 30 licensed dealers who held nakeskins as old stock. Under om the dealers the Government ban from time to time to let the "old stocks". Observed "It's strange how these old sto- seem to end and every year learing."

re recent assessment of the sto- en made by the Bharat Leather n (BLC), a Central Government g, which estimates that there 70 lakh snakeskins with private he country and another 10 lakh customs all over the country In uidate the snakeskin stocks and d to the private trade the BLC rward a Rs 200-core project to Government in which it pro- ke over all the stocks, convert value-added goods and market dia and abroad.

ficials are tight-lipped about the r several ecologists have started the need for a government g to trade in a banned item like Warns Joseph: "It will in- courage the trade." Whatever decision taken by the nt, it looks as though the slip- kin smugglers will wriggle out hes of the law and continue to

—RAJ CHENGAPPA in Madras with SUMANTA SEN in Calcutta

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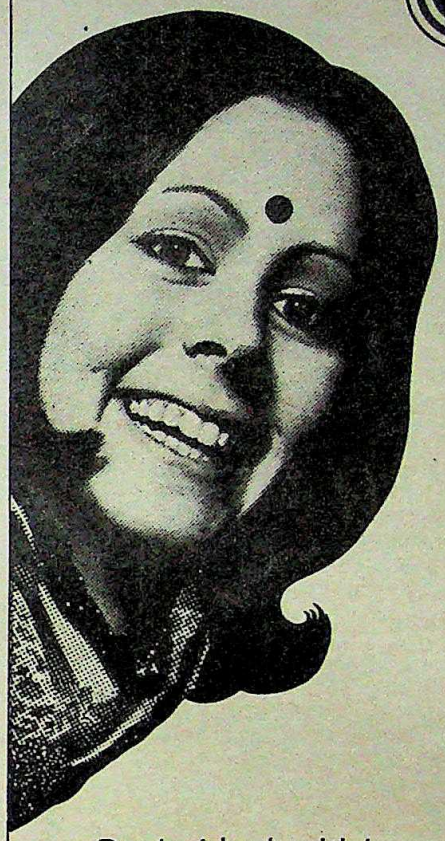

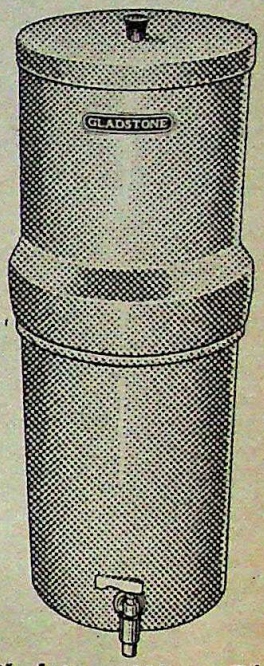

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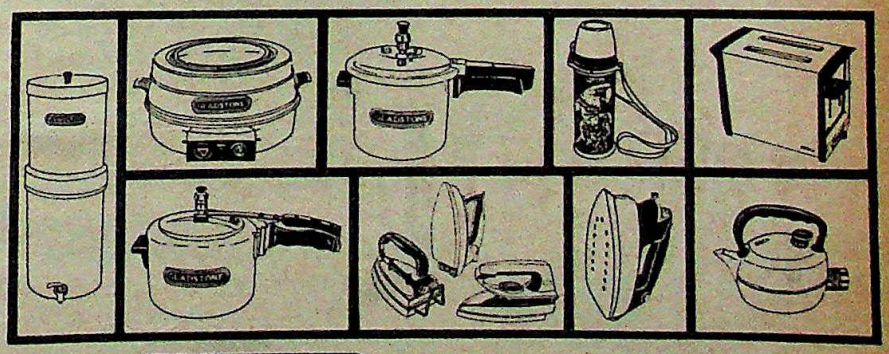

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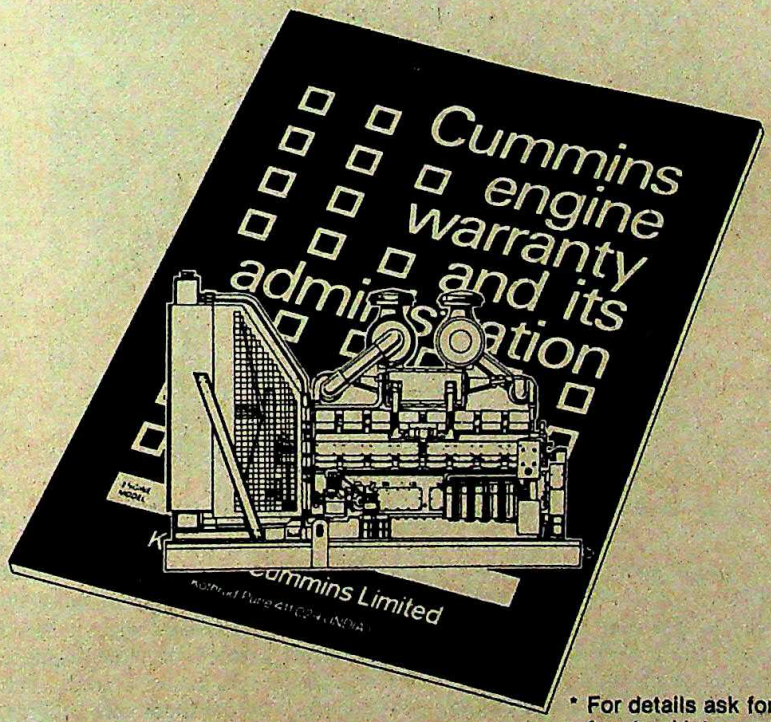

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CPI-M

Time To Take Stock

THE DEATH of Promode Dasgupta will work as a catalyst for very significant change, not only in the Communist Party of India-Marxist (CPI-M) but also in the entire Indian communist movement. For 18 years since the birth of the CPI-M in 1964, Promode Dasgupta was the Caesar of the party in West Bengal where he built it into a mighty political force. The average age of the remaining seven members of the politburo of the CPI-M is 70, while that of the 45-member central committee is 65. During the next few years, and certainly before the end of the decade, the present politburo leadership will pass and a new leadership, at present largely unknown to the country, will take over the party both in the states where it is strong as well as at the central headquarters.

There is no evidence, however, that the ageing politburo members are aware of the fact that the CPI-M is caught in a sharper generational divide than any other Indian political party. The party's membership has grown massively in the last decade and now passes 250,000. The bulk of the members happen to be in Kerala and West Bengal. In Kerala 42,000 new cadres have been recruited since 1978 and 39,000 in West Bengal. Comparatively, the party is still skeletal in the Hindi belt although its mobilisation capacity is far from negligible. The entire membership of the CPI-M in the five Hindi-speaking states—Haryana, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan—is probably less than 20,000, though 4,600 new cadres were recruited in Bihar between 1978 and the beginning of 1982.

BIKASH DAS

Jyoti Basu and others place wreaths on Dasgupta's coffin: a giant passes on

Vital Differences: More than 80 per cent of the massive number of disciplined cadres joined the party after 1964 and happen to be 50 or fewer years in age. There is a world of difference between many of these cadres who man the party at the district level all over India and the central leadership. Indeed, for a party of nearly 300,000 card-carrying members, a politburo of eight and a central committee of 45 indicate the concentration of decision-making and organisational power in a relatively small group of people, a great many of whom had graduated to leadership of the communist movement well before the united CPI split in 1964.

The CPI-M is indeed the most disciplined political party in India and is strictly governed by the Leninist principle of democratic centralism—which means that decisions are taken as a result of intensive discussion among cadres at all levels, but once they are taken they must be obeyed by one and all. Under the cover of democratic centralism, however, almost each major tactical question which has been engaging the CPI-M for the last three to four years has proved to be highly controversial. Risking a degree of simplification, it can be said that younger cadres in the states where the party is strong—West Bengal, Kerala and Andhra Pradesh—generally favour more class-oriented, tactical lines than the leadership at the centre. Cadres of th di-speaking states generally back the more conservative e in the central leadership.

Dominant Voice: How a man like Promode Dasgupt exercise almost iron control on the West Bengal unit of th was seen clearly at the 11th Congress of the CPI-M in Vija in January-February this year. What caught national h and engaged most of the reporters covering the congress party's so-called pro-Soviet tilt. The West Bengal state co had differed fundamentally from the draft political resolut culated by the politburo for adoption at the congress. It h an alternative draft political resolution for consideration Vijayawada session. This West Bengal draft, with which P Dasgupta was in broad sympathy, not only sought to CPI-M at a more or less equal distance from Moscow and but also offered alternative tactical lines on two or three major political issues, including the Marxist party's rela with the other oppositi ups, its attitude to Gandhi and her party, agrarian policy.

At the Vijayawa ion, however, both P Dasgupta and Jyoti B West Bengal member politburo) defended th buro political resolutio mode Dasgupta with silence. He did not all of the six member West Bengal state co who were member state delegation to t gress, to oppose the p resolution except ma After the Vijayawa gress, when the West state committee assem Calcutta to take stock of the resolutions adopted at the assembly of the party, no more than a few mild whimp heard from members against the politburo resolution. S the iron control Promode Dasgupta had on the party he h up largely with his own hands. The magic of this iron ho the fact that he knew almost half the members of the their first names, another 25 per cent by their faces and o fourth of the 80,000 members were not known to him per

FOR A whole year before the Vijayawada congress t buro members had expended considerable time and tual resource to "tame" Promode Dasgupta into accep three major tactical decisions of the central leadership were:

► To give unqualified support to the Soviet Union "anti-imperialism" and opposition to American militaris the threat of nuclear war; to take a highly critical stand o for its "collaboration" with American imperialism and it ing the Soviet Union as a socialist imperialist power; an indefinitely the establishment of party-to-party relations

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d the Chinese Communist Party (CCP).
ty leadership's rather ambivalent attitude towards hi, the CPI, the non-communist opposition parties the newly minted tactical concept of a left and de- nt as a futuristic alternative to Congress(I) rule.
tral leadership's agrarian policy, which was being with a view to building up a united peasant front belt (where the party was totally unable to wage between the rich and the poor peasants) rather states in which the CPI-M had built deeply entren- among the poorer elements of the peasantry. In age the central leaders, in their anxiety to build up ort base in the Hindi belt countryside, wanted to ed struggle" of all sections of the peasantry around s like remunerative prices for agricultural produce, for the farmer, the writing off of peasants' debts n wages for agricultural workers. The central lea- ed to abandon political action that would polarise middle peasants on the one hand and the poor and sants and landless workers on the other.
ally abandoned meaningful struggle for

of these three tactical issues is no troversial question, because the CCP has corrected its and is getting clo- viet Union. After n of party-to-par- ip between the French Commu- ne of the staun- viet communist here in the world oration of party between the CCP is now only a onths. Thus one ardent wishes of gupta is going to soon after his

ce: The other s remain alive ly controversial.
tral leadership is still almost pathologically preoccu- ical relations with the ruling party and the other op- es. They are not pursuing stable tactical principles see the Indian political situation in a state of To many, their tactical moves therefore appear to opportunistic.
b, for example, much valuable time and a great deal ave been wasted to cultivate a political alliance with her than build up an independent political base of ong the various sections of urban and rural people. oint of time the CPI-M does not seem to know what on it should have with the Telugu Desam in Andhra he party leadership's first priority is to defeat the t would not spurn an electoral compact with Telugu for a pittance of five seats: the current report is u Desam offered the CPI-M—CPI combine 65 seats tter insisted on 70! It thus becomes difficult for an miss the suspicion that the CPI-M and the CPI would e Congress(I) remain in power in Andhra Pra- strong, independent communist presence in the leg- ly if they can win 30–40 seats—than hand over this large and vital state to an uncertain, amorphous and volatile regional political party like the Telugu Desam.

The agrarian issues are being fought with great intensity within the CPI-M and the Kisan Sabha since more than three years. At the joint conference of the All India Kisan Sabha (AIKS) and the All India Agricultural Workers' Union (AIAWU) in Midnapore, West Bengal, on November 8–11, the central leadership's line was strongly attacked by delegates from Bengal and Kerala who could discern little Marxism-Leninism in a "united peasant movement" for remunerative prices and in the abandonment of the struggle for land reforms. The fact that serious differences exist over these questions was admitted with some candour by Harkishan Singh Surjit whose speech was summarised in the November 28 issue of People's Democracy.

Watershed: Other controversial issues are likely to crop up between the ageing central leaders and the younger elements of the CPI-M, particularly in West Bengal and Kerala. A great many West Bengal cadres are less than happy—to put it mildly—with the performance of the Left Front Government, especially since its re-election to power in June 1982. It was possible only for an extraordinarily strong leader like Promode Dasgupta to keep the Left Front Government strictly under the control and vigil of the left front committee of which he was chairman. Not once did he enter the portals of political power in West Bengal; and not for a moment did he allow anyone to forget that the controlling authority in West Bengal was not the Left Front Government but the CPI-M.

During the next few years... the present politburo leadership, will pass and a new leadership, at present largely unknown to the country, will take over the party both in the states where it is strong as well as at the central headquarters

At the same time, Promode Dasgupta's tactical innovativeness gradually lost its edge after the panchayat elections of June 1978—an event which was probably one of the most seminal organisational innovations of Indian communists in 60 years of their organised existence.

Controlled Militancy: The CPI-M in West Bengal has, in fact, no concrete plans to take the peasantry through the panchayats to a higher level of mobilisation for political or development purposes. Hence the stagnation of the panchayat system. More than a decade ago there was a struggle for power in West Bengal between Promode Dasgupta and Harekrishna Konar, the only Indian communist leader to date to construct a peculiar Indian way of peasant mobilisation on Marxist lines. Neither Dasgupta nor Konar was a Maoist; they both realised that there could be no capture of political power in India through peasant guerrilla warfare. But Konar designed a tactical line to whip up controlled peasant militancy in West Bengal in 1967–69, largely with the electrifying slogan of seizure of surplus and benami land by landless peasants. Promode Dasgupta and Jyoti Basu joined together to mute and cage Konar's enthusiasm—and then Konar died a most untimely death.

Konarism, however, is very much alive in the West Bengal countryside where younger CPI-M cadres now hold the levers of the party organisation. Konarism is probably gaining ground in Kerala also. Sometime in the second half of this decade the CPI-M will probably emerge as a more radical communist party, with a more aggressive Marxist-oriented agrarian tactical line.

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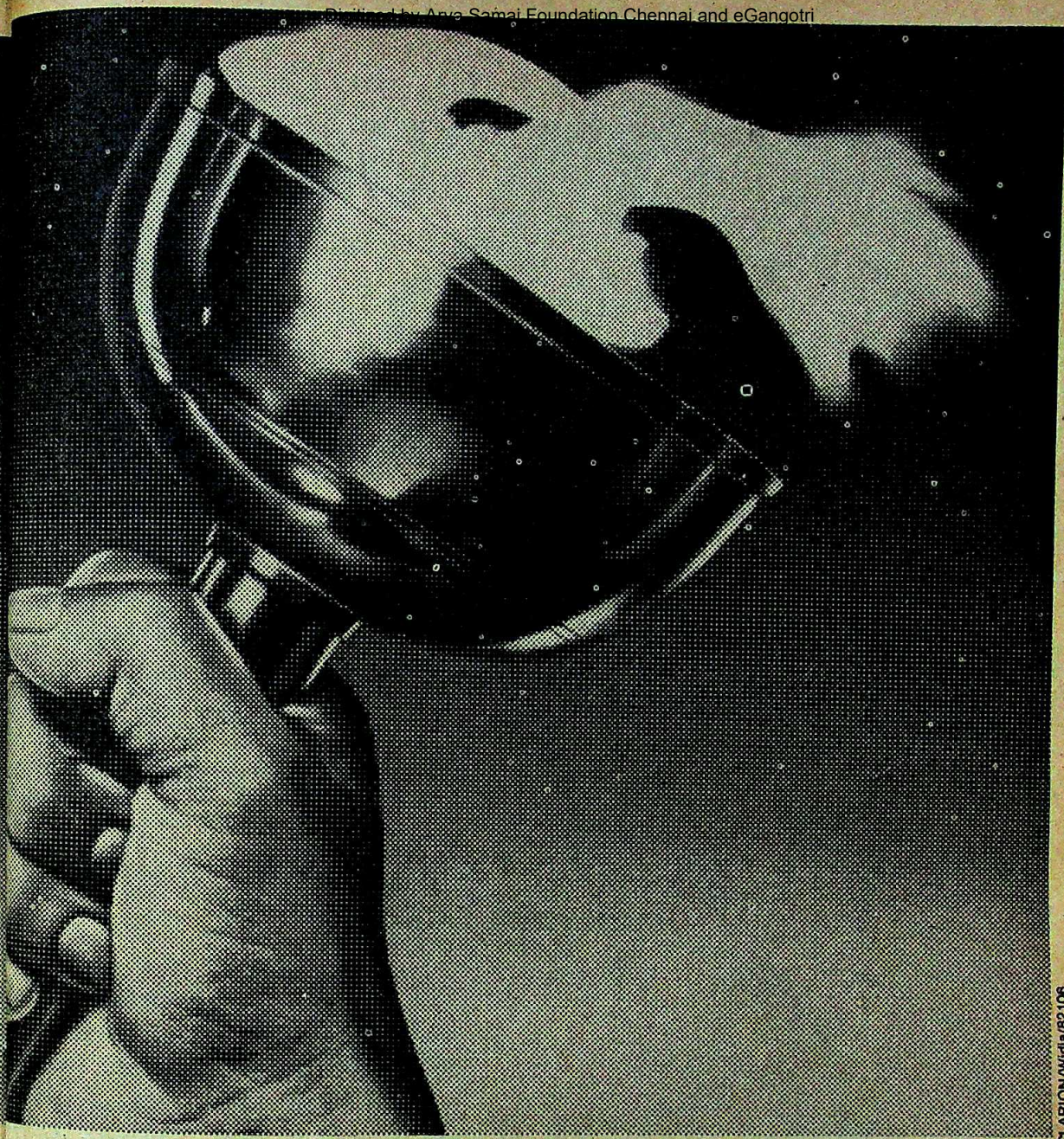

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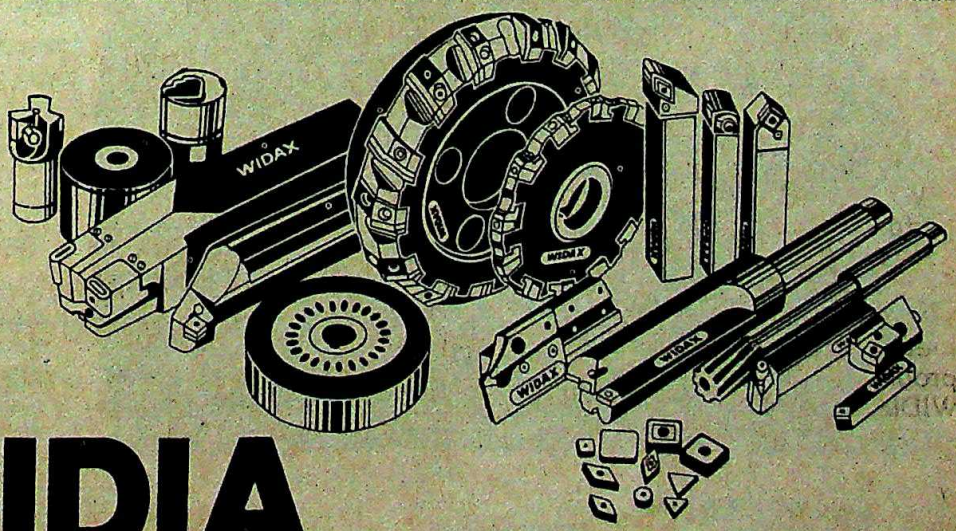

WIDIA

leadership through technological breakthrough

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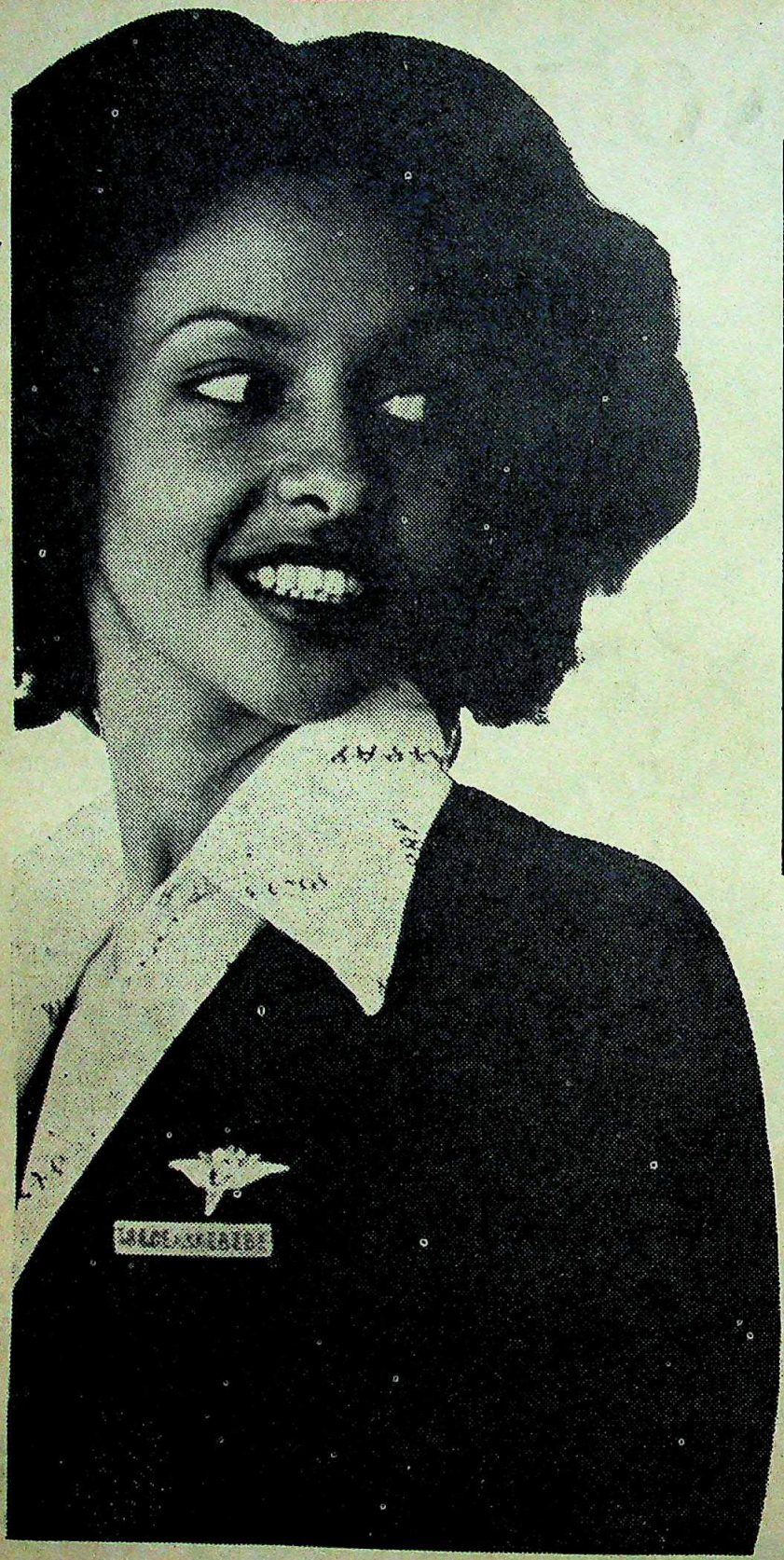

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PUR

he Roots Of Despair

a textbook case of neglect. At est of times Dharampur is not a enial place to live. It is classi- as one of the most backward India and little has been done ependence to change this. This been worse than others. The in Gujarat has ensured that minimal governmental ass- at trickles down to Dharam- ried up.

tribals who live in the hilly the area have therefore been fall back more than ever, eir traditional diet—*kadva* bitter poisonous root. They nt the root with an unappeti- re of leaves which they steam

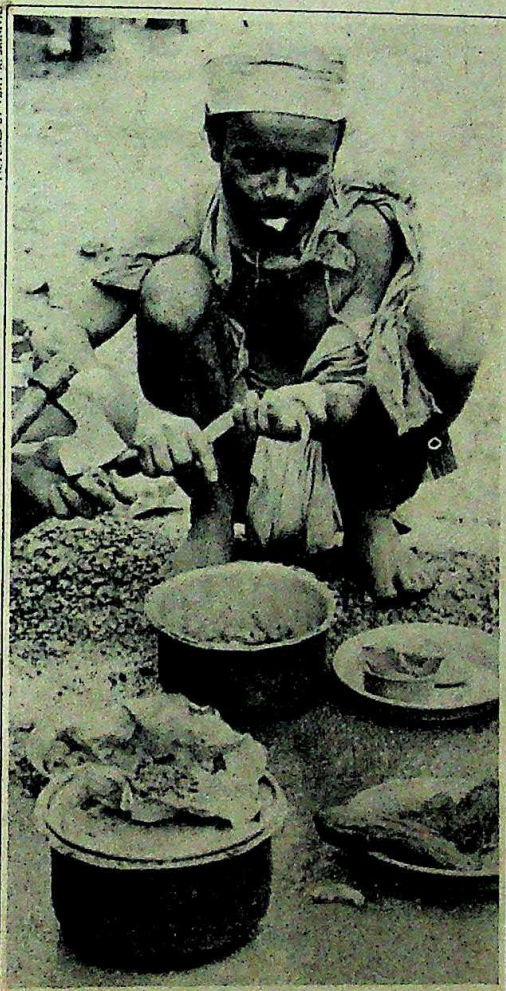
are no two opinions that d (*dioscoria bulbisera*) is ha- uman beings. R.I. Patel in his st *Flora of Gujarat* says that llers eat it after boiling it in emove its poison. Tests con- an Ahmedabad laboratory at ce of INDIA TODAY show that an be deadly—out of 10 rats ch tests were conducted, six he other four showed signs of thargy.

Effects: The tribals are not of the roots' ill-effects. They oot in water for 24 hours to worst side-effects. They say root is not soaked they get giddiness and nausea. Said ji, a 30-year-old tribal: "The be poisonous because we feel eating it. No wonder we die are not lucky to eat rice and like city sahebs. We have no to eat roots and leaves." her tribal, Nemuda Hari, 30: has changed in the last 25 ed to eat roots when I was a we have lived a miserable We eat these roots only to nger."

ably, the undernourishment y leave the tribals prone to a of diseases. Nearly all the 2 s have Vitamin A deficiency from night blindness as a re- Kantibhai Shah, a social the area: "One of the most cts is that many tribals in think that night blindness y normal condition since so many of them suffer from it."

Water-borne diseases are also prevalent, especially during the monsoon. The damp climate is ideal for mosquitoes and this, added to the endemic poverty of the region, has spawned a wide range of illnesses. Malaria, tuberculosis, dysentery, diarrhoea, worm fever, scabies, rickets and ringworm are also prevalent.

PICTURES BY VIJAY R. SRINIVAS



"Nothing has changed in the last 25 years. I used to eat roots when I was a child and we have lived a miserable existence. We eat these roots only to kill our hunger."

—NEMUDA HARI, 30

Dharampur also has the unhappy distinction of being one of the few areas in the country where leprosy is still on the rise. For instance, in Vadpada chawl of Bopi village there are 15 leprosy patients in a cluster of 10 houses. In Gadi village, a visiting doctor recently made the shocking discovery that out of 120 students, 73 had one ailment or the other, and 11 had already contracted leprosy. In 1981 about 1,200 leprosy cases were reported. This year the figure has risen to 1,250 for the first six months alone. Government officials admit that they are aware of the situation but plead helplessness and put down the whole problem to malnutrition, unhygienic conditions and a lack of medical services.

Appalling Facilities: Health facilities are unquestionably appalling. Often tribals have to go as far as 30 km by foot, if they wish to consult a doctor. And in an area of 1,650 sq miles there are only four primary health centres run by skeleton staff with only the most basic medicines available. The only government hospital in Dharampur and the two panchayat hospitals try to avoid taking leprosy patients. They have good reason. The government hospital, for instance, has only one bed for leprosy patients. Says Jiparbhai Dadar: "If we contract leprosy or some other disease we have to suffer silently. To get treated one has to go to the city and we do not even have money for the bus fare." District Development Officer Vilasini Gopinath admits such shortcomings and sums up the situation succinctly: "Unless there are roads in the tribal villages it is impossible to ensure a continuous infrastructure of medical services. And even if we had good facilities they would not have helped much as the illiterate tribals are shackled to superstition and witch doctors."

Both Gopinath and state Health Minister Manoharsinh Jadeja put their fingers on another problem: it is practically impossible to persuade doctors to serve in the backwoods of Dharampur, with living conditions as they are. Jadeja says, however, that his government is trying to do its best under the

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circumstances, 'and has persuaded the Damien Foundation, a foreign agency dedicated to the task of eradicating leprosy, to take over the task of fighting the scourge in the district.

But whatever the Government plans for the future, the fact remains that for the present the only succour for leprosy patients comes from the leprosy assistants in primary health centres who treat leprosy patients though they are not qualified to do so.

Everybody admits that conditions in Dharampur are not likely to improve as long as the tribals remain steeped in ignorance. And this pall of ignorance is not about to be dispelled—on paper Dharampur has 248 primary schools spread out over 238 villages. But these statistics are misleading. More than half function only in government records. This is especially true of the 162 schools in the hilly tracts. In reality these schools open only once or twice a month. Or, as in Piprol village, the schoolmaster seldom turns up in room school which houses thre The fact that the villages are very and inaccessible, again works a schools running efficiently. Says worker: "The Government is no develop schools as it knows that education will threaten any e system."

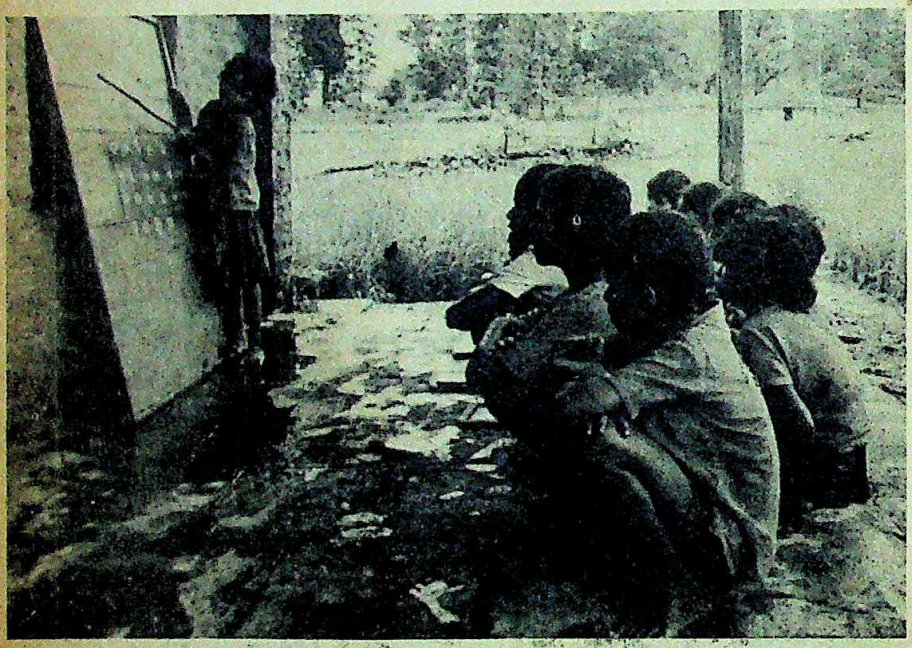
Callousness: The Gov attitude to the plight of the D tribals is nothing but one of ha callousness. The fact is that government money is spent in towns and almost nothing re tribals. And if this was not en tribals have earned the displeas present Government because the Janata Party tribal, Anand Bhoy taluka president. Bhoya con inability to alter the establish saying: "I cannot do anythin tribals as the system is so st corrupt. The young cadres who to the taluka and zilla panchaya are educated tribals with co Tragically, the Government h operates with us as we belo Janata Party."

Another tribal Avji Balya J points out that it would not b anyway. He says that the Congr from the area has not visited tuency since the last assembly Says Kalu Laxman Divte, 26, a panchayat president: "The pol cess has only exploited us. Non-elected and do nothing to impr of the tribals."

Even officials in the region riously nonchalant attitude tow district. Valsad Collector Mrid for one, tries to make out that responsibility for the fact that t lopment programmes do not filt the tribals. She says that her jo tor only requires her to look af and administrative matters. Sh have visited Dharampur but think the tribals eat roots."

The greatest pity is that could be done in Dharampur. good and the area gets more inches of rainfall every year. But of the land lies fallow as the enough irrigation facilities. N wheat is grown here. And since of the hill tracts are forested income of the tribals comes fr wood. They could easily be pu this slough of poverty—and b to eat a poisonous root. But need an effort that the Governm no sign of ever making.

—RAMESH MENON



A child takes over in one of Dharampur's schools: continued neglect

Tribals preparing a meal of the poisonous roots: hopeless plight

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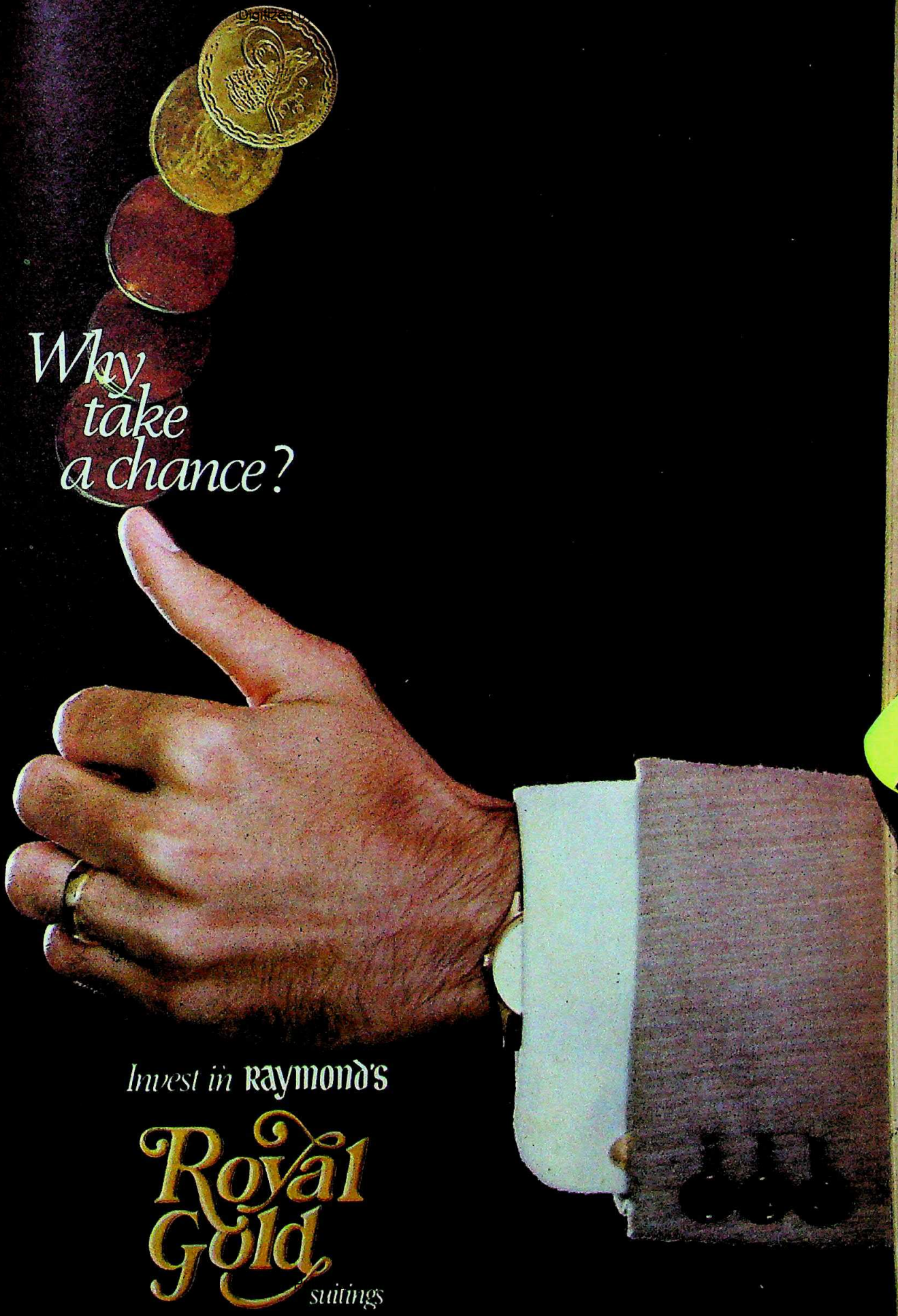
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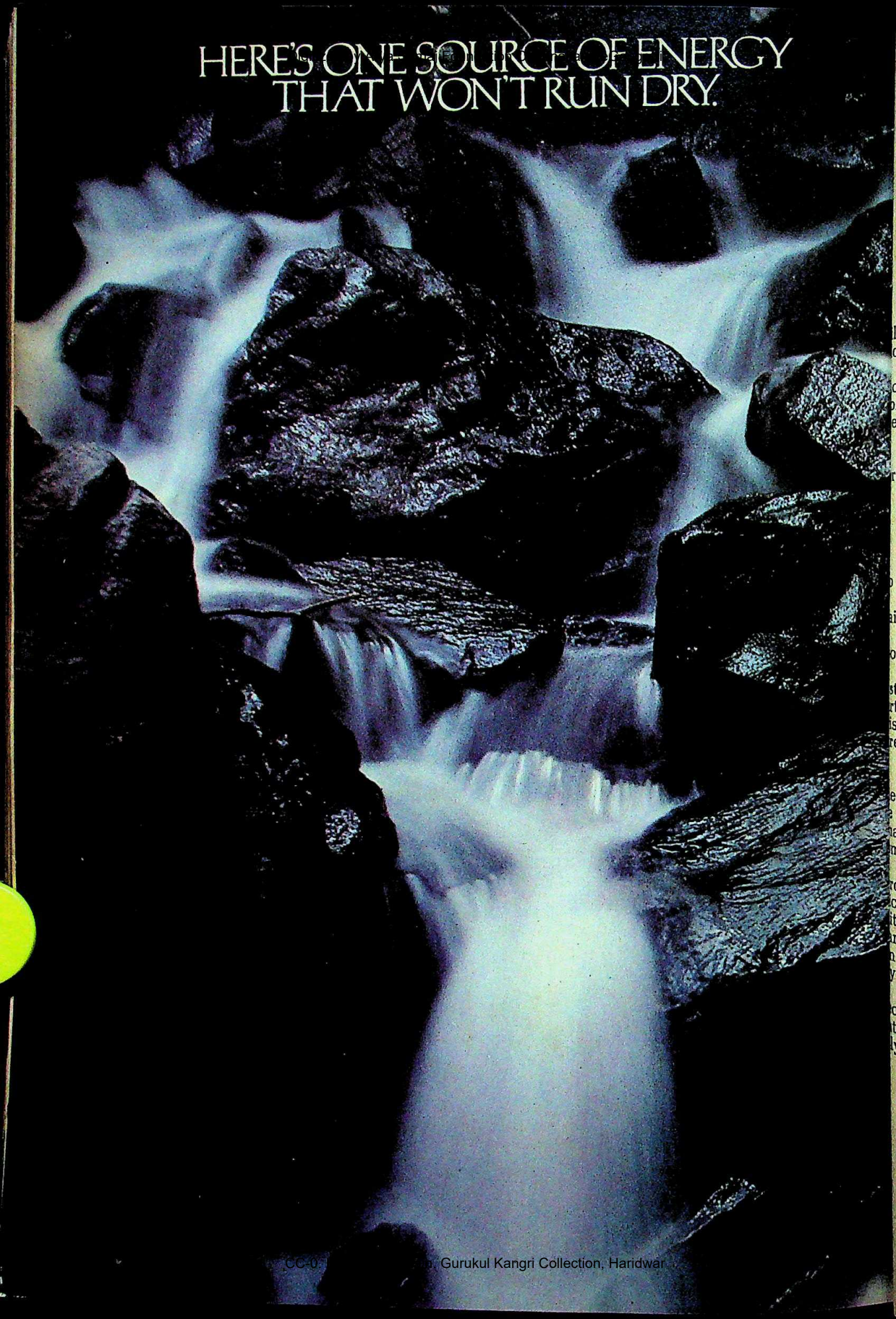

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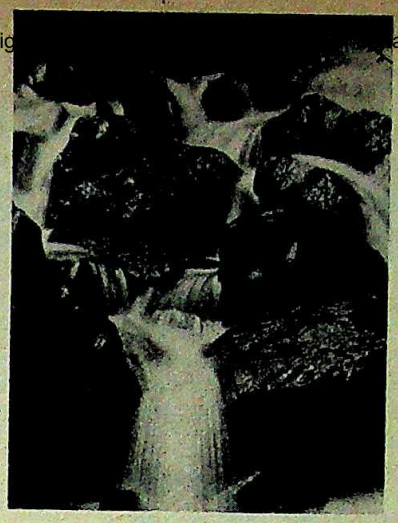

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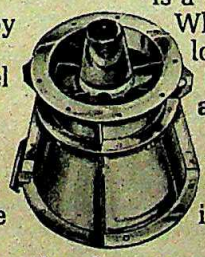

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Contract S-3

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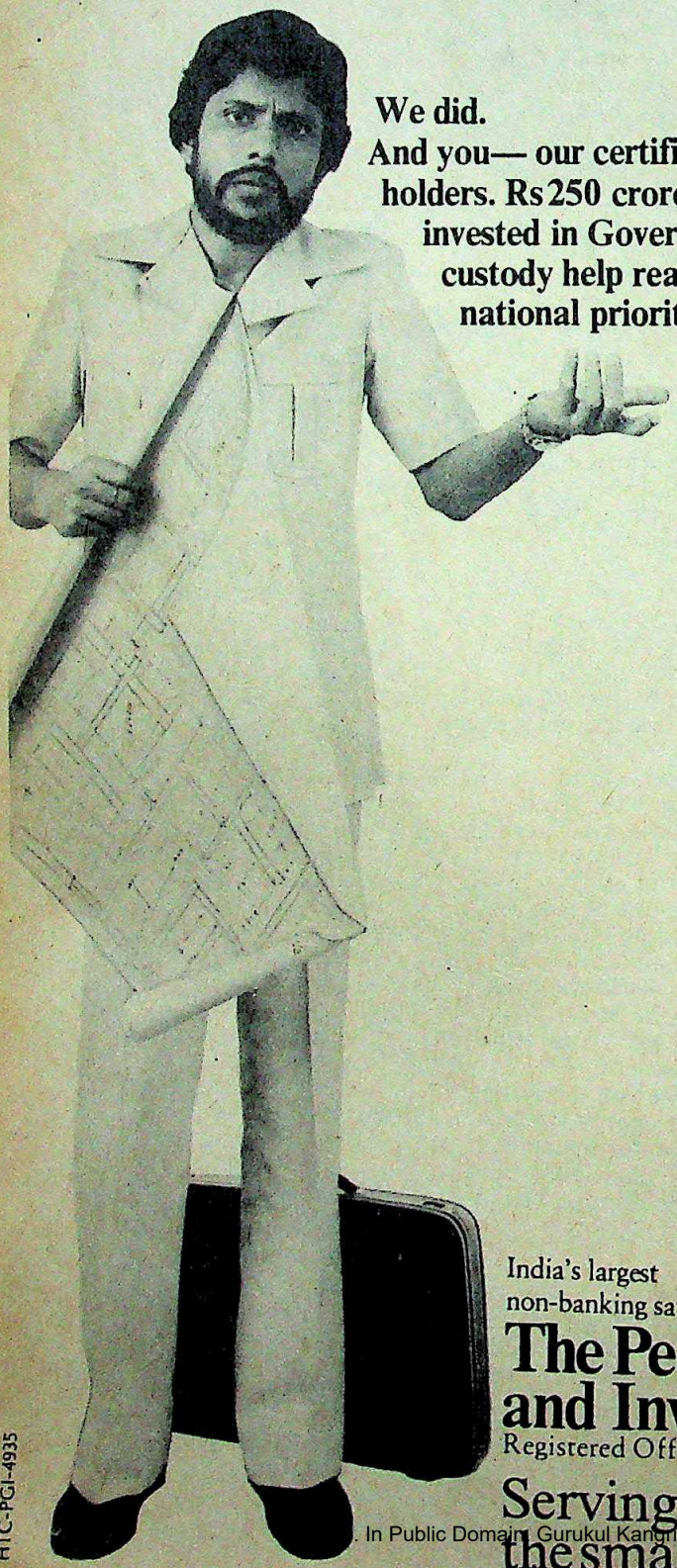

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A CLOSER LOOK

A SUBTLE but definite shift away from open-door economic policies is on the cards. Increasingly worried about the yawning trade gaps and the steady drop in foreign exchange reserves, the Government has initiated the first moves to trim its economic sails. One indication of the new tack is the appointment of a high-powered committee that will look into ways of cutting the import bill, which officials now feel has become bloated as a result of the liberal policies of recent months. Other shifts in policy emphasis are likely to lead to a more careful scrutiny of turnkey projects financed by foreign commercial borrowings. With the burden of repaying the IMF loan looming large on the horizon, foreign exchange reserves becoming increasingly scarce and an export boom unlikely because of the depressed global economic conditions, the Government's economic pundits have decided to be cautious now rather than be wise after the event.

GAINS

TATAS' Indian Hotels Ltd has stepped up its campaign nternational expansion by taking over a chain of four ls in the US capital, Washington DC. The hotels, owned ns Inc, have 500 rooms with varying degrees of comfort, five-star luxury. Indian Hotels already runs a hotel in and is now considering the acquisition of a series of hotels rican west coast. The Tatas calculate that with the US a slump and real estate prices falling, this is the right time properties before the next boom sends property rates again. The Washington acquisitions are particularly since the city is being developed as a convention centre, m-time for all hoteliers in the city.

R INDIA

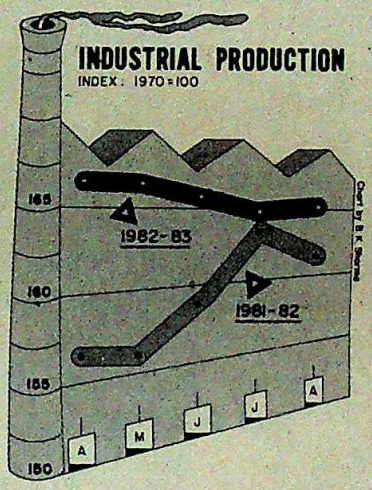
HING items with the Levi Strauss name tag may soon be in India: the California-based US company has come to greement with Indian garment manufacturers for the ome categories of women's wear to be sold in the narket as Levi clothes. Negotiations have, however, less for the manufacture at the Kandla free trade zone of tended for sale in the Soviet Union. The deal fell through failure to agree on the price. Irrespective of the Levi deal, ports to the US are expected to boom in the near future the new bilateral trade agreement hammered out last protracted negotiations. The quota limits are now more an earlier.

EOVER RUSH

CORPORATE takeover mania continues unabated, rming that ambitious industrial houses intend exploiting venue for achieving rapid expansion and diversification. he ITC raid on India Cements and the equally well- by R.P. Goenka of the Duncan group for acquiring tomobiles, even more companies have been in the news e reason. Interestingly enough, most of the acquisition been launched by Calcutta-based companies and in- ses. Standard Batteries, for instance, has two suitors, n Calcutta: the Khaitans and the Bajorias. Yet another ed group is bidding for Indian Cable Company, in ritish Insulated Cable Company holds a 26 per cent d the ever-aggressive G.P. Goenka, also based in trying to acquire Bakelite Hylam, a leader in industrial A number of other companies with cash to spare are ound for similar acquisitions.

GROWING LESS AND LESS

INDUSTRY continues to languish in the year of productivity. The industrial production index for August, the latest available, was up by barely 2.3 per cent over August 1981, and the average growth during the current financial year so far is no more than 4.1 per cent—down sharply from a 10.7 per cent growth in the corresponding period of 1981. Worse, the tempo is slowing down, instead of accelerating into the normal busy season. The performance this year would have been even less impressive were it not for the sharp increase in sugar production following last year's bumper sugarcane crop. But this has been neutralised by the continuing textile strike in Bombay. Nevertheless, with agricultural production now certain to register a sharp decline this year, there could well be close to zero growth of the GNP (gross national product) in 1982–83. The danger of this is already evident in the slower growth of bank credit: the increase in the first seven months of the financial year is barely 65 per cent of the increase in the corresponding part of last year.



MULTINATIONAL BID FUSED

THE GOVERNMENT has virtually given up its initial proposal to allow multinational companies present in India (such as Peico) to manufacture colour television sets. The new policy, expected to be announced later this month, will almost certainly allow only the existing manufacturers of black and white sets to move into colour set manufacture. Weston, Crown, Beltek and some other leading manufacturers are expected to get new licences, with a maximum capacity of 25,000 each. Among the public sector contenders for licences the front-runners are Electronics Corporation of India Ltd (ECIL), Uptron and Keltron. The total licensed capacity is likely to be 200,000 sets. Weston is already producing 1,000 colour sets per month.

Meanwhile, the leading international TV manufacturers are already working out collaboration arrangements with the local producers. ITT of West Germany is negotiating with Beltek, while Sony, National and NEC are the leading Japanese companies in the fray. Hitachi already has a components supply deal with Weston.

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INDUSTRY

Forever Amber

VIKRAM Kumar (not his real name) sits in his panelled office a 100 feet above the roar of Kasturba Gandhi Marg in New Delhi, and mopes. Things have not gone well for him though, on paper, his company, one of the top 20 in the country, has not done too badly. On paper, he says, things are never too bad in India. In fact, things are never really too bad or too good in this country, and that, according to him, is the real trouble. "I have been here 10 years but I do not recall a single moment when I really felt on top of the world and could say to myself: 'This is it; now we are going somewhere.'"

He can say that again. This country seems forever stuck on amber. The green lights—and the red—flash on from time to time but they are never there long enough to make much of a difference. In communist countries, the lights are nearly always red: don't do this, don't do that. In free market economies, they are generally green: go ahead and do it, it's your own life. It is in India and the so-called mixed economies that the lights are stuck on amber: you push ahead and stick your neck out and someone or the other invariably comes down on you and says, chop, chop, chop. You pull back and start all over again. Sometimes, you don't start at all.

Vikram Kumar is in textiles, or used to be. The business was built up by his grandfather who handed it down to his sons who, in turn, passed it on to Vikram and his brothers and cousins. Vikram feels that there is no future in textiles or sugar or vegetable oils—every Indian business house from Tatas to Modis seems to have started with one or more of these industries—and his company is keen to break away and go into new industries, but progress is so slow that the textile business still hangs like a big stone round his neck. Every new project that he submits to the Government for its approval takes anything between two and five years to get through. By that time, the project either becomes too costly and has to be done all over again or the foreign party drops out. "They don't understand why a government ostensibly so keen on industrialisation should take five years for just the paper work and ask to be excused. We are then back to square one." Back to square one could almost be our national motto.

Bleak Outlook: Take 1982. After two years of what was apparently a small economic boom, things seem to be back to normal again—normal in India's case being synonymous with falling output, growing unemployment and labour unrest and poor exports. The statistics tell their own sorry tale. The industrial production rate has slowed down rapidly from 9.0 per cent (per year) in January 1982 to 0.9 per cent in July 1982. Food production is down too, from 131 million tonnes last year to possibly something like 124 million tonnes during 1982–83, unless there is a marked improvement in the rabi crop. On the labour front, mainly as a result of the prolonged textile strike in Bombay, more man-days were lost in the first nine months of this year than in the whole of last year. The situation may worsen in the coming months, as several public sector industries—coal, steel, fertiliser and the like—are due for wage revision and some state elections are also approaching. Only on the price front is there some kind of truce, but it seems to have been bought at a heavy price.

The price may be even heavier in the case of foreign trade and foreign exchange reserves. Every calculation in foreign exchange seems to have gone awry. Foreign exchange reserves at the end of October (Rs 3,148 crore) were less than 60 of the level reached at the end of 5,400 crore), a little before the ment changed hands. And this de drawing in of nearly a half of International Monetary Fund (I The Government is now so ala what amounts to a run on the that the prime minister is said appointed a high-power committ down imports. This is like shu door after the horse has bolted another case of 'back to square o

The liberalisation of impor duced with such fanfare as part tempt at opening the econo obviously an aberration. Firs money was not our own, it was one doesn't take a import goods that ready being made country. No go spokesman is pre say why it was nec import steel, fertili table oils and a wi of chemicals includ ash in the first pla sole purpose was down prices. In ano or two, we shall out of IMF funds an forced to manage with what we have less than what we a fairly large chun export earnings—w been stuck around Rs 7,000 cro last two years—will go toward back the loan with interest. In t time, we seem to have squand money on non-essentials. With th money we have got, we could h in for two steel plants of the Dai and that would have been real thing. In imports, as in other ma shall soon be back to square one.

No matter what we do, w come back to amber. Take the qu recession which everybody exp Government accepts as a fact of economic life. But the recession come as a bolt from the blue. As as 1979, businessmen were telli TODAY (January 1–15, 1980) th cession within the next two years much on the cards. The busine munity seemed to have more or le up its mind that the country was

> **"It is in India and the so-called mixed economies that the lights are stuck on amber: you push ahead and stick your neck out and someone or the other invariably comes down on you and says, chop, chop, chop. You pull back and start all over again. Sometimes, you don't start at all."**

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ion, if not deep into it already. already in the midst of an econsion and it is going to get wo- Mohan Birla, who died last year ed as saying. His grandnephew, was a little less pessimistic. to him, a recession might be in but a mini-recession had already er of consumer goods industries, extiles, woollens and consumer

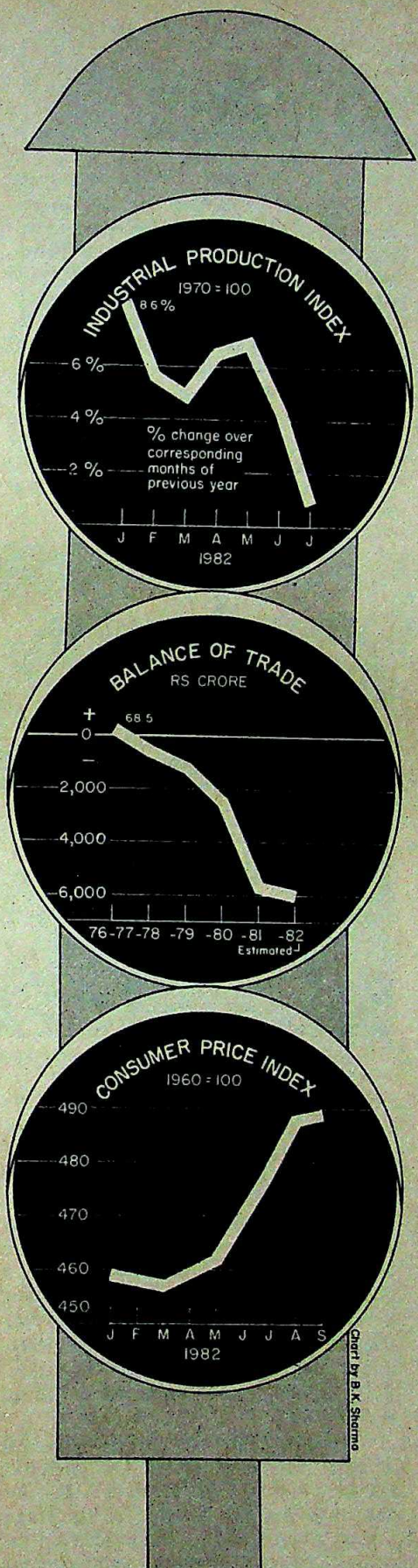
ion: From the Delhi end, things k cheerful either. Vinay Bharat elhi Cloth Mills (DCM) was reaying that "we seem to be slid- recession", although he was sophical than S.K. Birla. "India the global economic system is e affected by the unprecedented into which the industrial nabeen pushed by the oil crisis,"

Mudaliar, chairman of the ICI at that time president of was even more categorical. a significant possibility of the running into recession next said, adding at the same "a retrieving factor could rm of the farm sector bouncing a return of excellent rains." as it happened, good rains in ings did improve for a while; e monsoons again back at amliar's worst fears have been

Vinay Bharat Ram and S.K. ly but did not remind them of ad said earlier. Birla maintains are not going well, no matter Government says about re- do not know why they are so e word. How on earth are they anything about it unless they t? You can't fight cancer, or ailment, by just looking the

Bharat Ram is more philo- According to him, the believed that they could do recession, or the climate of re- just flooding the country with ods. For the man in the street, recession if he has not lost his ecause of our labour laws few the shops are full. The fact have been held in check has People feel that things are not all and the talk of recession is tactic to get more concessions overnment.

h many people think that the down was triggered off by the k's credit curbs, that may not the sole reason. As in industrially advanced countries, the slowdown is a signal that a radical structural adjustment is overdue. This is where the green signal has to take over from amber. Take textiles. The fact that the year-old textile strike in Bombay has not disrupted either the industry or cloth supplies means that most of the mills in Bombay can be written off and are in fact redundant. It also means that the 250,000-strong labour force which is asking for substantially higher wages cannot be absorbed by the industry at the new wage level demanded by them, and a large portion, possibly as much as 60 per cent, may have to bow out of the industry altogether. This requires fresh capital for the modernization of the textile industry as well as for new industries in which to relocate the surplus labour from the dying textile industry.



This is precisely what is happening in Britain's steel and coal industries which are even older than the cotton mills of Bombay. Old steelworks are being ruthlessly pulled down and sold as scrap, with the result that thousands of steelworkers have been thrown on the dole as there are no jobs for them. The coal mines too are passing through the same phase. Firstly, there is not such a large demand for coal as in the past, owing to switchover to oil. Old coal pits are being closed down and new ones opened up. Since the new coal pits are more modern and therefore more productive, they can employ only a fraction of the old labour force. The new steelworks and coal mines can now employ far less labour than they did before, and the dole lines are longer than ever. It may take anything up to 10 years, and possibly more, to absorb the idle labour force, and there are experts in Britain who fear that the position is so bad that anyone without a job today is unlikely to find one again in his lifetime.

In India we do things in a more humane manner and we have to do them, some day or the other. The planners and the bureaucrats who have no direct experience of running an industry have no feel for such things as they are not exposed to the market and are not attuned to its vibrations. But businessmen do and they should be taken seriously. If men like Vikram Kumar have started feeling that there is too much sameness in our industrial landscape and something will soon give way, his hunch cannot be brushed aside lightly. After all, his friends were talking about recession three years ago when there wasn't a single dark cloud on the horizon. IMF loans are all very well but they are a one-shot affair, and it is not what you borrow but what you make and how that decides whether you win or lose.

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TELEVISION

Colour Complex

NEVER had Indians queued up so impatiently to pay up their taxes as they did at numerous customs counters for two months till December 4. And it showed that tens of thousands would do almost anything in order to own a colour television set, even pay Rs 7,000 to the Government as tax.

Few could have predicted the unmanageable rush of response to the Government's temporary open-door policy on the import of gifted colour TV sets. It was an almost vulgar—and certainly unprecedented orgy of buying, reflecting a vast hunger for quality consumer durables. And nothing could calm the frenzy. Hundreds of sets poured out of each flight into the country. When even that proved inadequate, the airlines organised a series of special charter flights packed with TV sets. Customs, flooded by the deluge, stopped all other work in an effort to handle the rush. But even the deploying of additional staff and the opening of new warehouses proved inadequate. At the end of the December 4 deadline, barely 13,000 of the 40,000 sets that landed in Bombay had been cleared, and the rest would not finally be out for another month.

Such was the scale of the buying that there were no sets left in Asia's biggest shopping centres. Whether it was Hong Kong, Singapore or Dubai, virtually every shop had been emptied of TV sets suitable for Indian use by Indians shopping for sets to send home. Sony sets, the most popular, commanded a 50 per cent premium in Hong Kong, the price of a 20-inch set going up from 2,300 to 3,500 Hong Kong dollars (Rs 5,200). Some shoppers had to scour the British colony for days before they could get a set of their choice.

Resulting Chaos: Altogether, anything between 70,000 and one lakh sets entered the country. And each recipient of a set, which had to be gifted by a friend or relative abroad, willingly forked out the concessional 190 per cent customs duty for the pleasure of taking the box home. Naturally enough, the Government was sitting pretty: customs revenue of around Rs 70 crore from the imported sets virtually paid for the direct cost of hosting the Asian Games! And so enamoured was the Finance Ministry by the prospect of more easy money that a proposal nearly went through in early December to allow a similar scheme for gift imports of video systems.

At the customs clearing points, the chaos created by the flood of sets was unimaginable. Thousands milled around hastily erected counters to get their papers cleared. In Madras, where fewer than 6,000 sets landed, the authorities had to call in armed police to control a crowd estimated at 2,000 strong. In Delhi, a second clearing point was opened in the heart of the city, but this as well as the one at the airport were soon full to overflowing with sets waiting to be cleared. Roads were blocked. And trucks bringing in yet more sets were queued up outside warehouses, with no space to unload their cargo.

PRAMOD PUSHKARNA

TV sets in the customs shed: slow clearance

T.A. Mammen, who went to collect his set at nine in the morning in mid-November, paid five times the official price for the forms he had to fill, and finally got his set at 9 p.m., after standing for 12 hours in a confusing series of queues. He was lucky. Others had to come for two and three days in a row. Joginder Singh, a farmer from Hoshiarpur in Punjab, was bitter in his complaint: "I have been running around between Palam and the warehouse in Pragati Maidan for five days. The customs people want me to fill so many forms."

Delayed Deliveries: Air-India, which brought in most of the sets and ran three charter flights to clear the rush in the closing days, doubled its staff at the cargo clearing point. Customs authorities did the same, and simplified the formalities to the bare minimum. But despite all the fort, the backlog piled up. customs will probably be busy fo month, clearing the accumula Worse, when the December 4 passed, thousands of sets were st abroad for shipment home, and ing, would be charged the norma duty rate of 330 per cent, inste concessional 190 per cent. The of these sets also faced possible tion for violating the import tra law by bringing sets in when permitted to do so. Some irate were threatening to sue the airlin layed shipment.

If the crowds outside the cu ices got any message home, it vast numbers in the country money and are willing to fork i for expensive consumer durable

one out of every five sets that Delhi had a 27-inch screen. The of such a set, including the orig freight and customs, amounte 20,000. At virtually every Custo every day people were anxious these sums and take their sets ho

Ironically enough, cheaper sets (at Rs 7,500 and Rs 8,000 being offered all the time by dor nufacturers, who were assembli nished product from kits imp supplied to them by the public se tronics Trade and Technology ment Corporation (ETTDC). As 90,000 kits were imported, and bled sets were to have been sold end of the Asian Games on De But the kits arrived late, and deadline passed, an estimated 3

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unsold. Technically, the manu- ould not roll them out any lon- hat would be infringing on the eclared cut-off date. But it was ortnight that no one was taking m seriously. Said Prem Vachani, of Weston Electroniks: "We rstood informally from the Go- that no action will be taken. t is the Government which is to iving us the kits so late."

Syndicates: Despite the of cheaper domestically assem- and the possibility of problems p in maintaining an imported ize for a foreign TV set was so malpractices inevitably flouris- the sets could be brought in ifts from friends or relatives d since everybody did not have friend or relative outside the ndicates soon sprang up in the es, offering their services to nds" and arrange for delivering a local destination. These ar- obviously involved illegal fo- nge transactions, but the syndi- ted openly, advertised their ser- e newspapers, and apparently tial custom. A brief glance at with a shipping agent revealed to large numbers of people in being made from the same ad- ngapore, by people with diffe-

e authorities turned a blind eye y operations, even though these mon knowledge. And the ficials did not even bother to cipients of TV sets to properly mselves. The air was thick with hat substantial *benami* imports place, apparently for off-loading narket later, at a premium.

ntire policy on colour TV sets lly justified in the name of the es. Both the gift import scheme e of sets assembled domestically rted kits had the closing of the es as the cut-off date. But with of sets not cleared in time by nd even more domestically ass- s not sold by December 4, the clearly not the sole factor fuel- ses. What the Asiad served to e the country its first real taste, ief, of modern consumerism. or this was the loss of substant- s of foreign exchange, official r the operations of shady syndi- ding of the knee to foreign ma- who lobbied for liberal im- the encouragement of ostenta- ing.

—T.N. NINAN and ASOKA RAINA

DOORDARSHAN

Seeing Ahead

LESS colourful than the vivid telecast of the closing of the Asian Games in New Delhi last fortnight, is the controversy regarding Doordarshan's future plans to go colour. Rumours that colour television would be abandoned after Asiad aroused sharp protests from both Indian manufacturers of colour TV sets and consumers, especially from the select tribe of 70,000 to 100,000 importers of colour sets who took advantage of the Open General Licence (OGL) till the embargo date of December 4. With the protests growing louder daily—the Indian TV Manufacturers' Association took strong issue with the Government—and individual buyers dismissing the advent of colour TV as "a 15-day wonder", it took Minister of State for

N.K.P.Salve: ambitious plans

Information & Broadcasting (I&B), N.K.P. Salve's reassurance that Doordarshan, in fact, would stick to colour to partially soothe all the concerned parties. Said Salve: "We have the know-how and the infrastructure. Therefore, colour transmission will be continued, but its duration may not be as long as it was during Asiad."

Within a few days, I&B Secretary S.B. Lal sought to answer the question everyone was asking: how much of Doordarshan's daily telecasting would be in colour? According to Lal, 25 to 30 per cent of telecasting time everyday, for an hour to 90 minutes, would be in colour and the remaining in black and white till the next six months when the percentage would rise to 50-50. To be able to switch completely to colour, Doordarshan would have to spend an additional Rs 25 crore on converting the 10 existing production studios to colour. The figure seems exceptionally high, given the Plan expenditure for Doordarshan, which is approximately Rs 14 crore this year.

Selective Broadcasts: Meanwhile colour production would be provided by the four special outstation broadcast (OB) vans bought for the Asiad and worth Rs 10 crore. Transferred to production centres in Delhi, Calcutta, Jullundur and Bombay, each van can provide programmes for three-and-a-half hours a week. This negligible time would be supplemented by transferring the ever-popular Sunday-night feature films and film-based programmes like *Chitrahaar* to video cassettes with the aid of equipment borrowed from the National Film Development Corporation (NFDC). But, according to Lal, the 40 to 50 per cent colour transmissions promised within the next six months won't be possible till four sets of special telecine equipment capable of transferring 35 mm colour film to video cassettes is acquired at a cost of Rs 3.2 crore for the four major centres. In addition, he says, colour-compatible equipment will be installed at the four new studios planned at Ahmedabad, Gauhati, Bangalore and Trivandrum.

While I&B Ministry officials reel off the pleasures of watching Bombay movies and movie song-and-dance sequences in colour—in addition to the sports telecast, quiz programme or *Krishi Darshan*—critics of the scheme think that Indian TV, in colour or not, will end up being what it started out as: a hand-maiden of the commercial film industry. Lal counters this argument by offering highlights such as the current India-Pakistan Test Series, the Ninth International Film Festival, the Republic Day Parade and the non-aligned summit—all in colour.

Still, it seems poor recompense for viewers who have spent up to Rs 8,000 for an Indian colour set and an average of Rs 15,000 for importing a foreign one. As one puts it: "Since colour TV in India seems to be so slow on the uptake it's best to save your pennies and buy a video cassette recorder (VCR)." And the truth is, most of the estimated 70,000 to 100,000 importers of foreign TV sets have exactly that in mind: chucking Doordarshan's bumbling long-range plans to go colour they are jamming the bylanes of Karol Bagh or Colaba, where brand-new smuggled VCR's are available for anywhere between Rs 18,000 and Rs 20,000.

—SUNIL SETHI

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FROGS' LEGS EXPORT

Reckless Cruelty

FROGS croaked in accompaniment to the shouted slogans that resounded in the Kerala state secretariat in Trivandrum last fortnight. The bilingual protest, sponsored by the Kerala Thavala Thozhilali Congress (Kerala Frog Catchers' Association), was against the Central Government's decision in August to bring frogs under the Wildlife Protection Act. The controversial move was pushed through in the name of conservation, and had taken direct aim at a mushrooming export business in frogs' legs, which earned Rs 12 crore in foreign exchange last year—up from Rs 1.4 crore a decade ago.

If cruelty is the main criterion, the Government's protective measures are justified. Ever since Indian frogs' legs became a table delicacy in Europe and the United States, frog catching has gained considerable momentum. And it is done with almost the maximum cruelty possible.

Unpleasant Operation: In a typical operation, teams of four or five people move out after dark, armed with sacks and petromax lamps. In Kuttanad and other areas, thousands of frogs lose their hind legs in a single night's operation. The actual catching is not difficult, as the frog is petrified by the light of the petromax lamps and is easily picked up and stuffed into a sack.

The amphibians' ordeal now begins. Crammed together throughout the long journey to the processing units, some die on the way. Those who survive the trip to the processing factory have their hind legs severed from the body, and the live half-frogs—mouths open, eyes bulging—land in a bloody mess in a basket, where they crawl over one another in a daze.

The baskets are periodically dumped on the roadside as waste, and vultures take care of what is left of the dismembered creatures. The 150 km stretch of National Highway 47 between Cochin and Alleppey often stinks because of these mutilated bodies on the roadside, with flies swarming around and vultures flying overhead.

The hind legs, still twitching with an illusion of life, are bled by the exporter in a chlorine solution in order to get the ivory white or pale pink colour required by the customer abroad. Later, they are skinned, trimmed, and packed in ice inside polythene bags.

But cruelty was not the main consideration behind the Government's move. Farmers in the area had apparently been complaining that the frog catching was damaging the local ecosystems, balance. They had demanded at least a partial ban on the business. Said G. Mukundan, Kerala's chief wildlife warden: "Depleting the frog population results in the proliferation of the stem borer pests, which destroy the crops."

This view is contested by Dr M.R.G.K. Nair, a leading entomologist: "Frogs do feed on insects, but they cannot control the pest problems of paddy farmers. It is the farmers who are responsible for the practice of close plantation and the use of high-yielding varieties, both of which make the crops susceptible to pest attacks."

Nevertheless, the Agriculture Ministry was sufficiently convinced of the farmers' case to place frogs under the protection of the Wildlife Protection Act. And although one leading exporter claims that off was too good for the busines to a halt, many local businesses deed been badly affected. Some ted to shrimp processing.

Agitation Threatened: T Catchers' Association charges Forest Department, which ha anyone posted in the area, has whole 'battalion" down to ensur frogs are indeed protected. And Catchers' Association threatens agitation in the coming weeks i licensing system is not withdrawn

The rules framed under th Act provide that each "trapper" a licence after paying Rs 100 p on top of a Rs 500 deposit, as royalty on the frogs he catches. T should also hand in three of h graphs to the Forest Depart identification purposes. Says Thomas Kallampally, MLA and of the Frog Catchers' Associat licensing procedures are very cu for the illiterate trappers. And th income of a trapper is less tha per month. How on earth can h licence fee, the deposit and the Kallampally alleges that his me ing starvation. He adds: "Frog tigers or lions, to be placed Wildlife Protection Act. They a endangered species."

Kallampally also claims th dustry had already been follo servation practices: frog catchin done during the two-month bre son. And he charges that exp now getting frogs from nei Tamil Nadu and Karnataka, licensing procedures are less strin

The Cochin-based Marine Export Development Authority meanwhile, has stepped gingerly fray and taken up the matter Commerce Ministry. But a spok the seafood exporters' associatio sure of the outcome: "The MPED ing cautiously because Mrs Gan chairman of the Wildlife Society It was this society which engin move to save the frogs."

K.P. Nooruddin, Kerala's fo ister told INDIA TODAY: "My s are with the frog trappers, but m to preserve the ecological Nooruddin said he will shortl troducing a more realistic licensi that will reduce the licence fee annually, with a marginal roya paisa per frog. But that solution not face up to the problem pose reckless cruelty and unhygienic of the business. —SREEDHAR PILLA

Protestors with frogs in their hands in front of the state secretariat: losing money

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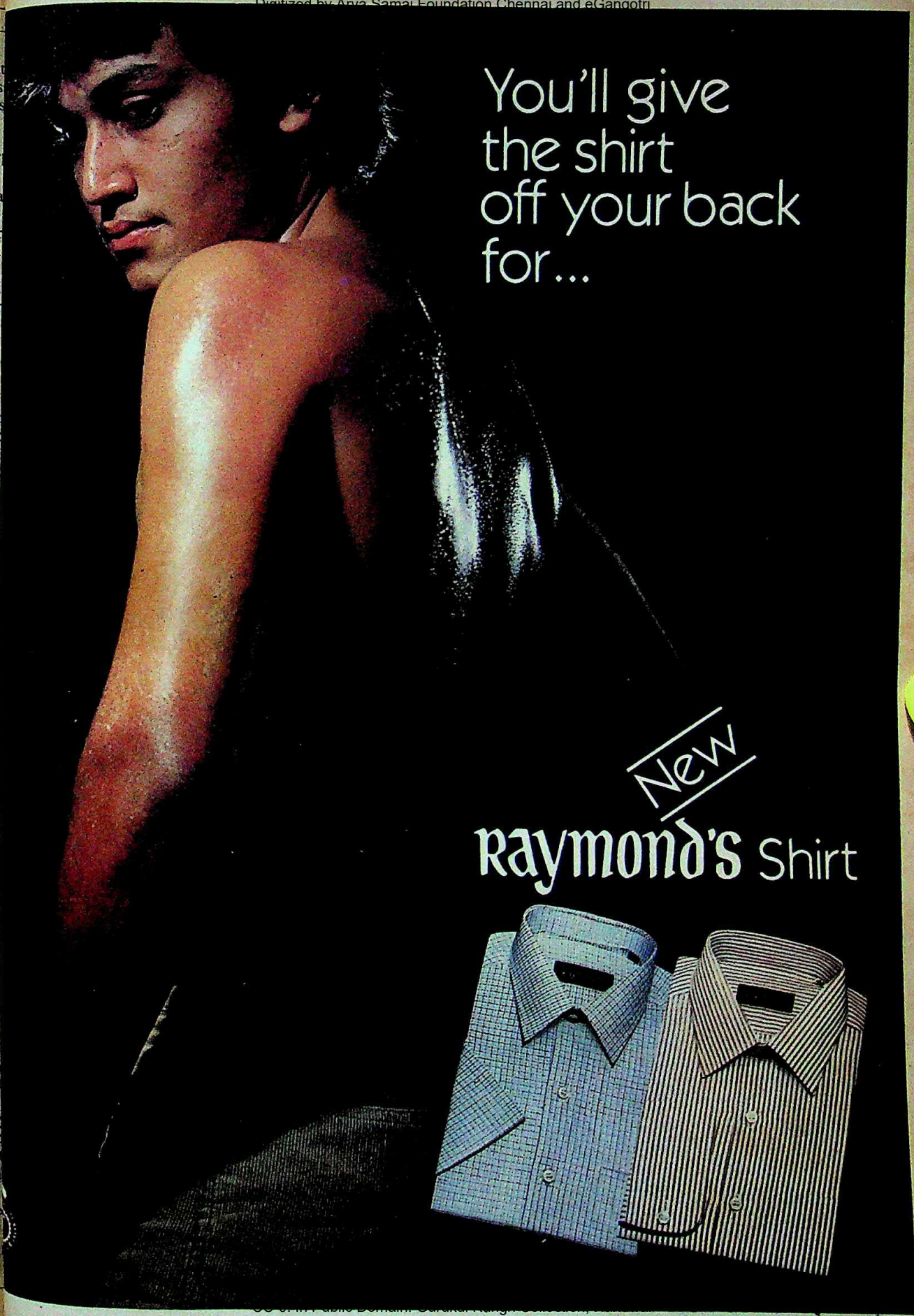

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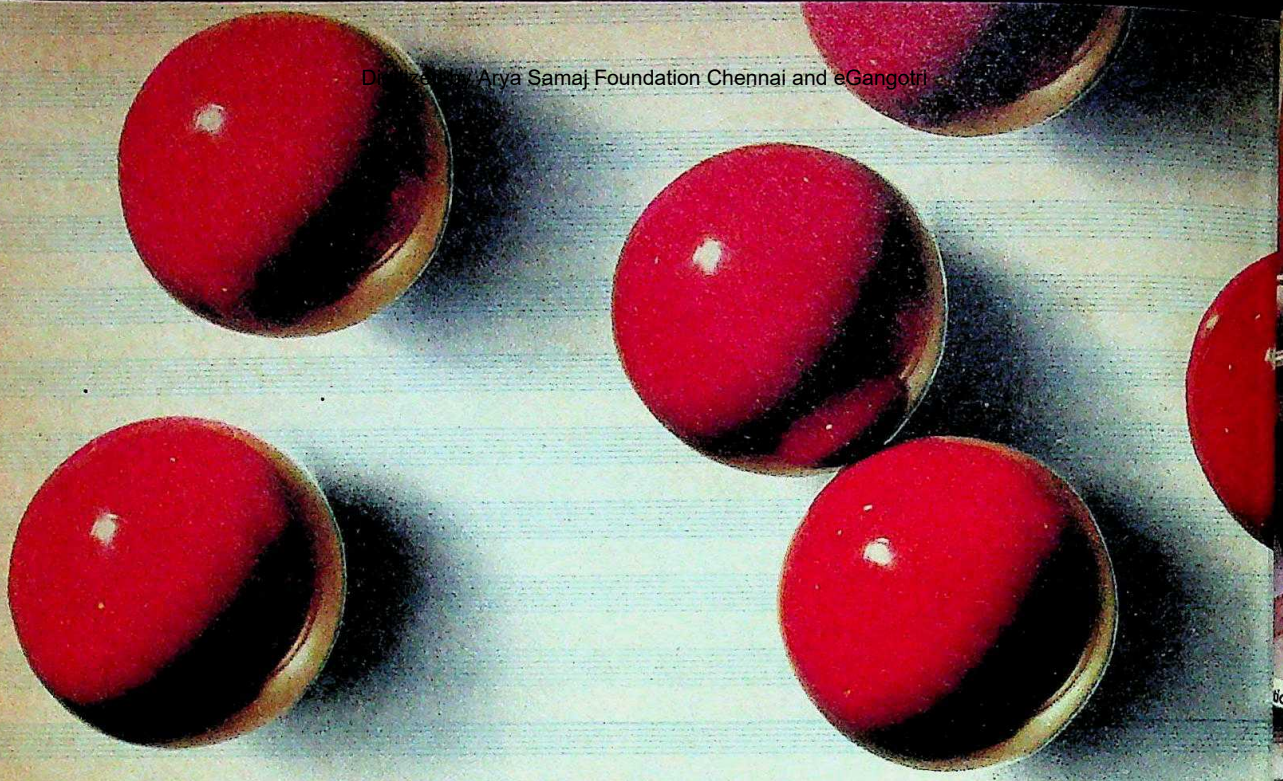

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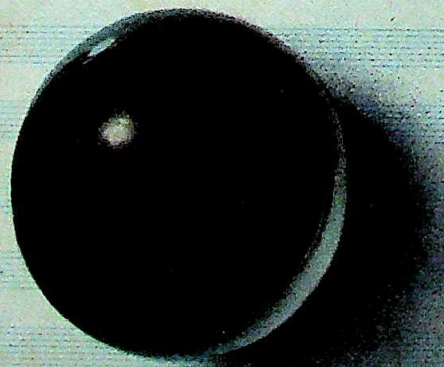

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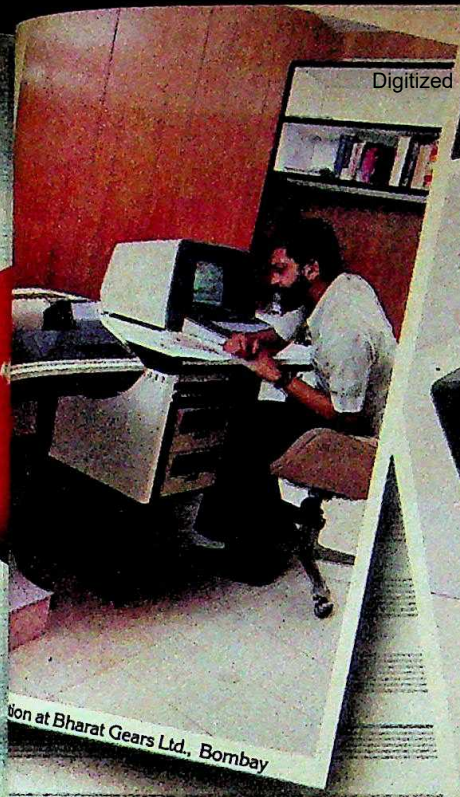
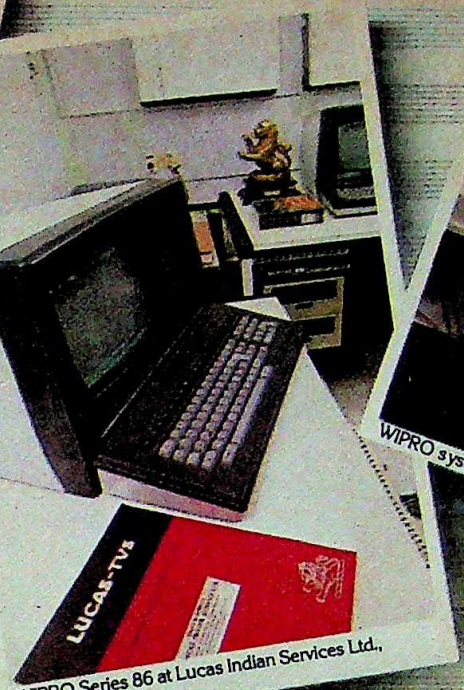


tion at Bharat Gears Ltd., Bombay



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ds Of Conflict

NATIONAL Agriculture erative Marketing Federation D) is a powerful semi-official has frequently been at the centre rsy involving its procurement, and export operations. Last organisation was the reason parliamentary confrontation to Malaysia. More recently, n the news once more when its .G. Tiwari, called an extraor- ng of its board of directors in that fellow-directors could at- s grand-daughter's wedding at tion's expense.

tnight, the federation was at the l once again, when the Supreme d an interim injunction to the was bound to follow export and directives handed down by ent.

st recent case arose from the 's effort to unilaterally alter ex- ires in an attempt apparently eping a hold on the lucrative in nigerseed. In doing so, it uted directives from the linistry. A private exporter then issue to the Supreme Court aga, managing director of the d export firm Sri Kasturchand t to the Bombay High Court. as other petitioners have now upreme Court to allow them to e it as interested parties. But tive issues have already come nbay High Court, where NAFED h graver sins than just flouting tives—one of the charges being f export prices.

e Trade: Nigerseed is a little- altural commodity that grows ibal belts of Madhya Pradesh, rissa. The export of this item, ough NAFED from 1979, fetches crore annually. This is not a rge sum, but the trade happens lucrative. India has a virtual world markets—Ethiopia is the porter, and Indian nigerseed is ly better quality. So while the ollect the seed are paid roughly s 5,500 per tonne, the price on road after a simple cleaning ets to as high as Rs 11,500, e margin for the exporter. Last made a profit of around Rs 3 s 10 crore export of the oilseed. larted for the federation when ent announced in June this year that private traders would participate in exports as associates of NAFED.

The traders' case in court was that NAFED had mishandled the allotment of export quotas. S.K. Daga charged in the Bombay High Court that the export allotments were arbitrary, and contrary to the Government's export policy. Said Daga: "NAFED was extremely reluctant to give up the export monopoly which they have had for three years. So when the Government decided to allow private trade to participate, they kept stalling the issue at first. Now they have framed guidelines which are so oppressive and they hope to make up the loss of business through these devious means."

Officials of NAFED deny that there is anything irregular about their export guidelines or allotment procedures. Insisting that the Government had no justification for letting private traders into the act, NAFED's Bombay region manager, P.K. Nagar, argued about the changed policy. "The profit margins in nigerseed are really enormous," said Nagar. He adds: "And you cannot find another commodity which offers these kinds of margins. With such large amounts at stake, you can understand why these unscrupulous traders want to corner the exports. That is the only reason they are suing us, because they want a monopoly."

The traders' case in court was that NAFED had mishandled the allotment of export quotas that the export allotments were arbitrary, and contrary to the Government's export policy

Directives Violated: If this suggests that NAFED was up in arms against the Government's new policy, the charges made against the federation are not surprising. Daga's first charge is that NAFED violated the Commerce Ministry's specific directive to give export quotas on a first-come-first-served basis. Instead, the organisation treated on par all applications before a certain date, and divided the quotas among them. The second instruction from the Commerce Ministry was that only those exporters should be considered who had "firm commitments backed by irrevocable letters of credit" from foreign buyers. But, says Daga, NAFED ignored this too, allotting quotas to a large number of applicants who had neither letters of credit nor any evidence that they had buyers for the commodity.

In this connection, NAFED officials will be hard put to explain a damaging piece of evidence trotted out by Daga and his lawyers. On September 30, in response to the unilateral changes in procedures made by NAFED, Usha Vohra, joint secretary in the ministry of commerce, wrote to the organisation objecting strongly to the arbitrary changes. Stating that the critera of "first-come first-served" and confirmed orders backed by irrevocable letters of credit were essential to the allotment, Vohra added that, as the canalising agency for nigerseeds, NAFED was obliged to follow government directives and the export-import policy.

Daga lists other charges: NAFED stipulated that every export order and letter of credit brought in by a trader would have to be in the name of NAFED, which would have the right to meet half the order through its own exports before allowing the trader to use the other half. Said Daga: "In this way, NAFED will be able to earn a fat profit after I put in the hard work to procure the orders. This is the most absurd export guideline ever made." Further, NAFED guidelines stipulate that all private exporters will have to buy their stocks of nigerseed from NAFED alone, thus offering the organisation another avenue for making up the profits it lost because of the partial decanalisaiton.

But the oddest development was NAFED's decision in August, shortly after the partial decanalisation, to reduce its price from Rs 11,600 per tonne earlier to Rs 8,500, and to export 2,000 tonnes at this new price. Yet, at the same time, private traders had brought in orders for prices ranging from Rs 10,500 to Rs 11,500.

In court, NAFED lawyers argued that the lowered price was in fact the true ruling price in foreign markets, and that traders had over-invoiced their bills in order to grab quotas. But Daga charges that "NAFED was deliberately causing a crash in the international nigerseed market just to frustrate the private traders. But besides ruining our chances of selling at higher prices, they were also depriving the country of foreign exchange."

Now, with the Supreme Court's interim order, the federation may well have to bend its knee to the Government's wish; and depending on the final ruling and the outcome of the case in Bombay, traders hope to get a genuine piece of the action. The lesson has presumably gone home: NAFED can't bite off more than the Government wants it to chew.

—CHANDER UDAY SINGH

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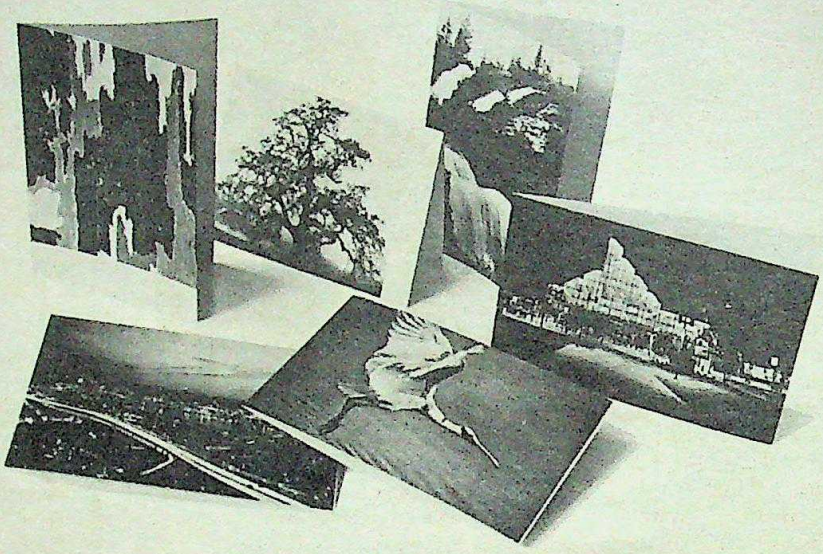

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ctric Shock

H the power supply situation tinuing to remain critical and shortfall regularly crossing the ıtt mark resulting in prolonged d-shedding, the commonest joke utta household was that every were paying for something never got. But the joke has now and resignation has given way to h the announcement of the ctric Supply Corporation (CESC) ,000 consumers it caters to will y higher electricity rates from

lomestic consumers will have to se more per unit, industries will gh up an additional seven paise which has become largely non-knowledging the validity of the company's Managing Director however said: "I know it is ise our rates when we cannot nand in full. But we are helpless the power we supply to our s bought from agencies like the icity Board and the Damodar oration (DVC). With these two g raised their rates, we have no but to jack up our own tariff early a vicious circle in which the suppliers can do little for con- are expected to pay more but are of minimal load-shedding.

e company having to buy 55 per daily supply from the State oard and the DVC, on paper the unds plausible. But a closer look ves suggests a more complex ording to these, the additional to tariff increases by the board financial year would amount to . But the company's additional virtue of its rate revision would .93 crore which clearly indicates utilised the opportunity to tide hic problems of its own.

Problems: Right now its pro- to the Rs 1.14 crore additional s to pay on loans incurred for atest unit at Titagurah which is tart partial generation from next lition, its profits are going down. according to the Electricity the company can earn a clear a "reasonable limit" which is 7 the capital base in respect of 1960. Accordingly, last year the ould have earned a profit of Rs t actually managed only Rs 4.46 , for the company, these liabil-

A railway clerk works by cand elight: rising tide of resentment

ities cannot be done away with by the revised rates and it is likely to close the year with a deficit of Rs 2.33 crore.

While its imposing office in Victoria House and the fact that it used to be a British company before the Foreign Exchange Regulations Act (FERA) came into operation have always caused people to believe that it is minting money at their expense, the reality is hardly as rosy. What is seldom understood is that while the law makes it obligatory for the company to provide power wants, its availability has remained the same, stretched thin to meet all demands. For two decades or more, it has been prevented from investing in new power generation equipment. One reason was CESC's foreign share holding till 1978 which disallowed any expansion under FERA. The cost efficiency of its obsolete plants—obviously below par—has made for steady losses. Indeed, the new Titagurah plant is the first of a much-needed infrastructural growth.

The problem remains that right now the company is taking a beating from the public that is unprecedented in its 85 years of existence. There are mounting complaints of inflated bills, and with a local English daily regularly carrying statements of allegedly suffering consumers, there are charges that meters are not read by the company's inspectors resulting in consumers being arbitrarily charged and that meters are defective.

Parrying Charges: Managing Director Mitra replies: "As for defects we have to depend on indigenous products and there is no way we can go for import even though those might be better. Also people should not complain about old meters as in these the recordings are less not more." What, however, remains unexplained is how the monthly bills can remain totally unaffected by load-shedding when no current is consumed.

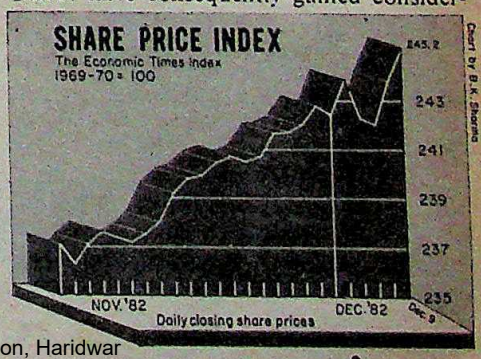
With the complaints gaining in numbers even the state Government has been forced to take notice and an inquiry into the company billing systems is in the offing. Quite unperturbed, Mitra says: "There has been a similar inquiry during the previous Congress regime and it drew a blank. We expect the same thing this time also." This may well be the case and the inquiry may merely put the lid on the issue with total disregard to the fact that not all the complaints are as superfluous as the company seems to suggest. —SUMANTA SEN

THE MARKETS

Euphoric Mood

THE BLIND man asks for an eye and God gives him two. The markets seem to have caught their euphoric mood from the Asiad and surged forward to catch a glimpse of the pot o'gold at the far end. The surge was expected—the bulls have been at it for a long time—but there is more to it this time than meets the eye.

Firstly, the market is flooded with rumours, some good, some bad, but those who know the Government's mind believe that New Delhi has many goodies up its sleeve, including the relaxation of price controls on such commodities as fertilisers and, possibly, aluminium. The new pricing policy may be on the lines of cement and sugar, the net result of which is generally a better price for the manufacturer and, of course, a better look for the profit and loss account. This explains the steady rise in Hindustan Aluminium and Zuari Agro scrips as also in Indian Explosives. Another rumour going round is that the Government will put a lid on new licences for cement plants, as those in the pipeline are said to be enough to meet the demand for the next few years. Cement company shares have consequently gained consider-



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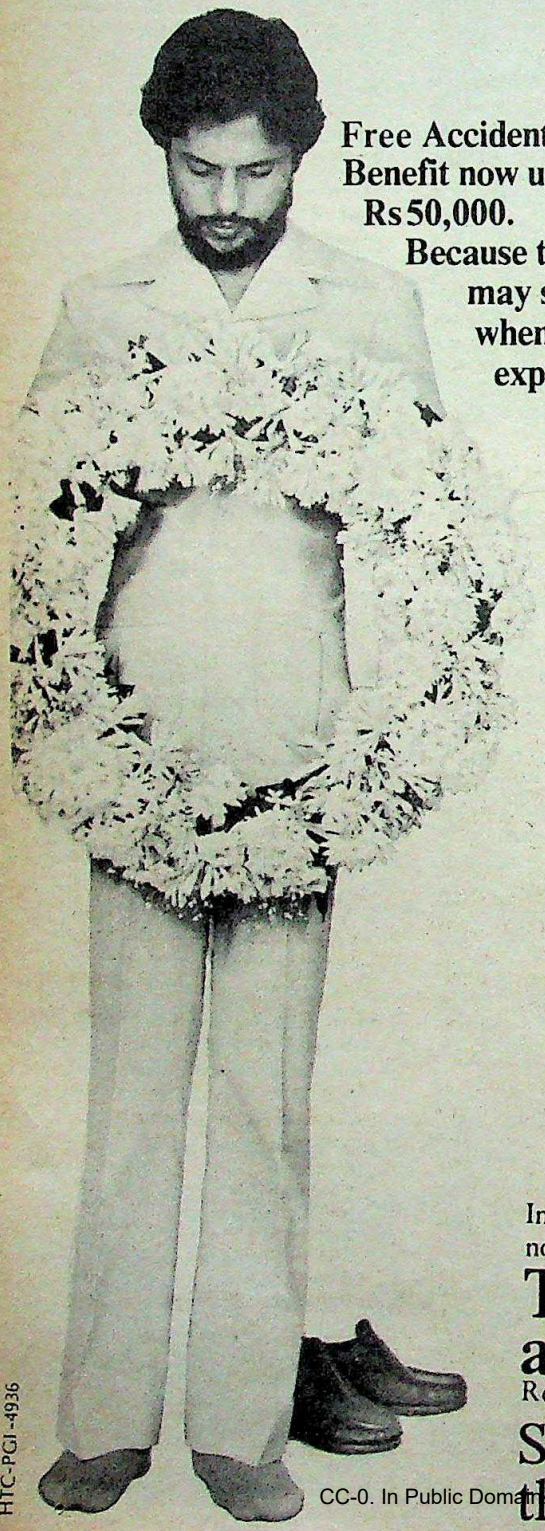

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ACTIVE STOCKS

	High 1982	Low 1982	Close 1.12.82	Change on Fortnight
.....	59.00	32.00	34.50	1.50
ent	414.00	212.50	411.50	13.50
.....	1,650.00	960.00	1,275.00	255.00
.....	49.60	36.00	41.00	0.50
.....	42.00	26.50	31.00	1.50
.....	55.80	26.80	55.80	6.30
.....	70.00	53.00	69.00	nil
.....	44.00	30.00	40.50	nil
g	80.50	62.00	74.00	nil
.....	21.00	15.44	21.00	3.44
.....	28.50	20.20	28.00	3.30
ric	18.60	11.30	11.70	nil
.....	346.00	201.00	228.50	(2.50)
.....	220.00	177.50	207.50	nil
ng	1,020.00	675.00	780.00	20.00
ibres	25.00	15.00	16.20	(0.80)
.....	58.00	41.50	56.70	0.45
.....	168.00	78.00	83.50	(1.50)
.....	16.20	11.65	12.80	(0.70)
lls	44.50	31.31	32.94	(3.62)
.....	24.30	18.30	20.70	(0.40)
ds	21.50	16.50	19.00	nil
.....	41.00	26.00	31.50	1.50
.....	49.87	34.25	39.19	0.07
s	61.25	35.75	57.50	(0.50)
.....	48.75	25.00	25.50	nil
c	32.60	25.00	32.50	2.00
liams	37.20	27.80	27.80	(0.80)
ers	506.00	368.00	481.00	57.00
r	56.00	47.25	54.25	1.00
ors	34.40	21.82	34.00	3.70
.....	30.00	23.00	29.00	nil
m	23.60	17.00	18.20	(0.90)
.....	25.00	18.00	22.50	(1.20)
.....	247.50	172.50	218.00	10.00
es	26.00	18.50	22.30	(0.20)
.....	107.00	50.00	55.00	nil
.....	35.00	26.00	28.75	0.25
.....	36.10	26.20	33.10	(2.00)
.....	165.00	84.00	84.00	(3.00)
.....	45.00	29.00	37.00	2.00
.....	39.90	21.00	39.10	(0.80)
.....	36.00	22.70	22.70	(1.30)
.....	73.20	55.60	58.50	(1.00)
.....	70.20	45.10	65.90	(4.30)
ing	160.00	94.00	160.00	28.00
ps)	35.75	20.00	23.00	(3.50)
ro	86.00	45.50	56.50	(0.75)
.....	21.65	14.50	18.74	(0.49)
hindra	61.00	38.00	51.00	7.50
.....	272.50	220.00	238.75	6.25
.....	36.50	22.50	25.50	3.00
.....	29.00	16.50	22.30	0.68
ic	210.00	168.00	170.00	(2.00)
.....	63.00	36.00	38.25	1.25
.....	48.50	34.50	47.30	1.10
.....	30.30	26.00	29.80	(0.30)
.....	97.00	58.75	71.00	1.00
.....	424.00	303.00	424.00	59.00
.....	32.00	21.00	31.75	0.75
.....	58.25	32.50	42.50	7.00
.....	182.50	118.00	167.00	3.50
.....	35.65	27.30	34.10	0.80
.....	52.12	41.37	47.31	0.25
.....	66.00	34.00	43.00	0.75
.....	16.80	12.60	16.50	1.00
man	31.50	19.00	23.50	3.25
.....	64.00	45.50	62.50	1.00
.....	429.00	272.50	290.00	14.00
.....	737.00	367.00	443.00	33.00
.....	70.75	35.75	37.50	(0.70)
.....	28.10	23.90	25.10	(0.40)
ck	33.50	23.50	25.20	(0.90)
.....	291.00	228.00	288.00	11.00
.....	26.50	18.35	25.40	1.00

able ground with companies like Kesoram and Birla Jute taking the lead.

Firmer Showing: The spurt in cement and aluminium scrips has apparently given a lift to the entire market including even those sectors which only a few weeks ago were said to have been affected by the so-called recession. Telco is back again on the stage and so is Mahindra & Mahindra which is reported to have had a very good year. Hindustan Motors and Ashok Leyland have also firmed up and so have such never-never engineering shares like Guest Keen Williams. Brooke Bond is about to touch 30 prodded forward by reports of its new instant coffee plant, the second such plant to come into stream in the country.

While the leaders make news, others may not be far behind. Shares like Indian Duplicators, Rollatainers, Bombay Tyres, Tata Finlay and Glaxo deserve more than a passing glance. Tata Finlay and Glaxo, once FERA companies, are or will be 100 per cent Indian companies and such companies generally always do better than under FERA.

Take the case of India Tobacco, once just another tobacco company, but now a giant in the making after throwing off its FERA cover. The rise in the ITC scrip has been exceptional for such a large company—something like a doubling in price in about a year's time—and many believe that this may be just a passing phase and the scrip will revert to its normal level once the debenture issue is over. This has happened in many cases—Kothari and Mukand Iron, for instance—but not necessarily in all cases. ITC is extraordinary in many ways and the scrip is obviously headed for something bigger.

However, a little caution may not be out of place in dealing with a market that seems to be a little out of breath. The corporate sector has had a good year despite the talk of recession and credit squeeze but it owes a good deal of its prosperity to the Government's highly liberal import policy which flooded the market not only with such unlikely goods as colour TV sets—imported without much direct foreign exchange drain—but also many intermediates and even finished products like soda ash at much lower prices than those in the home market. Such low-cost inputs are always good for the industry but they may not last very long. There are already reports that the country may go in for more imports of wheat. In any case, the IMF bounty will soon come to an end and the import policy may go in reverse gear. When that happens, the stock market will lose much of its shine and the bulls may be back in their pens.

WORLD VALUE OF RUPEE

Country	Unit & Currency	TT Selling Rates(Rs)	TT Buying Rates(Rs)
Australia	1 As $	9.4105	9.3117
Austria	100 As Sch	57.5333	56.9547
Bahrain	1 Dinar	25.7809	25.5502
Bangladesh	100 Taka	42.6723	41.7024
Canada	1 Can $	7.8869	7.8018
Egypt	1 Egp £	11.8303	11.7034
France	1 Fr Frc	1.4287	1.3932
Hong Kong	1 HK $	1.4821	1.4660
Indonesia	100 Rupiah	1.4402	1.4297
Iran	100 Rial	11.5742	11.4892
Italy	100 Lt Lira	0.6908	0.6834
Japan	100 Jap Yen	4.0031	3.9617
Kenya	1 K Shilling	0.8879	0.8813
Kuwait	1 Dinar	33.3849	33.0841
Malaysia	1 ML $	4.1283	4.0840
Mauritius	1 Rupee	0.8659	0.8595
Nepal	1 Rupee	0.7444	0.7390
Netherlands	1 D Glds	3.6671	3.6291
Pakistan	1 Rupee	0.8078	0.7631
Singapore	1 Sing $	4.5095	4.4611
Spain	100 Sp Pt	8.2446	8.1675
Sri Lanka	1 Rupee	0.4680	0.4513
Sweden	1 Sw Kr	1.3360	1.3223
Switzerland	1 Sw Frc	4.7398	4.6909
Tanzania	1 T Sh	1.0262	1.0187
Thailand	100 Baht	42.0000	41.0000
UK	1 Pound	15.8907	15.7480
USA	1 US $	9.7650	9.6300
UAE	1 Dihram	2.6769	2.6573
USSR	1 Rouble	12.9759	12.8806
W. Germany	1 DM	4.0422	3.9991

These rates were supplied by The Bank of Tokyo, Ltd., New Delhi and quoted between the banks on December 7 1982.

ECONOMIC TRENDS

	Latest	Change on month
PRICES		
ET Commodity Price Index		
December 2, 1982*	250.0	(0.2)
Cereals	251.7	7.6
Chemicals	323.5	(5.9)
Industrial Fibres	172.8	0.6
Metals	350.6	6.6
Sugar	181.1	(9.6)
Textile Yarn	221.9	(0.4)
Vegetable Oils	298.6	5.5
Gold, standard, Dec 3, 1982 (Rs per 10 gm)	1,730.00	(10.00)
Silver, .999, Dec 3, 1982 (Rs per kg)	2,830.00	135.00
SHARES		
ET Share Price Index		
Dec 3, 1982*	243.9	10.6
Cement	257.9	(0.9)
Chemicals	208.5	6.6
Engineering	397.2	10.8
Fertilisers	209.5	21.0
Man-made Fibres	410.6	1.9
Paper	481.0	40.6
Rubber Products	156.7	0.5
MONEY	per cent	
Money Supply, Nov 5, 1982	1.9	
Bank Deposits	1.3	
Foreign Exchange Assets	(7.3)	

* 1969–70 = 100

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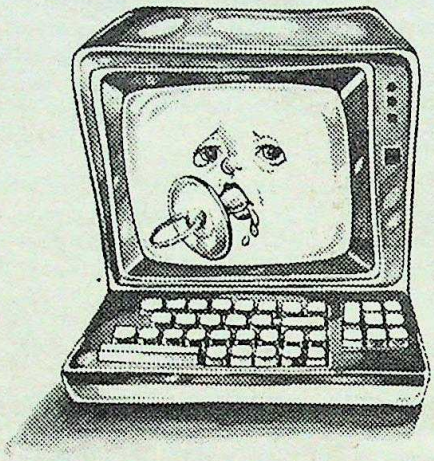

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Steamy Pot-Boiler

VIDHAATA
Producer: Gulshan Rai
Director: Subhash Ghai
Starring: Dilip Kumar, Shammi Kapoor, Sanjeev Kumar, Sunjay Dutt, Padmini Kolhapure, Sarika and Amrish Puri

THE CONFRONTATION between the generations has become a staple source of stories for Bombay's film makers. And Producer-Distributor Gulshan Rai dips once more into the cauldron for his all-star cast extravaganza *Vidhaata*, pulling out a long and somewhat confused tale of the internecine struggle between good and evil. The only difference this time is that it is the grandfather (Dilip Kumar) who is a crook, and he brings up an orphaned grandson who is as pure as the driven-snow, making for a standard dilemma and its predictable resolution in the climactic scenes. Rai's *Vidhaata* goes through the motions with little deviation from the formula, right down to the last sequence when crooked grandfather and saintly grandchild are drawn together against the 'real' criminals.

A steamy pot-boiler which uses every selling device in the book, *Vidhaata* is a *khichdi* of themes and images, a jerky fusion of tall stories, spectacular coincidences and provocatively sexy song and dance routines, which promise to have audiences jumping out of their seats with delight. But the film is loosely knit, its various threads barely falling into place in an untidy and unconvincing narrative.

Vidhaata probably had a taut enough plot to start with, but somewhere along the line the producer-director team of Gulshan Rai and Subhash Ghai seems to have jettisoned it. Having squeezed in a star-cast which includes heavyweights Dilip Kumar, Shammi Kapoor, Sanjeev Kumar and a string of new-generation actors like Sunjay Dutt, Amrish Puri, Suresh Oberoi, Padmini Kolhapure and Sarika, much of Vidhaata is taken up with justifying their roles. Almost extraneous to the main story, Shammi Kapoor as an engine-driver-turned-roadside entertainer, flits in and out of the movie with an irritating regularity and much time is wasted on small-time comics and big-time crooks who add little to the film.

Loose Plot: *Vidhaata* starts out simply enough with railwaymen Shamsher Singh (Dilip Kumar) and Gurbaksh (Shammi Kapoor) crooning to each other about the fates that guide man's life. Soon after, however, Shamsher's policeman son (Suresh Oberoi) is cold bloodedly murdered by minions of Jagawar Chowdhary (Amrish Puri), a hood who terrorises the countryside. Although Shamsher finds and bumps off all but one of Jagawar's sidekicks, he never does find out the boss's identity. Shamsher's daughter-in-law, already shocked by her husband's murder, dies in childbirth soon after, leaving the fugitive engine-driver with a grandson to look after.

Forced into crime to support the child, the enterprising ex-railwayman soon shoots to the top of the underworld ladder to become head of the dreaded Mezia

Dutt and Kumar (top) and Kolhapure in *Vidhaata*: unconvincing extravaganza

gang. But grandson Kunal (Sunjay Dutt) is brought up protectively screened from the realities of his grandfather's trade: handed over to the care of God-fearing majordomo Abu Baba (Sanjeev Kumar) for most of his 18 years. The boy grows up spouting rhetoric against the rich and frequenting the slum colonies where he finally finds his lady-love (Padmini Kolhapure).

The real confrontation begins now. Ordered by Shamsher to break up Kunal's budding love affair, Mezia hoods, led by Gautum Sarin, kidnap his girl-friend and try to spirit her away. Abu Baba who rescues her is killed as a result. A still blissfully unaware of his gra stake in Mezia, swears to avenge gate father's murder and wip gang. The inevitable face-off grandfather and grandson co Kunal realises who leads the g sing to accept Shamsher's prote innocence, Kunal leaves home his girl-friend and steps straig trap set by arch-criminal Jaga classic pot-boiler climax, the lov prisoned in Jagawar's den when and Shamsher gatecrash the solve all future problems by kil body in the room.

Surprisingly, even though include a long line-up of top *Vidhaata* has little to offer his Coming hot on the heels of *Sh* Kumar's performance is weak a vincing. And almost the only med role is Amrish Puri's—he cruel villain to perfection. Pu grating voice and craggy face gi a spine-chilling authenticity.

Vidhaata's weakest link is tion. Jerky and staccato in its p the film jumps through its seq loose and barely coherent nar concerned with explaining the r of his characters, Director Sub —whose past credits include exciting *Karz*—has paid little a establishing the love-hate which the plot hinges on. In th lysis, *Vidhaata* seems to fall b ribald dances, feeble comics a cast for its appeal.

—CHANDER

Holy Sh

SWAMI DADA
Produced and directed by Dev A
Starring: Dev Anand, Christi Padmini Kolhapure, Kulbhus banda, Rati Agnihotri, Mithu horty and Shakti Kapoor

EVERGREEN into eversa saffron goes well with th complexion and the imp xuriant hair of Dev Anand, 6 35, draped in the lurid robes of godman, showering saffron co 'om' printed on them—to ec lowers, and writing on saffron Then the transformation: off bes, on go the trousers, shirt, cap, and swami becomes dada, fig and killers and coping with Ja (O'Neil) and their love child. B

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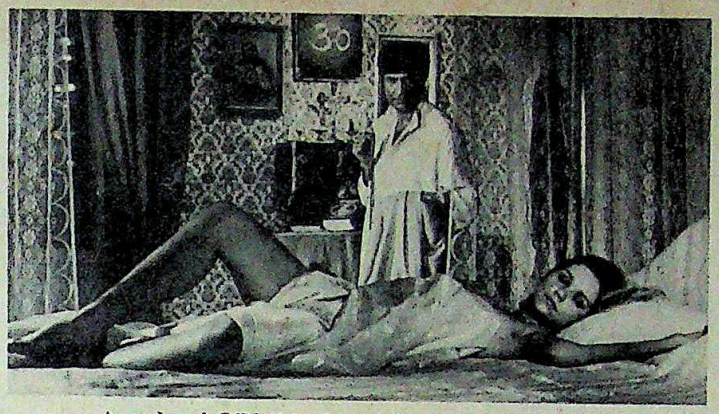
and.
nand has done it
26th effort as pro-
mbining godman
an, saffron and
mixes a formula
niscent of the *dum*
f *Hare Rama Hare*
mehow the *Guide*
ages to be diffe-
vami Dada is typi-
he plays a mystic
Mohan, based in
who is seduced by
an disciple called
and is sent to In-
he decides to
dren led into crime. He gets
h Seth Bhagwan Das (Kulbhu-
anda), a sprightly leader of pick-
d Chamkili (Padmini Kolha-
n intense butcher (Naseeruddin
mined to exterminate the swami
s persuaded by the seth that the
armful to society.

Role: To fight Bhagwan Das,
an becomes Ringo Dada.
lles himself in this parody of a
with a parody of his double
n Dono, slipping false mous-



Anand and O'Neil in *Swami Dada*: saffron and sex

taches on and off with great panache. Fortunately or unfortunately, Anand has always taken himself very seriously: in a role that lends itself very easily to satire—given the number of godmen levitating around—Anand pontificates, sermonises, reforms and makes love with nary a slip or a smile showing.

No wonder then, that everybody in the film falls under his spell. Take the scene where Anand sings bhajans along with a whole lot of society ladies in one society lady's house. Meanwhile, the society lady's liberated daughter (Rati Agnihotri) and her boyfriend (Mithun Chakraborty) are discoing it in another room, stepping over necking couples writhing on the floor—permissive society, if you please. The two groups soon get involved in a wordy battle—set to music, Hare Mohan sermonizing away for all he's worth. This is the kind of scene that he is renowned for, and it perfectly epitomises Swami Dada, the man and the film.

Of course, Ringo Dada wins in the end, but not until one last scene which only Dev Anand could have carried off. Shah waits for Hare Mohan with a gun and a telescopic sight, perched in a tree outside a temple. Anand is by now virtually a saint and just as he is giving them a darshan, Shah gets him in his sights. And what should he get to see but a gentle halo shimmering around the chocolate complexion and the impossibly luxuriant hair. Dev Anand is, indeed, eternal.

—JAGANNATH DUBASHI

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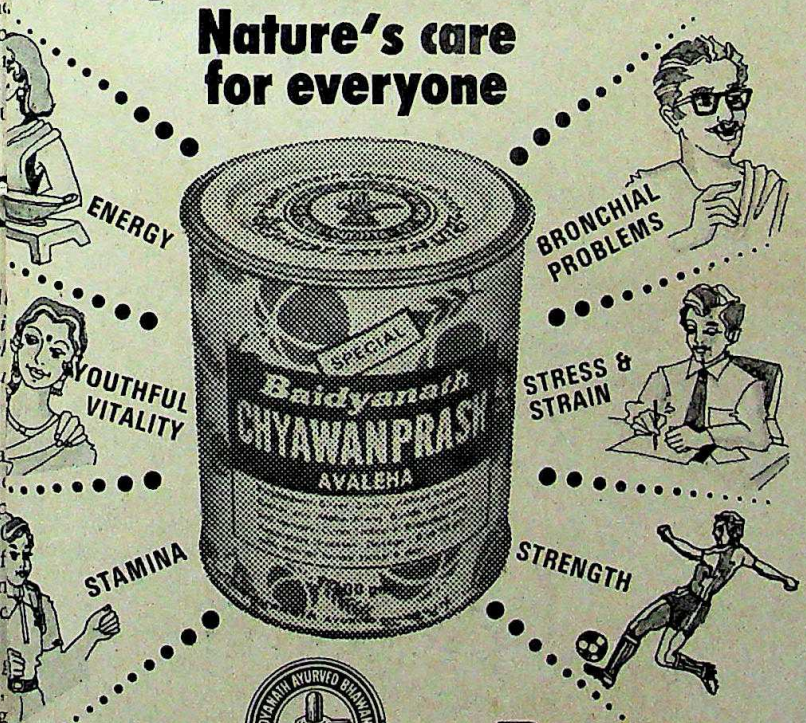

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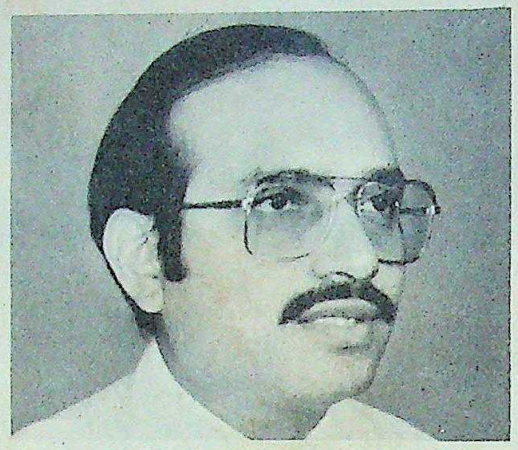
SEX SURVEY

True Confessions

IF A MAN ventures to sit beside a lady in a bus in Madras, she is liable to give him a dirty look and shrink from him as if he had made a pass at her. If a young man is spotted once with a girl, they must be having an affair. In the stifiingly conservative social ethos that pervades Madras, the second national conference on sexology in the city by the Indian Association of Sex Educators, Counsellors and Therapists (IASECT) in the second fortnight of November was itself an earth-shaking development. So was the conduct of an extensive survey of human sexuality by Dr D. Narayana Reddy, 32, the secretary of Madras IASECT chapter, whose findings were highlighted at the conference, outraging the puritans in the city.



Narayana Reddy: probing a conservative society

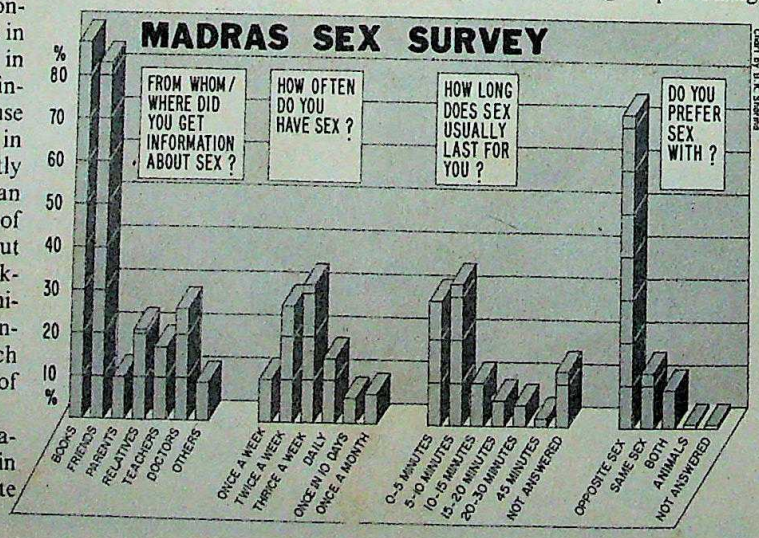
Not surprisingly, the study has found that myths, misconceptions and ignorance about sex are widely prevalent even among educated people in the city and cause sexual dysfunctions. At the same time, the survey reveals that even this bastion of orthodoxy is slowly coming of age.

Wide Survey: The soft-spoken, bespectacled Reddy is a fellow of the International Council of Sex Educationists, a fellow of the College of Chest Physicians and a member of the American College of Allergists. He was led to sexology by the interesting discovery that a number of cases of allergy were traceable to sexual diorders. His survey was inspired by New Yorker Shere Hite's famous report on human sexuality.

Reddy distributed a cyclostyled questionnaire to 3,750 persons, 80 to 90 per cent of whom were males. It was the first survey of its kind to be conducted on such a wide scale in Madras, and possibly even in the country. The area of inquiry was restricted, because the questionnaire was only in English, and consequently the English-educated urban middle and upper strata of society were approached. But the sexologist is already working on a plan to prepare similar questionnaires in south Indian vernaculars to reach other sections of people of this region.

Surprisingly for the Tamilians, who are reticent in matters concerning sex, quite a few of the 3,750 persons, encouraged by the promised anonymity, sent in their replies. In all, 651 persons responded, of whom 506 or about 77 per cent were males and 145 females. But, stated that way, the high percentage of males who replied to the questionnaire is deceptive, because almost the entire lot of recipients of the questionnaire were males. Copies of the questionnaire were distributed by Reddy sometimes openly, and sometimes surreptitiously, at meetings of important clubs.

However, Reddy said that on the whole women were more responsive and eager to speak out their feelings on sexuality as far as his survey was concerned. Not unexpectedly over 60 per cent of those who replied were unmarried. In the sexual dysfunction clinic that he operates in Madras, Reddy says that very few persons come for pe-marital counselling.



Most are married sexual patients

Candid Response: An obvio riking upshot of the survey was on the part of the people conce honest and take the inquiry When the truthful response tion was too embarrassing, t red to keep silent rather tha For instance, asked whether of the survey continued to after marriage, 34 per cent to reply in the affirmative. T ing 66 per cent refused to question, and nobody answ negative.

It is significant that, ac the survey, over 42 per cent ple had their first sexual with a casual partner; less th subjects experienced it for th with their marital partners. T said that their first sexual was with a relative; 3.2 pe domestic servants, and 1.7 p their first taste of sex was wit buffaloes. Nearly half the respo sex for the first time when the ween the ages of 20 and 25, 22 between 15 and 20, and an 10.9 per cent when they we than 15.

The progressive liberalisat city's puritan ethos is also see fact that an overwhelming 8 of the persons questioned stron sex education should be in schools and colleges; a majori that sex was not something should be freely discussed. For ras residents, however, brough environment in which sex w taboo, 'sex education', half-bak scientific, comes from friends Thus, according to Reddy, most function is due to ignorance prevailing attitudes are such t fraction of those from sexual dysfun to therapists.

Ignorance als why a majority of felt that semen wa and composed of blood, and that m and nocturnal emi kened a person. T sex education, Red is also highlighted i of a majority that the penis plays an role in sexual satisfa elementary sexol nerve connections, ments of commun sexual satisfaction to

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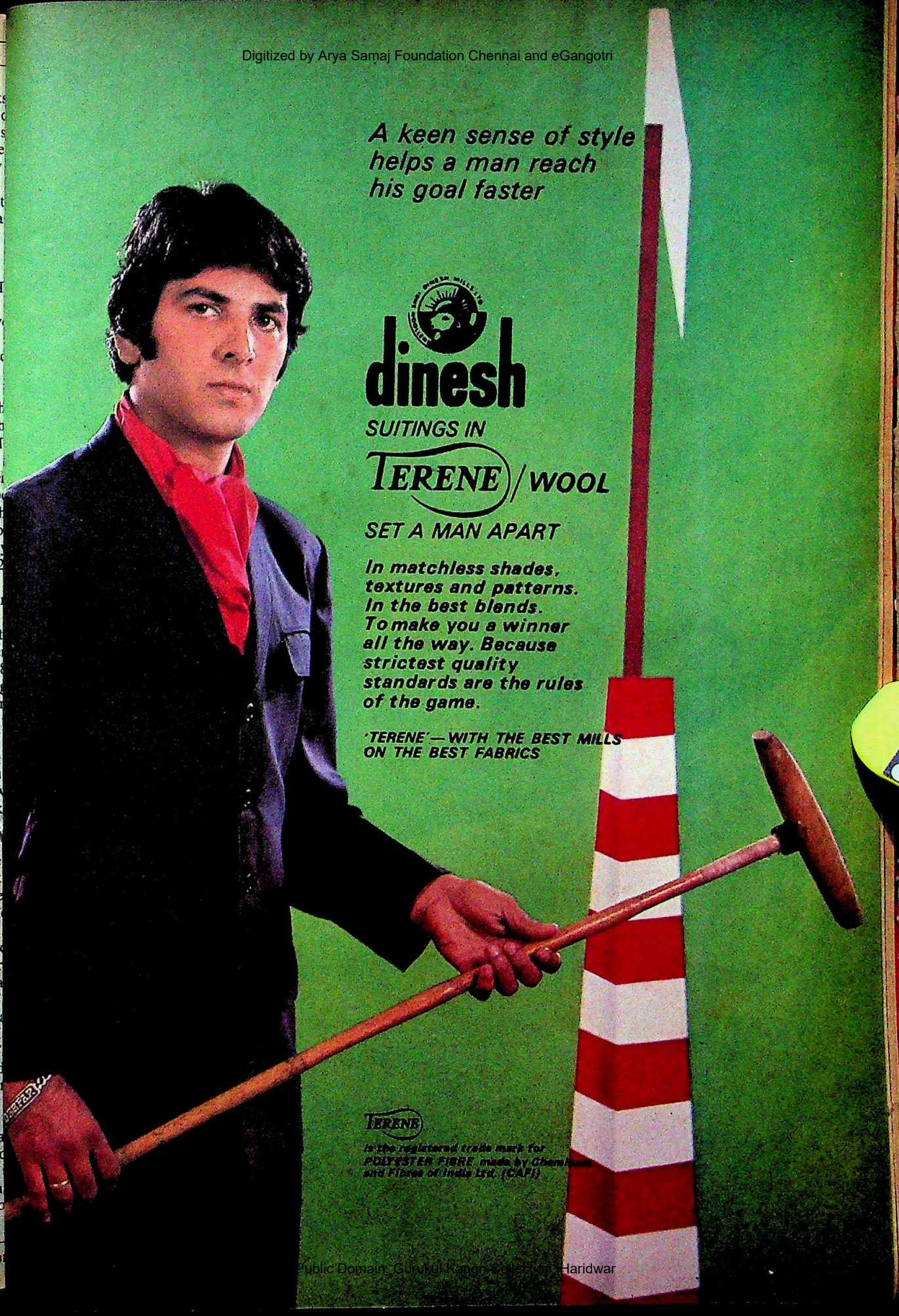

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to a depth of two inches in a gina.

s: More interesting were re- question on what would lead to lity. In order of importance, listed co-education, free mixing sex with more partners, and oral ingly, 13.7 per cent of the re- id acceptance of homosexuality o better sexuality.

port shows that almost one- respondents have sex three ti- , 27.2 per cent twice a week, d 15.7 per cent make it a daily men usually take the initiative and stopping intercourse. mily Welfare Department will s to feel elated at the findings ey. Over 61 per cent of the ctised contraception, and an g majority of 70 per cent vou- e fact that the use of con- id not affect their sexual lives. ld give a new boost to the *'do* jingle. —S.H. VENKATRAMANI

A

shing Death

hting for the right to die, but nt motive. My main motive is e sufferings of others, particu- l my last wish to donate my only do so after my natural am not in a position to wait. I from acute physical pain on hree major operations perfor- ip bone.

a letter to INSORD, New Delhi

MATIC of a awareness, this record of pathetic es noble appeals an isolated phe- ut the responses e euthanasia mo- ted over a year rganisations—the Indian Society for Die (INSORD) and ani's Bombay-ba- for the Right to nity—have diver- orthodox ethical its votaries with ill" patients. he long-standing suffering of ail- chronic through maltreatment, or of mentally retarded epileptics, asthmatics and paralytics, they reflect, instead, a social problem in the inadequate development of the state welfare apparatus and medical facilities which could, for instance, relieve aging parents of the responsibility of a spastic child.

S. Kumar, organiser of INSORD, said that the flood of letters since their inception has been phenomenal One of the most poignant, Manu's efforts have so far been of no avail. Having failed to evoke any response from Health Minister B. Shankaranand, he wrote to Justice P.N. Bhagwati, the senior-most judge of the Supreme Court. Said he: "The thought of donating my eyes came to my mind when I read the news of the Bhagalpur blindings by force. Now, the question is I can only do so after my natural death. I am not in a position to wait. My children are well settled, my wife has already died. I have no worries. My main argument to die is that if I can give material things which I claim as mine, such as food, clothes and money, why can't I die and donate my eyes, which too are exclusively mine." He added: "To fulfil my last wish of donating my eyes, I am asked to wait. But what is the use of that donation when someone who is quite young needs light and vision today."

Thanking Manu for his generous offer, the judge wrote back saying that "I am profoundly touched by this gesture." He added: "There are very few people who will be prepared to help their fellow beings by sacrificing their own personal interests." To which a disappointed Manu has retorted: "Justice Bhagwati has not touched the real problem of mine, namely, the right to die."

Futile Suffering: Unlike Manu, Rupa, 37, is mentally retarded and an epileptic since birth. Said her father: "She started sitting at the age of three and began walking at the age of six. She tries to speak, but cannot—her tongue is short. It does not revolve in her mouth. Vowels are not formed and her speech is not intelligible. Saliva pouring from her mouth, she cries out in pain, but cannot tell us why and we are just spectators and cannot help her. I only wish the Government helps such children by shortening their miseries when they are incurable." He added: "I have tried all types of treatment and also *jadoo tona*—there is no hope. I am a retired government officer and simply shudder to think what will happen to her when my wife and I are no more." His cries of anguish are difficult to answer, and the list of such chronic suffering interminable.

The admission of such claims, which under current laws amount to culpable homicide, make the task of their protagonists an uphill one. Indeed even within medical ethics as they currently stand, the doubtful definition of "terminal" illness is debatable. Specifically on this count, however, the response of certain jurists has been a heartening one. Said H.R. Khanna, former judge of the Supreme Court: "I, prima facie, agree with the view that the prolongation of the suffering of a dying man is not a compassionate act and that, in certain circumstances, the hapless incurables in the grip of great agony have the right to merciful death."

Nevertheless INSORD members continue to feel that the cases that have come to them would fall in the final scheme of things to come. They emphasise that the right to die is a sensitive issue that cannot just restrict itself to the terminally ill, and that strictly speaking, the two cannot be separated into watertight compartments. Kumar adds: "Death preceded by a long spell of intractable pain or by a prolonged state of coma or continuous affliction with a dreaded disease is not death with dignity. Nor is it a death with compassion. It is death with humiliation. An individual has the right not only to live with dignity but also has the right to die with dignity, the two being inseparable from each other." Euthanasia is already a topic that arouses strong emotions and with it complex legal and social ramifications, this new standpoint is bound to complicate an already controversial issue.

—ASOKA RAINA

"An individual has the right not only to live with dignity but also to die with dignity."

S.Kumar, organiser, INSORD

Manu: moving appeal

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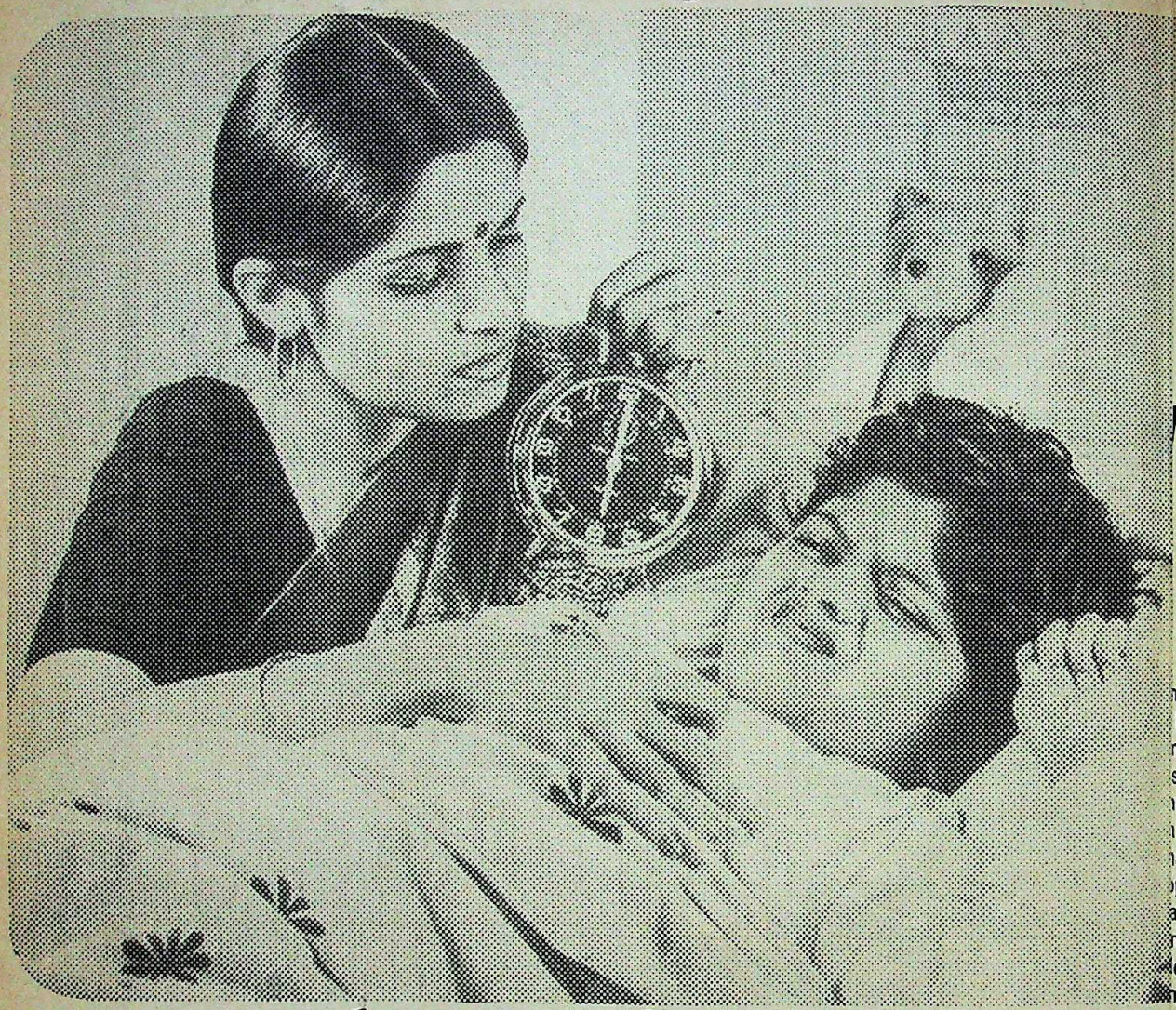

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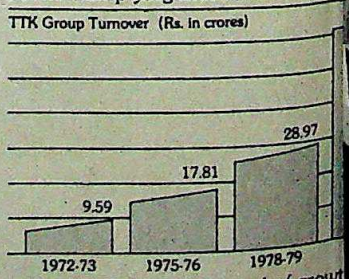

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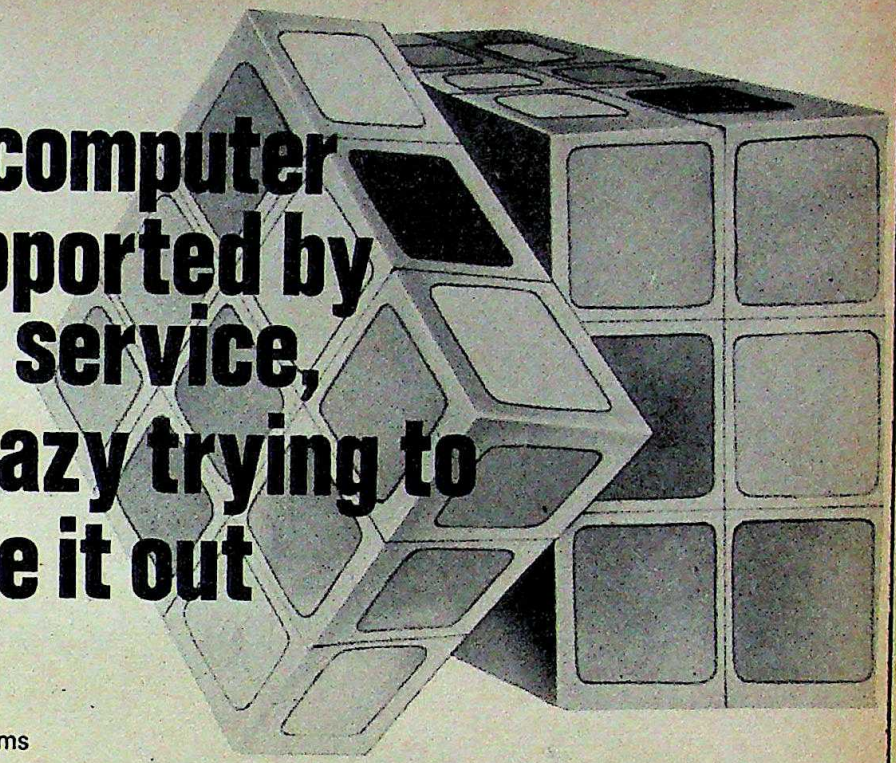

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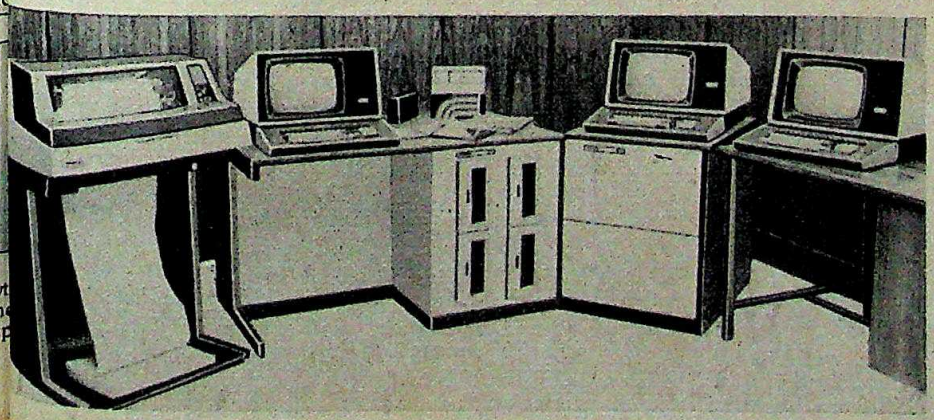

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The foundation stone site of the cu complex in Emporium Gardens

SRINAGAR

Trimming The Green

SRINAGAR, nestling in the Kashmir valley, is getting more and more congested by the day. Its parks and green spaces are one by one being gobbled up and replaced by endless blocks of brick and concrete. The latest casualty is the Emporium Gardens, a piece of rolling parkland that has been used in recent years for important state receptions.

The fate of the 75-year-old Emporium Gardens, that was once the grounds of the British Resident's bungalow, was sealed when the Government decided to build a cultural complex in the city. It was felt that no better site could be found for the complex that has grandly been named the Tahzeeb Mahal, or the Palace of Civilisation. Arguments that the complex need not be situated near the civil lines were brushed aside. Other relevant objections that the building with a plinth area of 25,420 sq ft would more or less obliterate the entire garden were also given short shrift and on December 5, the 77th birth anniversary of Sheikh Abdullah, his son Chief Minister Farooq Abdullah laid the foundation-stone of the complex.

Callous Attitude: In a way the Government's attitude is hardly surprising. It is really only in keeping with the pattern that has been set over a number of years. Few vested interests are hurt when the Government takes over parkland and there is little risk of protracted court battles. In fact, during the last 35 years the Government has fallen back on the ploy of building on park lands with an ominous frequency. Some of the more notable cases in the past have been:

► The Usman Zanana Park, the only park made by the Dogra rulers for women, was used for the construction of the new secretariat 20 years ago;

► Gol Bagh, which was renamed the Gandhi Park in 1948, is at present being turned into a concrete jungle as a Rs 9-crore High Court-cum-Legislators complex comes up on it;

► The Chandmari Maidan is now in the possession of the Army Supplies Corps who have refused to vacate it despite repeated requests from the state Government;

► Badam Wari—the garden of the almond trees—at the foothills of Hari Parbat Fort, once the site of a traditional festival held on the eve of spring every year, is now being turned into a new government housing colony;

► Naseem Bagh—the garden of breezes—on the western shores of the Dal Lake, has been turned into the premises of the Regional Engineering College;

► The Polo Ground, the largest park in the city, where Maharaja Hari Singh, the Dogra ruler once played polo, has been carved up by a host of different groups. A taxi stand has come up in its western corner; in the middle a floricultural nursery has come up and next to it are the premises of the Central Reserve Police; t side is now the site of a mosque;

► The Lal Mandi Park has croached upon from all sides a maining portion is a favoured gamblers;

► The newly constructed Iqbal been reduced in size considerab concrete rostrum was built on it 1981.

The saddest part of all this i the Government which has led t these depredations. The blame should go mainly to the host o inative planners and engineers, watched silently as the city g hazardly and government land croached. Now these same men to find space to accommodate t bloating wings of government. A of coordination between the con partments has also been addi congestion of the city. Often h also change hands to help the G make up its mind in these matter

The vandalisation of the Gardens has, however, created More than 300 prominent c Srinagar, including several artist ters have launched a signature against what they call the "gr pation" of the gardens. Even National Conference's mouthp *Nawai Subuh* has described the gardens as "most unfortunate".

A local cultural organisatio Mahaz, has in similar terms cond step as "absurd, ill-conceived ceptable". Says Bansi Parimoo, a national repute: "The parks ar only breathing places of a dirt ours. The authorities should Srinagar a lungless place." Par gests instead that the cultural should be constructed in the sa as the cultural academy, the mu the public library. Akhtar Mo Sahitya Akademi award-winning writer, however, has different says: "Why should they alwa around the civil lines only? Such should now be taken downtown real participation of the citizens cultural activities."

But the Government, appe impervious to the spate of critic time it is the Emporium Gardens too likely that before long all th the once green valley will be swa beneath a suffocating welter of p buildings.

—GHULAM NA

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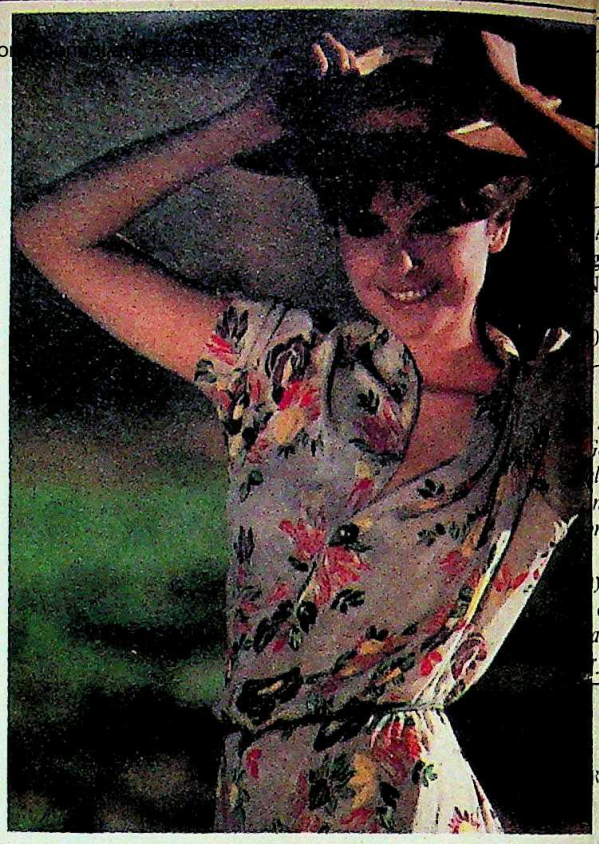

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nce Charming

ARENT
graphy
N SINGH

); Pages 171

standing in a large room and Gandhi came in. I remember him ll his features and clothes much my memory than when I had n him in Srinagar several years walked up to me, put his left y shoulder and took my right other hand. He looked at it for and then said in English, "You ry wise man."

IT WAS all a dream of course, but Karan Singh's life, first as a prince, then a regent, and finally, as the book comes to an end, a constitutional head of state, has a dream-like quality made more poignant by recurrent nightmares. or makes light of ares as well as the king them in his le as he goes along, end of the book, he wise man, though quite 22, with the a shattered monar- behind him and the ef tormentor Sheikh aid low in jail.

l the high drama of e really feels sorry hor. Karan Singh is than not the wrong wrong place at the . He was born not , not even in India, l places, in Cannes diterranean, then as ring hole for the play- e world. Within a of his birth, Sheikh then an obscure er in Srinagar had s first agitation—un- pices of the Muslim —against the Dogra

nate Illnesses: But gh himself did not llah until 17 years later and that too in New York where he (Karan Singh) was convalescing after an operation for his hip trouble. He was in fact virtually a cripple during the crucial two-year period when the family's 100-year rule of Kashmir ended, though there was little he could have done, for he was still in his teens at the time. The accident-prone prince, the only child of his parents, was still limping after another operation on his wedding day and was prostrate on his back on both the Independence Day as well as the Republic Day two and a half years later.

In the meantime, however, the end of the Dogra rule was fast approaching, though, as Karan Singh says, his father seemed blissfully unaware of the tremendous forces that were on the move on the subcontinent. The maharaja had spent most of the war in England as a member of Churchill's war cabinet and may have felt that because of his strong imperial connections he may not be as vulnerable at home as other princes. There were four major forces at work at the time and Karan Singh's father was on hostile terms with each one of them. There were the British, apparently ready at last to quit and surrender the brightest jewel in the empire, but Maharaja Hari Singh never really believed until the very end, when it was too late, that they would actually go. They had in fact once or twice tried to get rid of him and "in any case, he was too much of a patriot to strike any sort of surreptitious deal with them".

Then there was the Congress to which his father had been hostile mainly because of Nehru's close association with his (Hari Singh's) arch enemy, Sheikh Abdullah. There was Jinnah's Muslim League which could not obviously stomach a Hindu prince in a predominantly Muslim state though tempting offers were apparently made. Finally, there was Sheikh Abdullah himself and his National Conference with which the father had been at loggerheads for years because he looked upon the Sheikh as a major threat to his throne and Dogra rule.

Lonely Plight: The net result was that when the crunch came all the forces that counted were arrayed on the opposite side and Hari Singh found himself alone and helpless. "If only I had been 10 years older," says Karan Singh plaintively, "I could have changed history," but who knows, if he had been 10 years older, might he also not have fallen victim to the feudal virus and behaved more or less like his father?

Karan Singh and Nehru at the first convocation of the J & K university in 1949: idealist views

The real actors in the Kashmir drama which understandably takes up most of the later half of this highly absorbing personal account of a turbulent chapter in our recent history, were only three—Nehru, Patel and Sheikh Abdullah—the maharaja being only a victim who was eventually eased out. Karan Singh is obviously closer to Nehru than Patel—he calls Nehru his political guru—though it was Patel, not Nehru, who helped him the most. He admits that Nehru's offer of plebiscite turned out to be the main source of trouble, but he is too polite and possibly too much under the Nehru spell to blame him for it. "When the nation has the fortune of a genuine visionary as its leader, it sometimes has to pay the price of idealism itself," Karan Singh says in mild and oblique criticism of Nehru's handling of the Kashmir affair; but that is as far as he will go. Karan Singh himself is something of an idealist, and like most young men who

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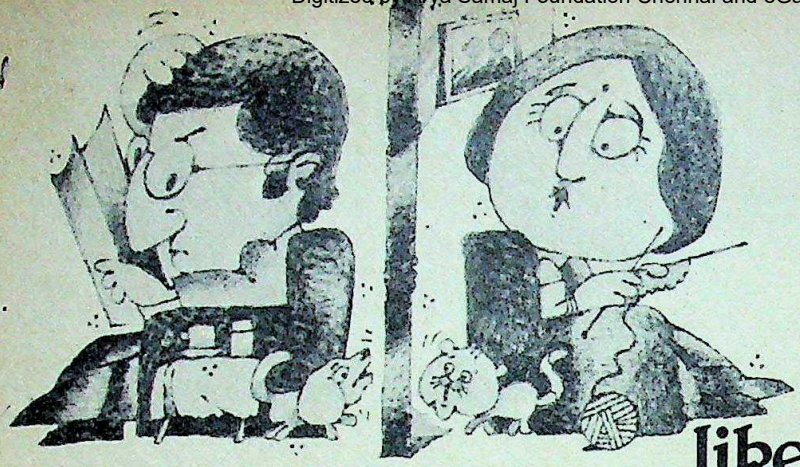

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ıp in the 1950s, he remains a
ıru fan.
Sardar Patel, Karan Singh was a
y him, as was everybody else, but
ıt men who influenced him the
u and Patel—were also totally
their ways. Patel was down to
d and practical. Nehru "always
e vast historic forces sweeping
world, and as he talked, his
f *India* came alive before my

Patel who took the young boy,
0, by the hand, arranged his
ıt him through a crash training
ound him an adviser. Nehru may
n a dilemma on the Kashmir
as himself a Kashmiri two or
ations removed, and was per-
ched to Sheikh Abdullah. Patel,
ıor, would have almost certainly
situation differently, but it is
story being what it is, whether
ld have been successful in elim-
Sheikh, a man he did not like,
bulent scene.

d Roles: Karan Singh is ambiva-
Sheikh Abdullah. He suspects
ikh was never very enthusiastic
sion to India and was "by no
se to the concept of indepen-
there was much more to it than
estion of accession. While the
ed upon himself as a Kashmiri
ned to find himself in India,
h considered himself an Indian
ied to find himself in Kashmir.
bitter about the Sheikh, nor for
about anybody else, though it is
h dynasty that has replaced the
ne and it is Farooq Abdullah
n the real heir apparent.

er, Karan Singh is not only an
also a Hindu and he writes
bout his mother, a devout Hindu
other gurus who have influenced
"inner life" and fed his growing
itual ideas. As far back as 1952,
still under 21, he was writing in
at his long-range aim "was to
itual enlightenment and peace",
ıd of the book (which brings the
1952) he is still a rising young
ıd takes his new job as Sadar-i-
ously. The young "Tiger" is on
bigger jungles.

may not remember me. I am
h," he tells Rajagopalachari at a
hru's house.
urse I remember you. You have
autiful eyes," says the old man
as.
Singh's autobiography matches
l eyes.

—JAY DUBASHI

Invaluable Heritage

SHIVAJI AND FACETS OF MARATHA CULTURE
Marg Publications,
Pages: 202; Price: Rs 225

DESPITE legends that have grown around the 17th century Maratha ruler, Shivaji—legends of his military prowess, his prodigious valour and his fierce sense of cultural identity— it is seldom realised that he died at the comparatively young age of 50. Born in 1630, the son of a nobleman in the Deccani courts of Ahmednagar and Bijapur, he received at the age of 12 the fiefdom of Poona, and by 16 was heading his army and planning the first of his brilliant military manoeuvres that led to the consolidation of the Maratha empire. It was Shivaji who created the Maratha state, giving it sovereign status and its people an identity, so that it was the Maratha kings who supported the waning rule of the Mughal emperors; and it was the Marathas who the British had to contend with when establishing power in India.

His military exploits—the routing of Shaista Khan, the sack of Surat and the strategic entry into it—have been well documented in history; it is the lesser known aspects of cultural renaissance under Shivaji and the later Maratha rulers that this special issue of *Marg* devotes itself to. Specifically, this collection of essays by scholars and art history experts deals with Maratha architecture (in particular the hill forts in the Sahyadri hills and the marine forts along the Western Ghats that Shivaji established), arms and armour used by Maratha armies (including a fascinating note on the controversial history of Shivaji's Bhawani sword), Maratha art and temple architecture, the layout and design of private Maratha mansions or *wadas* and Maratha painting. Also included is a beautifully illustrated chapter by Jaya Appasamy on the advent of glass painting and Maratha modes of dress.

An engraving published in 1812 of a Maratha Peshwa

Cultural Synthesis: The profusely illustrated essays stress the secular, the socially emancipated and altogether liberated atmosphere of Shivaji's regime, so that the Marathas, who remained an itinerant warrior clan in their heyday, imbibed the best cultural traditions of the regions they conquered. In the Deccan, the schools of miniature painting continued to flourish under Maratha rule. On the west coast, the foreign influences of overseas traders and builders were contained in Maratha architectural styles. And further in the south, when Shivaji's stepbrother Ekóji established sovereignty over the kingdom of Tanjore which lasted over 100 years, the heavily gilded and jewelled school of Tanjore painting was widely patronised.

A synthesis of Marathi, Deccani and Tamil traditions, overlaid with a heavy dose of creeping European influence, produced a highly colourful and eclectic style, evident in the ornate lavishness of the Durbar Hall in the Tanjore palace complex—a far cry from the bleak austerity and power of the Maratha fortifications and palace fortresses of the western coast.

The difference in styles is evoked through the illustrations of actual sites and their architectural remains, and through plans, maps, artefacts, paintings and portraits. Equally useful is the chronological listing of the establishment of the fortresses; these serve to explain the lines of defence that Shivaji set up from the coast north of Bombay down to Kolhapur and further south through the heartland of present-day Karnataka till Tanjore.

The Maratha empire did not survive into the 19th century; but its phenomenal rise under Shivaji and its huge expansion under his intrepid successors is one of the extraordinary sagas of Indian history between the decline of the Mughals and the rise of the British. This volume, by charting out its details and its achievements, is a valuable record for the amateur historian and art enthusiast.

—SUNIL SETHI

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RODIN EXHIBITION

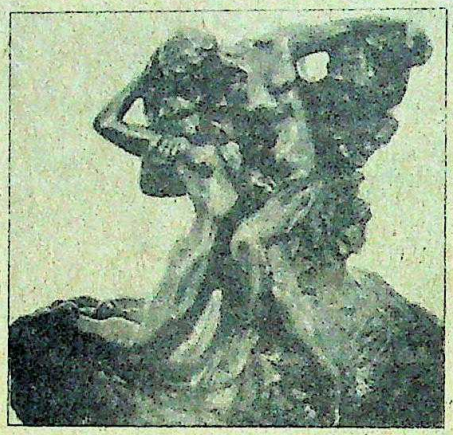
An Unprecedented Feast

IN THE hurly-burly of the IX Asian Games being held in New Delhi, most residents and visitors missed the opening of a massive cultural import: the start of the six-week long exhibition at the National Gallery of Modern Art of the works of the great French sculptor Auguste Rodin (1840–1917), the only 20th century sculptor to be compared to Michelangelo. That the fabulous exhibition—consisting of over 100 pieces of sculpture and 70 sketches and drawings—was opened officially by Danielle Mitterrand, the wife of the visiting French President, in the presence of the French Minister for Culture, Jack Lang, was pure coincidence.

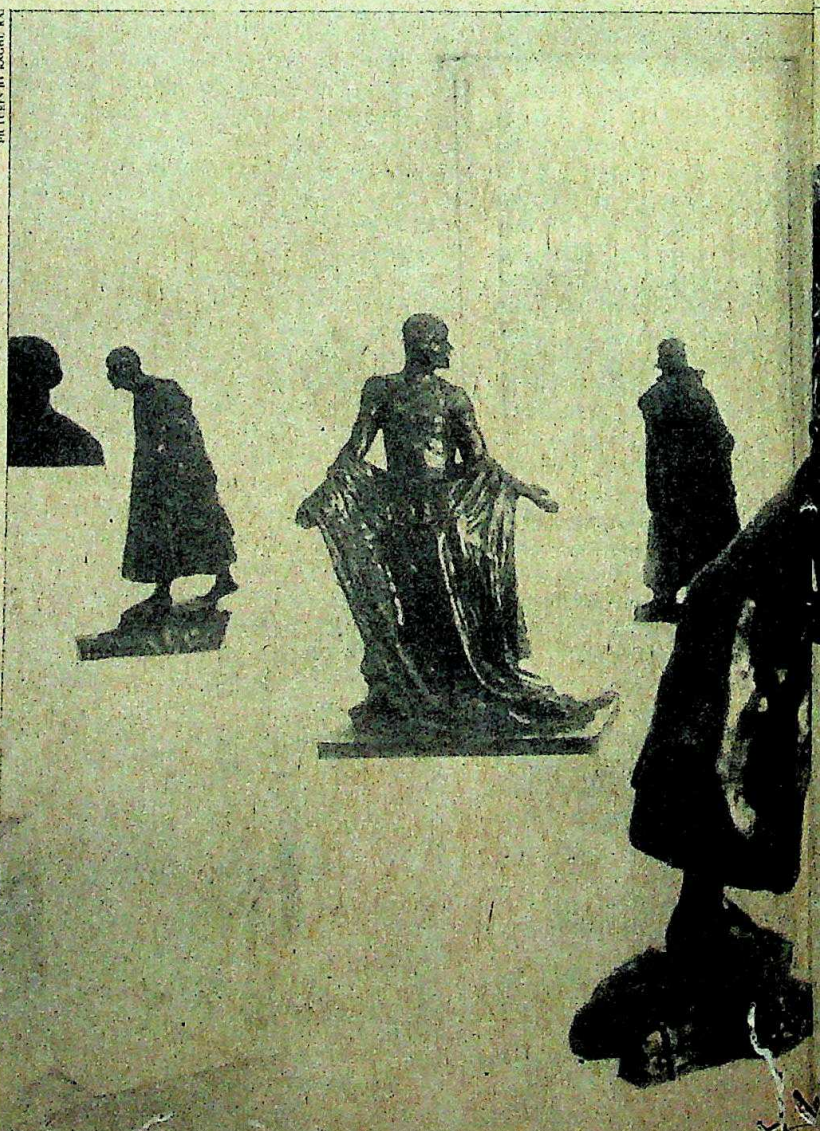
The huge exhibition—possibly the biggest presentation of a foreign master ever hosted by an Indian institution—has in fact taken over two years of persuasion and planning under the aegis of the Indo-French cultural exchange, in return for a 1977 show titled 'Five Thousand Years of Indian Art' in Paris sponsored by the Indian Government. But the size and excellence of the Rodin show, its superb range and display, is the result of one Indian's effort in organising the finest in cultural import.

Demanding Equality: Says Laxmi P. Sihare, the National Gallery's dynamic director who is fiercely dedicated to making it one of the foremost museums in the country: "I have long believed that when we borrow from abroad under any cultural exchange, we should make sure we get the best. If foreign countries can send their masterpieces to New York, London or Tokyo, why should India get anything less? We must insist on being treated as equal cultural partners. Why should the whole world of modern art centre around a few western countries?"

At present India, which has cultural exchange agreements with some 60 countries, seldom benefits by drawing upon their most rare or prized art collections. When art shows do arrive, they seem to be composed of copies of the best original pieces or secondary pieces that can be conveniently loaned. In this respect, the Rodin exhibition is a remarkable exception. It contains a sampling of Rodin's greatest achievements: original bronze casts of works as celebrated as *The Thinker*, *The Shadows* from his *Gates of Hell*, models and preliminaries of his gigantic monument *Burghers of Calais*, together with busts, models and originals in bronze, terracotta and marble.



Not only is sculpture from the period of Rodin's long and controversial career exhaustively represented, but also from a total of 7,000 of his drawings, sketches and paintings from the Rodin Museum in Paris are on display to finely outline his artistic concerns and as displaying the diversity of his genius. Such a large collection of Rodin



PHOTOS BY RAGHU RAI

Rodin bronzes (above left & right) and Dr Sihare (right) with models of the *Burghers of Calais*

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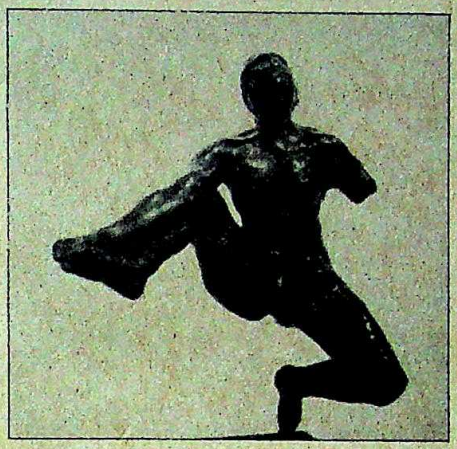
ever been seen outside France; ne of the pieces, such as the one of the two *Shadows* from *of Hell*, has never left the Palace in Paris where it is per-aced.

hibition, which is expected to 50,000 visitors in the coming ne words of one contemporary ter, "is the best thing that hap-ndian artists." Explaining its in India, art historian Geeti It's a very important show for n which it has been mounted. ry crucial for Indian sculptors found it hard to break away monumental heritage in sculp-hem, the Rodin show provides f a modern sculptor who po-milar kind of sensibility to the ition yet created his own idiom ly." And Rodin's controversy-ridden life of 77 years—his sculptures of the painter Claude Lorrain, of Balzac and Victor Hugo and of Argentinian President Domingo Sarmiento caused riots—embodies his restless, radical spirit.



Although the exhibition was paid for by the French Government, arranging the despatch of the finest pieces, their installation, printing of the catalogue, arranging for their security and the show's inauguration was the National Gallery's job. And had it not been for Sihare it is doubtful whether the most important pieces would have arrived. He refused to collect the first consignment of the Rodin show, which arrived in New Delhi in late October, till a second one, containing his best-known masterpieces such as *The Kiss, Orpheus* and the *Burghers of Calais* was agreed to be released by the Rodin Museum. "I wanted a major Rodin exhibition, not a common one," says Sihare, who refused to accept the first selection till the French foreign secretary, among others, assured him that the major pieces would arrive.

Special Arrangements: Transporting the exhibits—some of them such as *The Kiss* upward of 2,000 kg—was a tremendous job too, made possible by freight facilities offered by Air France and a fork lift, trolleys and a special staff of lifters supplied by Dr Sihare. Moreover, a special contingent of 36 guards, specially provided by the Home Ministry, are on call to provide adequate security while the exhibition is on till mid-January 1983. Equally complicated was the task of arranging the multitude of sculpture and drawings in an already overcrowded building, once a princely palace belonging to the erstwhile royal family of Jaipur. Within three days, some 90 specially-designed spotlights had to be fitted to provide additional lighting for the exhibits that were off-loaded and brought straight to the Gallery.

"This show simply wouldn't have been possible without the extraordinary help offered by all departments of the Government," says Sihare, "Without exception every ministry, from external affairs to the customs, offered us whatever facilities we asked for." As a result, New Delhi has become the venue for the next few weeks, of a primary show by a European creative master. And the National Gallery of Modern Art—which earlier this year organised a fabulous exhibition of the German Expressionists, featuring originals by 22 exponents of the genre, among them Paul Klee and Wassily Kandinsky under the Indo-German Cultural Exchange—is undergoing a noticeable revival as a showplace for contemporary art. Almost singlehandedly, the achievement of turning the sprawling Gallery around goes to its director who is convinced that if India can show the best of its art collections abroad, then it is entitled to see the best of the western world at home.

—SUNIL SETHI

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(From left to right) Alla Rakha, Ravi Shanker, Ali Akbar Khan, Zakir Husain: memorable performance

Rare Encounter

EEKS before it happened, regu- advertisements in the papers ralded it as the musical concert . Of 25 years actually, since the musical maestros had last come a concert in the capital. The lished duet or *jugalbandi* between vi Shankar on the sitar and Akbar Khan on the sarod last n New Delhi was the kind of that musical history is made of. rare was the stampede it cau- nearly twice as many people to the Shankar Lal Auditorium a floor-seating capacity of he maddening crush that ensued, ated players—accompanied on y the equally celebrated father- of Ustad Alla Rakha and Zakir ould not star till an hour after led time. Several legitimate tick- were left stranded outside the gates and Danielle Mitterrand, f the visiting French President rty, after half an hour's wait in room had to finally be accom- n stage beside the players and npanists.

o, once the musicians took off troplobia eased as sections of e managed to crawl out in the is on—they produced music so sublime that the following day's papers gushed with praise. "Enthralling", said *The Times of India* and *The Statesman* while the *Indian Express* called the event "truly memorable".

Unparalleled Artistry: Starting with the raga *Priya Dhanashri*—much of it drowned by the confusion in the hall—the duo went on to play *Jhinjoti* and *Bhairavi*, the last developed with scintillating artistry by Alla Rakha and Zakir Husain who produced a virtuoso *jugalbandi* of their own. The undisputed star of the over five-hour concert was the 31-year-old Husain who performed with such consummate verve that, for fleeting moments, he seemed to overtake his father's mastery. When the performance ended at 1 o' clock in the morning, there were few in the audience who were left untouched. Said Romola Ranganathan, a housewife who had brought her 12-year-old son to the show: "I wanted my son to remember it for all his days. He may never hear such a concert again in his lifetime."

Sponsored by the Bharat Ram foundation, a charitable trust devoted to promotion of the arts, the concert was arranged in memory of the great musician Baba Allauddin Khan, whose legendary Maihar band once included his son Ali Akbar Khan and his son-in-law Ravi Shankar, and among whose pupils are the distinguished flute player Pannalal Ghosh and sarodist Sharan Rani Backliwal. The fifth in a series of annual concerts dedicated to the late master's memory by the industrial house of Delhi Cloth Mills (DCM), the Bharat Rams are now keen to institutionalise it.

While acknowledging the breakdown in seating arrangements—"there simply isn't an auditorium in this city that can seat 5,000 people"—Vivek Bharat Ram, general manager, DCM Engineering and Electronics Division, who put together the show, says he refuses to get defensive about it. "If a few hundred people were forced to squeeze in, it was still worth the discomfort: they came out having heard the music of their lives." Bharat Ram, who says it cost Rs 1.7 lakh to finance the event, besides nine months of coordination in getting the celebrated quartet together, plans to find a better venue next year in the Asiad stadia that have sprouted in the city. "Next year we can use the Indraprastha Stadium or even half the Jawaharlal Nehru Stadium if the acoustics are right for music. Because the idea is to subsidise the performance of great musicians—we would be only too happy to get much larger numbers of people to come and hear them."

—SUNIL SETHI

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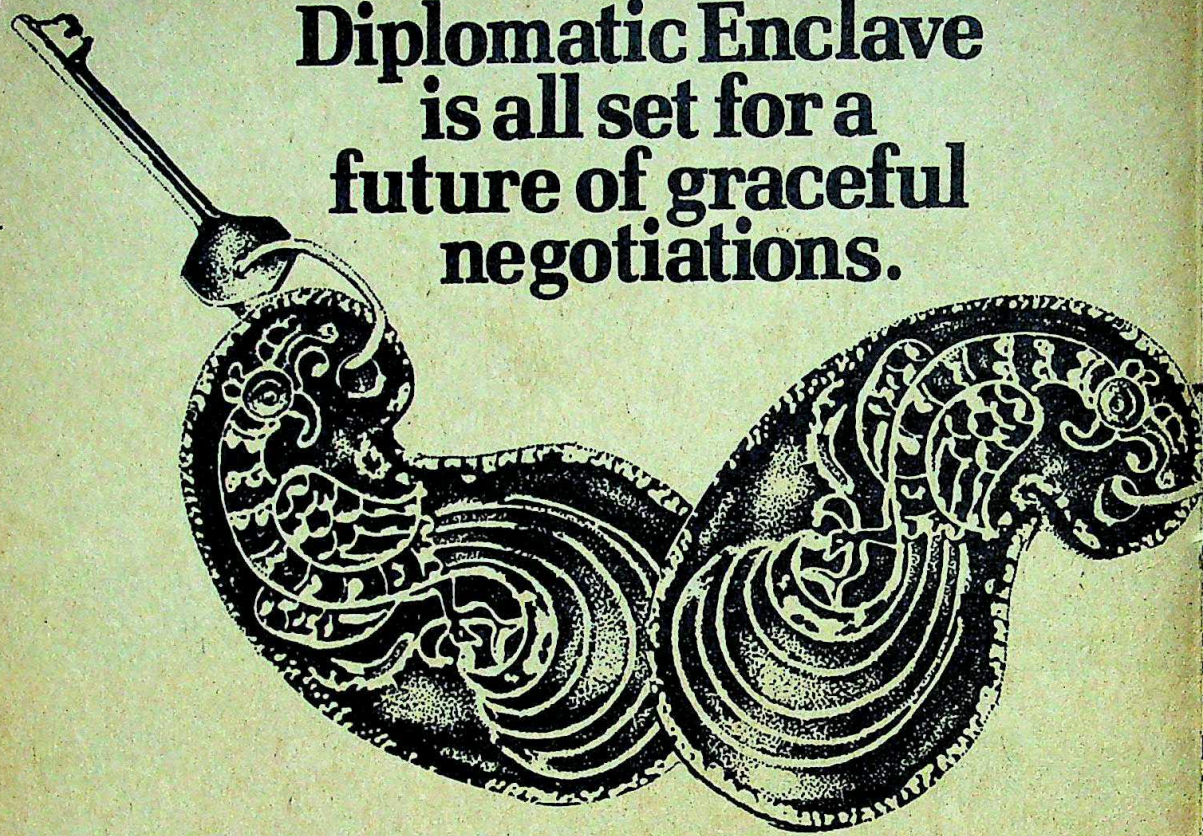
Delhi's Diplomatic Enclave is all set for a future of graceful negotiations.



The Taj Palace Hotel debut makes a glittering at Sardar Patel Marg.

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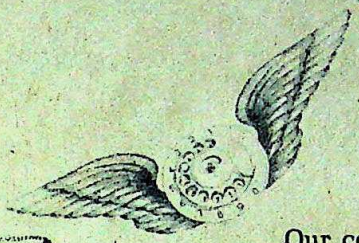

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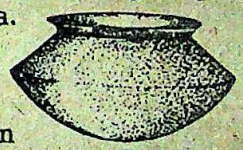
kindness for the Person.

is an art, and at the Taj Palace Hotel, we ce of artifice. Each of our four restaurants ess original and will offer cooking unique Delhi, but to all of India. h interiors inspired by rts and crafts of e Handi will offer the di cooking of Northern n India. Choice meats and poultry, ables,exotic lentil dishes, simmered for ever celebrations of spices and sauces.



Ornamented with an antiquary's prize collection of Persian copper samovars and coffee pots, Isfahan will offer the finest grilled and broiled meats derived from the ancient culinary talents of Persia, Afghanistan, and all of Central Asia.

t Express: Agatha Christie planned a it. Graham Greene used it to write an ovel-on-wheels. Now the Taj Palace Hotel the legendary European train which once gh style, between London and Constantino- ying Archbishops and Grand Dukes, Cat nd Czarinas, the very rich and the merely Our Orient Express bar offers decor, a menu inspired by the cuisines of the his famous train's route.

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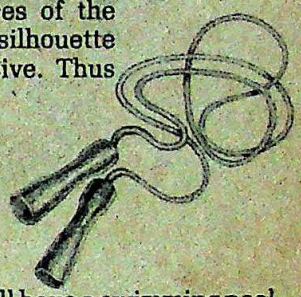
We believe that the pleasures of the palate and the joys of a neat silhouette need not be mutually exclusive. Thus you will find an experienced Resident Consultant at our Health Club who will work out a fitness plan just for you. Besides the health club, with the very latest facilities including yoga, complete hydrotherapy etc. the hotel will have a swimming pool and a jogging track around the garden. And a complete beauty parlour.



Once again, we ask for your indulgence.

When the Taj Delhi opened, we asked you to bear with our teething problems and very graciously you did. We ask, once again, for special consideration. We are putting the finishing touches to the Taj Palace and plan a grand debut early in '83. With your support, we hope that the Taj Palace Hotel will make it a memorable New Year for us all.

TAJ PALACE HOTEL
NEW DELHI-INDIA

THE TAJ GROUP OF HOTELS

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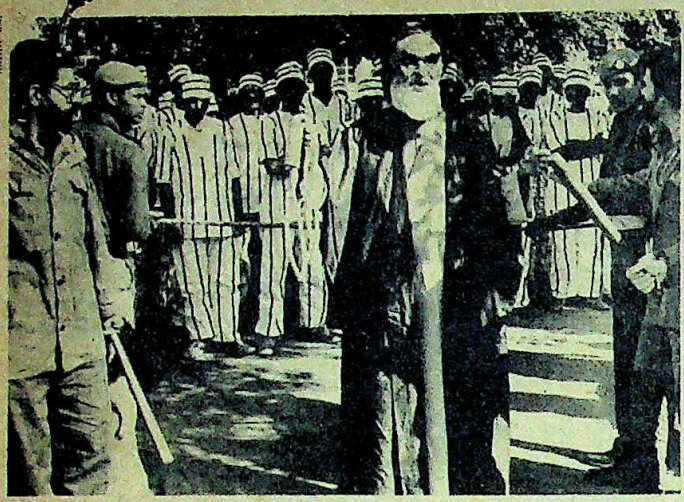

'Khomeini' and his 'prisoners': political road-show

■ It was a demonstration with a difference. When over a hundred Iranian students, members of the Muslim Iranian Students' Society in India, hit out on the capital's streets, armed with a memorandum to be presented to the UN demanding the release of political prisoners in Iran, it resembled a street theatre performance. Fifty demonstrators were handcuffed and dressed in prison garb while others were dressed in khaki uniforms carrying toy guns and lathis with their mouths strapped with black cloth. And what stood out from the "performance" was its chief protagonist—a student behind a well-designed mask of **Ayatollah Khomeini** draped in the familiar cloak that the ruler of Iran donns. But as the militant mass of students descended outside the Iranian Embassy, their drama was rudely interrupted by policemen, who immediately rounded the agitated students behind a police cordon and jumbled over a hundred of them into the police van. With the arrests, it was a mission thwarted and a *tamasha* well averted.

■ They are aviators extraordinaire. And they have just gone through a record-breaking flight. For the first time in India, a young mechanical and automobile engineer **Yogendra Jahagirdar** and his friends from Ahmednagar, Maharashtra, undertook an expedition to fly a remote-controlled aeromodel from Hyderabad to Pune covering a distance of 750 km. Jahagirdar, accompanied by **Anup Randhawa** of Indian Airlines and a couple of other pilots and friends set out from Hyderabad on December 4 in a pick-up van while the aeromodel, made of Balsa wood and with a wing span of 8 ft, length 5 ft and weight 6.5 lbs, kept on hovering in the air. The team meanwhile sat in the travelling van manning the remote-control unit. The plane which was flying 50 to 150 ft high at a speed of 50 kmph, was grounded every hour for refuelling. Finally on December 6 the plane and its "pilots" arrived at Pune's Lohgoan airport to a reception and a pat on their backs by industrialist and pilot **S.L. Kirloskar.**

Industrialist Kirloskar (with bow-tie) and team: record feat

■ A sweet sixteen and she bombed the audiences with her innocent looks, her bikini-clad body and her big brown appealing eyes. It's been a long and turbulent seven years since the peaches and cream complexioned girl **Dimple Kapadia** left her one-film (*Bobby*) success behind, married superstar **Rajesh Khanna**, had two children and parted company with him to strike back on the screen once again. Last fortnight, Dimple, looking more curvaceous than before, and stunning at a tender 23, was signed up by block-buster king **Ramesh Sippy** for his forthcoming untitled venture. And as if to recreate the adulation that *Bobby* left behind, he signed up **Rishi Kapoor**, Dimple's co-star in that film, as well. And with Sippy's magic touch Dimple's re-entry would probably be a smooth sail up the starry ladder.

Dimple and Rishi: together again

■ She's another package deal from the US. She's blonde and a succulent 20 and she's the latest rage in the south Indian film industry. **Annie Hannah Mitchell**, had her film debut in the just released Hindi film *Yeh To Kamaal Ho Gaya* with Bombay's import from the south. **Kamalahasan** caught the eyes of th ing audiences and please producers a saw her turning c and riding a horse i with an ease of a pro And there was come—she went on t kiss on the forlorn b actor's lips. And all beady eyes of th board—who let the through their scissors nce then all film in rcles in the south a over the antics of A pouted, saying: "I been so embarrasse life over a kiss." An sently staying with h in Bangalore and i pursue a more "seri of vocation—like chotherapy and tra analysis. And films? enough," she gasps.

Kamalahasan and embarrassed

SIGN POST

Awarded: Dr H the director of th Agricultural Research the coveted Borlaug 1981 for his outstand in research and agricu award has been inst Coromandel Fertil honour of world wheat scientist No Borlaug.

Appointed: In S.P. Godrej as the n of Bombay. He takes reins of sheriffship tor Sunil Dutt.

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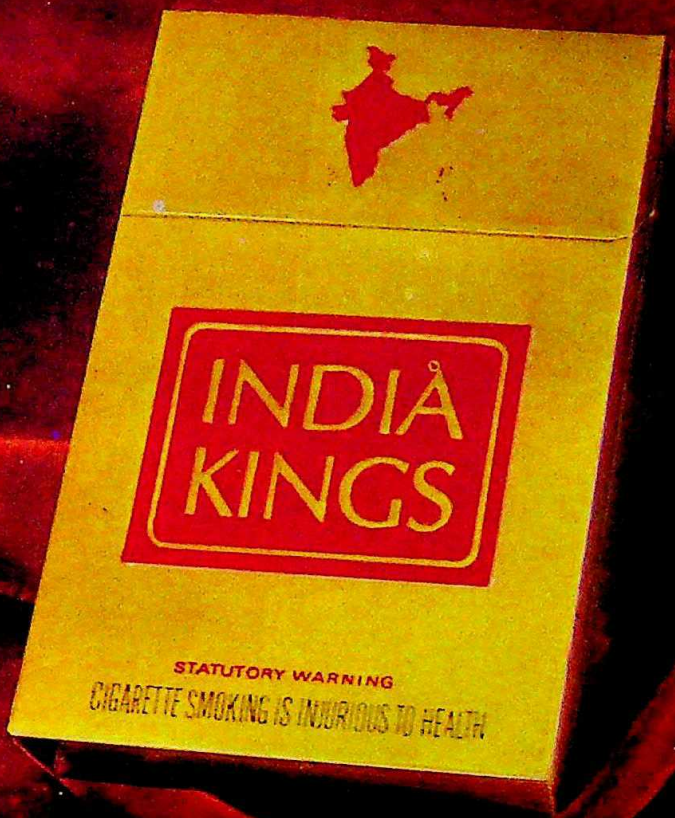
ajestic In Gold



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